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C. SUETONII TRANQ.

XII CÆSARES,

CUM

LIBERA VERSIONE,

In qua Idiomatis Anglici ratio, quam fieri potuit, habita est;

OR, THE

LIVES

OF THE

Twelve First Roman EMPERORS,

WRIT BY

C. SUETONIUS TRANQUILLUS;

WITH A

FREE TRANSLATION,

WHEREIN

Due Regard has been had to the Propriety of the English Tongue.

By JOHN CLARKE,
Author of the ESSAYS upon EDUCATION and STUDY.

The THIRD EDITION.

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MDCCLXI.

THE

PREFACE.

AS *we have had already two or three ſeveral Tranſlations of* SUETONIUS, *it may perhaps be expected, I ſhould apologiſe for troubling the World with another. But all I ſhall ſay as to that Matter is, that whoever will give themſelves the Trouble of comparing this Tranſlation of mine with thoſe that have gone before it, will find a Difference up and down in the Senſe; and if they are well ſkilled in the Language and Antiquities of the Romans, or if not, will but have Recourſe to the beſt Commentators, they will, I flatter myſelf, find ſuch a Reaſon for that Difference, as will make the Compariſon turn to my Advantage in that Reſpect. And as to the Language, if the Reader cannot perceive mine to be more eaſy, ſmooth, conciſe, and proper, than that of former Tranſlations, it will be ſcarce poſſible for me, by any Words of mine, to make him ſenſible of it, or at leaſt require a long and tedious Compariſon for that Purpoſe; which may look invidious in me to undertake; and therefore I ſhall ſave myſelf that Trouble; as being content to ſtand or fall by the Sentence that ſhall be pronounced by the moſt able Judges of the* Engliſh *Tongue, who may be diſpoſed to undergo the Pains of making ſuch a Compariſon themſelves, for their own or other People's Satisfaction. I ſhall only add, that I judged it requiſite and uſeful to the Publick, upon ſeveral Accounts, to have a Tranſlation of* SUETONIUS *publiſhed together with the Original; and as that was a Freedom I could not take with the Tranſlations of others, (had I liked them,*

them, which I did not) I was obliged to furnish out one of my own for the Purpose.

The Character of SUETONIUS *is that of a plain honest impartial Author, that appears to have writ with all possible Coolness, and without the least Bias upon his Mind at all; or any other Concern, than that of delivering to the World a faithful and just Account of the Behaviour and Conduct, both publick and private, of the several Emperors, whose Lives he has given us, so far as he himself could come at it. And it is a very just Observation made of him, that he has writ their Lives, with the same Freedom they led them. There is nothing in him like Flattery, Disguise, or Concealment, in the least. He has, as an honest Historian should do, given as well the foul, as the fair Side of them all; a Thing very necessary and highly useful, in the compiling of History, whatever Court-Parasites, or other Admirers of the absolute Power of Princes, may pretend to the contrary.*

As for the Language of SUETONIUS, *it is just and proper, perfectly clear of all Affectation. There are no Flights, no flourishing, or playing with Words at all in him. He is serious and grave, steddily pursues his Point of telling the naked Truth, drawing to the Life, and giving the just Characters of others, without any apparent Concern for his own as an Author, or what the Reader may think of his Talent for Writing. And I hope the Translation will be found pretty well adaped to this Character of the Original.*

As for the Matter of his History, there is a great deal of Variety in it, which makes it entertaining enough; but for Pomp and Dignity, it must be own'd to come far short of that of the old Common-Wealth of Rome. That was one continued Series of the greatest and most important Events, that can come within the Compass of History, occasioned by a long Struggle for Empire, made by a People, fired indeed too much with a View to worldly Grandeur and Glory, but otherwise, virtuous, prudent, and brave to the last Degree. The Romans, I say, were a very virtuous People for many Ages together, 'till at last their great Successes corrupted their Manners, by the Introduction of Pride, Luxury, and Covetousness amongst them; which made Way for that fatal Catastrophe which the Civil War betwixt Pompey *and* Cæsar *ended in. The Glory of Rome was now no more; and the*

Story

Story thereof is little elſe than a Scene of the wildeſt Extravagance, the moſt brutiſh Folly, Barbarity, Butchery, and Miſery in all Shapes and Sizes, ſpread all over the Face of the Roman *Empire. The Detail of this terrible Confuſion and Diſtraction, the Reader may find in* SUETONIUS *and* TACITUS, *with other ancient Hiſtorians. But if he has a Mind to have a Picture thereof in Miniature finely drawn, he may meet with it in thoſe admirable Diſcourſes, prefix'd to a late Tranſlation of* TACITUS, *wherein the Author has with a noble Spirit, ſuited to the Gravity and Importance of the Subject, deſcribed the miſerable Condition the* Romans *were reduced to by the Loſs of their Liberty.*

But notwithſtanding what has been ſaid, the Hiſtory of SUETONIUS *is very uſeful, and highly proper to be put into the Hands of our Youth at School and Univerſity. It is full of the diſmal Effects of arbitrary Power lodged in the Hands of a ſingle Perſon; the Reading whereof will make them more ſenſible of the Value of Liberty, and the Happineſs they enjoy under the juſt and legal Government of their native Country; eſpecially if they are aſſiſted for that Purpoſe, by proper Remarks and Reflections from a Maſter or Tutor.*

Beſides, the great Variety of Matter in SUETONIUS *occaſions the like Variety of Language, and ſuch a Mixture of the Antiquities or ancient Uſages of the* Romans, *that there is more of both to be learnt from a careful Peruſal of him, with proper Helps for the right Underſtanding of him, than by reading ten times as much of any other Authors whatever. He is, I grant, difficult to be underſtood; but then that is none of his Fault at all; it ariſes not in the leaſt from any awkward, affected, improper Way of wording himſelf, but from the Cauſe above-mentioned. What therefore renders him a difficult Author, is the greateſt Commendation of him, and renders him at the ſame Time, one of the fitteſt in the Language to be put into the Hands of our Youth at School, after they have been duly prepared for it, by the reading of eaſier Authors.*

But notwithſtanding this great and apparent Uſefulneſs of SUETONIUS, *he has, I think, got but little Footing in our Schools; which is owing, I preſume, to the Difficulty juſt taken Notice of in him. But as that is now in a great Meaſure removed, by thus publiſhing him with a Tranſlation,*

I hope

I hope he may for the future, meet with more respectful and favourable Usage from the Teachers of the Latin Tongue. I am sure they will find their own Account in a civil Reception of him in this Dress, with Regard to their Ease and Credit both. I do not indeed pretend to have cleared up all the Difficulties in him by my Translation; that is impossible to be done in such an Author, so full of Hints and Touches upon antient Rites and Customs: And therefore I was once minded to have given him to the Publick in a different Form, with large Notes and Reflections upon him. But considering that the Price of such a Book, would be a great Obstacle to its Admission into our Schools, to which I was desirous to recommend so useful an Author, I laid aside that Project. The Book, in its present Form, will, I hope, be found exceeding useful, not only in our Schools, but out of them too, to such Gentlemen as are desirous to improve themselves in the Language and History of the Romans *together. With respect to such Difficulties as no Translation can effectually and thoroughly clear up, the Reader may have Recourse to* KENNET's *or* ROSINUS's Antiquities: *One of which Books, if not both, all that meddle with the Study of the Latin Tongue, should be sure to be provided with. Nay, as* KENNET's *is but a compendious System, it would be proper for a Reader, that has little or no Knowledge of Antiquity, to give that Book a careful Perusal more than once, before he undertakes the Reading of* SUETONIUS.

The great Usefulness of the Classick Authors, published with just and proper Translations, is so very apparent, that I wonder no Body has attempted any thing of this Kind before me. English Translations indeed of many of them have been published by themselves, as being designed I suppose purely for the Use of such as are wholly ignorant of the Latin Tongue, by presenting them, for their Information or Amusement, with that in English, which they could not come at in the Original, without any further View or Intention at all. But then such Translations may be of the greatest Use for other important Purposes, upon account of which it is highly convenient to have them published along with the Originals. As,

1. *Classick Authors so published will be vastly serviceable for the easy and speedy Improvement of such, as having but a very small Acquaintance with the Latin Tongue, are desirou*

rous of attaining a competent Skill therein, ſo as to read Authors of all Sorts freely and familiarly. I do not ſay that proper *Tranſlations, wherein a good deal of Freedom is taken of departing from the Letter, or Words of the Original, are at all for the Purpoſe of ſuch as are wholly ignorant of the Latin Tongue, to begin with, in order to the Learning of that Language. No. Such ought in the firſt Place to make uſe of Literal Tranſlations, 'till they have got a pretty general Acquaintance with Words; after which they may proceed to ſuch as are free and proper, by the Help whereof they will read an Author ſubſtantially over in a fourth Part of the Time, they could do without, to ſpeak within Compaſs. This I preſume is too evident to admit of any Diſpute amongſt thoſe that are not wilfully blind: And yet, as if ſome Infatuation had been upon the Minds of Men univerſally, this obvious Uſe of Tranſlations, as well literal as proper, has been, 'till of late, wholly overlook'd in the teaching of the Latin Tongue; though the Advantage of Tranſlations for the learning of the Greek has been as univerſally acknowledged: A Thing monſtrous and unaccountable, that in two Caſes exactly parrallel, the World ſhould judge and practiſe ſo very differently and inconſiſtently.*

2. *The publiſhing of the Claſſick Authors, with proper handſome Tranſlations, will be very convenient for thoſe that are deſirous to attain a Faculty of writing and ſpeaking Latin with Propriety and Readineſs. The Way will be for them to read the Original and Tranſlation together, 'till they can readily render the latter into the Words of the Original Latin preciſely and exactly. And I ſhall be bold to ſay, that this is far beyond every Thing elſe that can be done, for the eaſy and ready Attainment of a good Latin Style. But having ſpoken to this Point in my* ESSAY UPON STUDY, *I forbear farther enlarging upon it here.*

3. *Another Uſe that may be made of the fine Latin Authors, publiſhed together with elegant Tranſlations, is for the eaſy quick Attainment of a good Engliſh Style. And the Way thereto is here again for a Perſon to compare the Original and Tranſlation together, 'till he is able to render the Latin Text very readily into the preciſe Words of the Tranſlation. This likewiſe is ſo apparently of the greateſt and moſt excellent Uſe for the Purpoſe of Writing and Speaking*

good

good Engliſh with Eaſe and Fluency, that, in my Opinion, the Matter can admit of no Diſpute amongſt Perſons of any Senſe or Conſideration.

The ſeveral Uſes above-mentioned to be made of Claſſick Authors, publiſhed together with handſome elegant Tranſlations, ſhew of what prodigious Advantage it would be to our Grammar-Schools to have ſome of the choiceſt among them ſo publiſhed. Half a Dozen ſuch thrown into our Schools, and uſed there as they ſhould be, would certainly work a wonderful Effect, ſuch as would ſoon be very viſible all the Nation over, by a much greater and quicker Improvement of our Youth in both the Languages of Latin and Engliſh together. Now the Way of exerciſing Boys in Claſſicks ſo publiſhed, would be, to make them get three or four Leſſons in the Original to read exactly into the Tranſlation; and when that is done, to make them go the ſame Leſſons over again, and get the Tranſlation to read as exactly back again into the original Latin. This (I ſay it again, and deſire the Reader would conſider it) will, in my Judgment, be the moſt effectual expeditious Method to bring Youth to an eaſy elegant Uſe of both Languages, that can poſſibly be taken with them; and if ſo, I hope I may be thought to have deſerved well of my Country, by leading the Way to it, in publiſhing ſo uſeful an Author as SUETONIUS, *in this Manner.*

C. SUETONII TRANQUILLI

XII. CÆSARES.

DIVUS JULIUS CÆSAR.

JULIUS CAESAR DIVUS annum agens sextum decimum patrem amisit: sequentibusque consulibus flamen Dialis destinatus, dimissa Cossutia, quæ familia equestri, sed admodum dives, prætextato desponsata fuerat, Corneliam Cinnæ quater consulis filiam duxit uxorem: ex qua illi mox Julia nata est: neque ut repudiaret compelli a Dictatore Sulla ullo modo potuit. Quare et sacerdotio, & uxoris dote, et gentilitiis hæreditatibus multatus, diversarum partium habebatur: ut etiam discedere e medio, et, quamquam morbo quartanæ aggravante, prope per singulas noctes commutare latebras cogeretur, seque ab inquisitoribus pecunia redimere: donec per virgines Vestales, perque Mamercum Æmilium et Aurelium Cottam, propinquos et affines suos, veniam impetravit. Satis constat, Sullam, cum deprecantibus amicissimis et ornatissimis viris aliquamdiu denegasset, atq; illi pertinaciter contenderent, expugnatum tandem proclamas-

CÆSAR lost his father, when he was in the sixteenth year of his age; and the year after was chosen priest of Jupiter, and divorced Cossutia, who was only of an equestrian family, but very rich, and had been contracted to him when under age: upon which he married Cornelia the daughter of Cinna, who was four times consul, by whom he had soon after his daughter Julia. Nor could the Dictator Sylla by any means oblige him to part with her: for which reason he was punished with the loss of his sacerdotal office, his lady's fortune, and the estate of his ancestors, and was reckoned of the opposite party; insomuch that he was obliged to abscond, and to change his quarters almost every night, (tho' he was at that time ill of a quartan ague) and also to redeem himself out of the hands of such as were upon the search for him, 'till by the intercession of the Vestal virgins, of Mamercus Æmilius, and Aurelius Cotta, gentlemen allied to him both by blood and marriage, he procured his pardon. It's very certain, that Sylla, after he had a long time withstood the importunity of his best friends, and persons of the highest rank, upon their persisting in their suit for him, was at last prevailed upon, but cried out, whether from a di-

se (sive divinitus, sive aliqua conjectura) *Vincerent, ac sibi haberent: dummodo scirent, eum, quem incolumem tantopere cuperent, quandoque optimatum partibus, quas secum simul defendissent, exitio futurum; nam Cæsari multos Marios inesse.*

vine impulse upon his mind, or a meer conjecture of his own. They should have their desire, and might take him amongst them; but bid them take notice, that the person they were so mightily concern'd to save, would one time or other be the ruin of the party of the nobility, which they had defended jointly with himself: for that Cæsar had a great many Marius's in him.

2. Stipendia prima in Asia fecit, M. Thermi Prætoris contubernio; a quo ad arcessendam classem in Bithyniam missus, desedit apud Nicomedem, non sine rumore prostratæ regi pudicitiæ: quem rumorem auxit, intra paucos rursus dies repetita Bithynia, per causam exigendæ pecuniæ quæ deberetur cuidam libertino clienti suo. Reliqua militia secundiore fama fuit: et a Thermo in expugnatione Mitylenarum corona civica donatus est.

2. *He first entered the service of his country in the wars, under the command of the Prætor M. Thermus in Asia, as one of his retinue of gentlemen: by whom being dispatched into Bithynia to fetch from thence a fleet, he stayed loitering so long in the court of Nicomedes, that it gave occasion to a report of a criminal familiarity betwixt him and that prince: which spread still more upon his hasty return into Bithynia, under colour of exacting a debt due to a freed-man his client. His other behaviour in that service was without blemish; and upon the taking of Mitylene by storm, he was presented by Thermus with the civic crown.*

3. Meruit et sub Servilio Isaurico in Cilicia sed brevi tempore. Nam Sullæ morte comperta, simul spe novæ dissensionis, quæ per M. Lepidum movebatur, Romam propere rediit; & Lepidi quidem societate, quanquam magnis conditionibus invitaretur, abstinuit; cum ingenio ejus diffisus, tum occasioni, quam minorem opinione offenderat.

3. *He served likewise in Cilicia under Servilius Isauricus, but for a short time. For upon advice of Sylla's death, having conceived hopes of some advantage from a new commotion that was attempted by M. Lepidus, he returned in all haste to Rome; but would have no concern with Lepidus in his design, tho' he was tempted with very great offers made him; as well from a distrust of his abilities to go through with it, as also because he found the times less favourable to such a project than he had imagined.*

4. Cæterum composito seditione civili, Cornelium Dolabellam, consularem et triumphalem virum, repetundarum postulavit: absolutoque, Rhodum secedere statuit, et ad declinandam invidiam, et ut per otium ac requiem Apollonio Molonis clarissimo tunc dicendi magistro operam daret. Huc dum hibernis jam mensibus trajicit, circa Pharmacusam in-

4. *However, after this bustle was laid he impeached Cornelius Dolabella, a consular gentleman, who had had the honour of a triumph, for extortion; and upon his acquittal resolved to retire to Rhodes, as well to decline the publick odium this proceeding had brought upon him, as also for the more quiet prosecution of his studies, under that celebrated master of rhetorick Apollonius the son of Molon. As he was sailing thither in the winter season, he was taken by pirates near the island of Phar-*

sulam

sulam a prædonibus captus est, mansitq; apud eos non sine summa indignatione prope quadraginta dies, cum uno medico & cubiculariis duobus. Nam comites servosq; cæteros initio statim ad expediendas pecunias, quibus redimeretur, dimiserat. Numeratis deinde quinquaginta talentis, expositus in littore, non distulit quin e vestigio classe deducta persequeretur abeuntes: ac redactos in potestatem, supplicio, quod illis sæpe minatus inter jocum fuerat, afficeret: Vastante regiones proximas Mithridate, ne desidere in discrimine sociorum videretur, ab Rhodo, quo pertenderat, transiit in Asiam: auxiliisq; contractis, et præfecto regis provincia expulso, nutantes ac dubias civitates retinuit in fide.

5. Tribunatu militum, qui primus Romam reverso per suffragia populi honor obtigit, auctores restituendæ tribunitiæ potestatis, cujus vim Sulla diminuerat, enixissime juvit. L. etiam Cinnæ, uxoris fratri, et qui cum eo civili discordia Lepidum secuti, post necem consulis ad Sertorium confugerant, reditum in civitatem rogatione Plotia confecit, habuitq; et ipse super ea re concionem.

6. Quæstor Juliam amitam, uxoremq; Corneliam, defunctas laudavit e more pro rostris. Et in amitæ quidem laudatione, de ejus ac patris sui utraq; origine sic refert: *Amitæ meæ Juliæ maternum genus ab regibus ortum, paternum cum Dis Immortalibus conjunctum est. Nam ab Anco Marcio sunt Marcii Reges, quo nomine fuit mater: a Venere Julii, cujus gentis familia est nostra. Est ergo in genere et sanctitas regum, qui plurimum inter homines pollent: et cæremonia*

macuse, and continued with them, not without the utmost indignation, for almost forty days, with only one physician, and two valets de chambre; for his friends that attended him, and his other servants he had immediately sent off to raise money for his ransom. Upon the payment of fifty talents he was set ashore, but forthwith drew out some ships, came up with the pirates, and after he had made them all prisoners, inflicted upon them the punishment, which he had often in raillery threatened them with. Mithridates at that time was wasting the neighbouring countries, and that he might not appear to lie idle in the danger that threatened the allies of Rome, he went over from Rhodes, where he arrived, into Asia; and having got together some troops, and driven the king's viceroy out of the province, he kept the cities, that were now wavering, and inclinable to a revolt, in their duty.

5. *After he was made a military tribune, which was the first honour voted him by the people upon his return to Rome, he very zealously assisted the sticklers for the restoration of the tribunitian authority, which had been very much reduced by Sylla. He likewise recalled from banishment Lucius Cinna, his wife's brother, and those who together with him, had in the late civil disturbance sided with Lepidus, by a bill which Plotius at his instigation preferred to the people, and made himself a speech upon the occasion.*

6. *In his questorship he pronounced funeral orations in praise of his aunt Julia, and his wife Cornelia, according to custom in the rostra. And in the commendation of his aunt, he gives this account of her's and his father's descent both by the father and mother's side.* My aunt Julia was descended by the mother from kings, and by her father from the Gods. For the Marcii Reges, of which family her mother was, derive their pedigree from Ancus Marcius, and the Julii from Venus, of which family our's is a branch; so that we have in our descent the sacred majesty of kings, the

Deorum quorum ipſi in poteſtate ſunt reges. In Corneliæ autem locum Pompejam duxit, Q. Pompeii filiam L. Sullæ neptem: cum qua deinde divortium fecit, adulteratam opinatus a P. Clodio: quem inter publicas cæremonias penetraſſe ad eam muliebri veſte tam conſtans fama erat, ut ſenatus quæſtionem de pollutis ſacris decreverit.

7. Quæſtori ulterior Hiſpania obvenit: ubi cum mandatu prætoris juri dicundo conventus circumiret, Gadeiſq; veniſſet, animadverſa apud Herculis templum Magni Alexandri imagine, ingemuit: et quaſi pertæſus ignaviam ſuam, quod nihil dum a ſe memorabile actum eſſet in ætate qua jam Alexander orbem terrarum ſubegiſſet, miſſionem continuo efflagitavit, ad captandas quam primum majorum rerum occaſiones in urbe. Etiam confuſum eum ſomnio proximæ noctis (nam viſus erat per quietem matri ſtuprum intuliſſe) conjectores ad ampliſſimam ſpem incitaverunt, arbitrium orbis terrarum portendi interpretantes: quando mater, quam ſubjectam ſibi vidiſſet, non alia eſſet quam terra, quæ omnium parens haberetur.

8. Decedens ergo ante tempus, colonias Latinas de petenda civitate agitantes adiit: et ad audendum aliquid concitaſſet, niſi COSS, conſcriptas in Ciliciam legiones pauliſper ob idipſum retinuiſſent: nec eo ſecus majora mox in urbe molitus eſt.

9. Siquidem ante paucos dies, quam ædilitatem iniret, venit in ſuſpicionem conſpiraſſe cum

greateſt among the ſons of men, and the divine majeſty of Gods, to whoſe authority kings themſelves are ſubject. *He married Pompeia the daughter of Q. Pompeius, and grand daughter of L. Sylla, in the room of Cornelia; whom he afterwards put away, upon a ſuſpicion of her having had an intrigue with Publius Clodius; for it was ſo currently reported, that he had found means to come at her in woman's habit, during the performance of a religious ſolemnity, that the ſenate ordered a commiſſion of enquiry about it.*

7. *In his office of quæſtor, Spain fell to his lot; where, when, by commiſſion from the prætor, he was going the circuit of the province, for the adminiſtration of juſtice, and was arrived at Gades, upon ſight of a ſtatue of Alexander the Great, in the temple of Hercules, he fetched a ſigh; and as if deeply concerned at his former inactivity, becauſe nothing memorable had as yet been done by him, at an age, at which Alexander had conquered the world, he immediately ſued for his diſcharge, in order to lay hold upon the firſt opportunity, that might preſent in the city, for greater atchievements. And upon his being much diſturbed at a dream the night after, wherein he fancied he laid with his mother, the interpreters of dreams fill'd him with mighty hopes, pretending that the empire of the world was thereby promiſed him; ſince the mother, he had ſeen thus ſubjected to him, was no other than the earth, the common parent of all men.*

8. *Wherefore quitting the province, before his time in it was up, he apply'd himſelf to the Latin colonies, at that time full of a deſign of ſolliciting for the freedom of Rome; and would have put them upon ſome bold attempt, had not the conſuls, to prevent it, detained for ſome time the legions that had been raiſed for the ſervice of Cilicia; and notwithſtanding ſoon after he made a greater attempt in the city itſelf.*

9. *For a few days before he entered upon the ædileſhip, he fell under a ſuſpicion of engaging in a conſpiracy with M. Craſſus*

M. Craſſo

M. Crasso consulari, item P. Sulla et L. Autronio, post designationem consulatus, ambitus condemnatis, ut principio anni senatum adorirentur: et trucidatis quos placitum esset, dictaturam Crassus invaderet, ipse ab eo magister equitum diceretur, constitutaq; ad arbitrium rep. Sullæ et Autronio consulatus restitueretur. Meminerunt hujus conjurationis Tanusius Geminus in historia, M. Bibulus in edictis, C. Curio pater in orationibus. De hac significare videtur et Cicero in quadam ad Axium epistola, referens, Cæsarem in consulatu confirmasse regnum de quo ædilis cogitarat. Tanusius adjicit, Crassum, pœnitentia vel metu, diem cædi destinatum non obiisse, et idcirco ne Cæsarem quidem signum quod ab eo dari convenerat, dedisse. Convenisse autem Curio ait, ut togam de humero dejiceret. Idem Curio, sed et M. Auctorius Naso, auctores sunt, conspirasse eum etiam cum Cn. Pisone adolescente; cui ob suspicionem urbanæ conjurationis provincia Hispania ultro extra ordinem data sit: pactumq; ut simul foris ille, ipse Romæ, ad res novas consurgerent, per Lambranos et Transpadanos: destitutum utriusque consilium morte Pisonis.

a consular gentleman, Publius Sylla and L. Autronius, who, after they had been chosen consuls, were condemned for bribery, to fall upon the senate, in the beginning of the year, and murder as many of them as should be thought proper for their purpose, upon which Crassus was to have assumed the office of dictator, and appoint him his master of the horse; and then, after they had settled the commonwealth according to their pleasure, the consulship was to be restored to Sylla and Autronius. Tanusius Geminus has taken notice of this conspiracy in his history, as also M. Bibulus in his edicts, and C. Curio the father in his orations. Cicero too seems to hint at the same in a letter to Axius, wherein he says, that Cæsar had in his consulship secured to himself that arbitrary power, he had aspired after when he was Ædile. Tanusius adds, that Crassus from remorse or fear, did not appear upon the day appointed for the massacre of the senate; for which reason Cæsar did not give the signal, which it had been agreed amongst them he should. The agreement Curio says was, that he should slip his toga from his shoulder; the same Curio, and M. Actorius Naso too write, that he was concerned in another conspiracy with young Cn. Piso; to whom, upon a suspicion of some mischief a brewing in the city, the province of Spain was given out of course, by way of prevention. That however it was agreed betwixt them that Piso should make an insurrection against the government abroad, whilst the other did the same in the city, by the means of the people inhabiting the country lying along the river Lambrus, and beyond the Po; but that this design of their's was prevented by the death of Piso.

10. Ædilis, præter comitium ac forum, basilicasq; etiam Capitolium ornavit porticibus ad tempus extructis; in quibus abundante rerum copia, pars apparatus exponeretur. Venationes autem, ludosq; et cum collega et separatim, edidit: quo factum est ut communium quoque impensarum solus gratiam caperet: nec dissimularet colle-

10. *In his ædileship, he not only beautified the comitium, with the rest of the forum, and the courts adjacent, but the capitol too, with piazzas, for the time of his being in office only; that in them he might expose to view part of the vast preparations he was making for the diversion of the people, whom he entertained with the hunting of wild beasts, and plays, both in conjunction with his colleague, and by himself; so that he alone run away with*

ga ejus M. Bibulus eveniſſe ſibi quod Polluci. Ut enim geminis fratribus ædes in foro conſtituta, tantum Caſtoris vocaretur: ita ſuam Cæſariſq; munificentiam, unius Cæſaris dici. Adjecit inſuper Cæſar etiam gladiatorium munus, ſed aliquanto paucioribus quam deſtinaverat paribus. Nam cum multiplici undique familia comparata inimicos exterruiſſet, cautum eſt de numero gladiatorum, quo ne majorem cuiquam habere Romæ liceret.

11. Conciliato populi favore, tentavit per partem tribunorum ut ſibi Ægyptus provincia plebiſcito daretur: nactus extraordinarii imperii occaſionem, quod Alexandrini regem ſuum, ſocium atque amicum a ſenatu appellatum, expulerant, reſq; vulgo improbabatur, nec obtinuit, adverſante optimatium factione; quorum auctoritatem ut quibus poſſet modis invicem diminueret, tropæa C. Marii de Jugurtha, deq; Cimbris atque Teutonis, olim a Sulla disjecta, reſtituit: atque in exercenda de ſicariis quæſtione, eos quoq; ſicariorum numero habuit qui proſcriptione ob relata civium Romanorum capita pecunias ex ærario acceperant, quamquam exceptos Corneliis legibus.

all the credit of the expence they were jointly at, inſomuch that his colleague, M. Bibulus could not forbear taking notice, that he was ſerved juſt like Pollux: for as the temple erected in the forum to the two brothers, was called Caſtor's only; ſo his and Cæſar's munificence was imputed to Cæſar alone. Over and above all the reſt, Cæſar added an entertainment of gladiators, but with fewer pairs than he had deſigned: for having alarmed his enemies with the numerous company of them he had got together from all parts, an act paſt the ſenate, to limit the number of gladiators, which none for the future ſhould be allowed to exceed.

11. Having thus gained the good graces of the people, he engaged a part of the tribunes in a deſign to procure for him the province of Ægypt by a decree of the commons; the pretence for ſuch an extraordinary proceeding was, that the Alexandrians had by violence forced away the king, who had by the ſenate been complimented with the title of an ally and friend of the Roman people, which was reſented by the people in general; but he could not carry his point, by reaſon of the oppoſition from the party of the nobility. And therefore to leſſen their authority, by all the ways and means in his power, he again ſet up the trophies erected in honour of C. Marius, upon account of his conqueſt of Jugurtha, the Cimbri and the Teutoni, that had formerly been demoliſhed by Sylla; and in fitting as judge upon murther, he treated all thoſe as murtherers, who, in the late proſcription, had received money out of the treaſury, for bringing in the heads of ſuch of their fellow citizens as had been proſcribed, tho' they had been excepted by Sylla's own laws.

12. Subornavit etiam qui C. Rabirio perduellionis diem diceret: quo præcipuo adjutore, aliquot ante annos L. Saturnini ſeditioſum tribunatum ſenatus coercuerat: ac ſorte judex in reum ductus, tam cupide condemnavit, ut ad populum provocanti nihil æque ac judicis acerbitas profuerit.

12. He likewiſe procured one to impeach C. Babirius for treaſon, by whoſe aſſiſtance chiefly, the ſenate had a few years before quaſhed the ſeditious deſigns of L. Saturninus the tribune. And being drawn by lot one of the judges of his trial, he diſcovered ſo much eagerneſs to procure ſentence againſt him, that upon his appealing to the people, nothing did him ſo much ſervice as the bitterneſs of his judge.

13. Depoſita provinciæ ſpe, pontificatum maximum petiit,

13. Having laid aſide all hope of the province of Ægypt, he ſtood candidate for

non

non ſine profuſiſſima largitione. In qua reputans magnitudinem æris alieni, cum mane ad comitia deſcenderet, prædixiſſe matri oſculanti fertur, domum ſe niſi pontificem non reverſurum: atq; ita potentiſſimos duos competitores, multumq; et ætate et dignitate antecedentes, ſuperavit, ut plura ipſe in eorum tribubus ſuffragia, quam uterq; in omnibus, tulerit.

14. Prætor creatus, detecta conjuratione Catilinæ, ſenatuq; univerſo in ſocios facinoris ultimam ſtatuent pœnam, ſolus municipatim dividendos, cuſtodiendoſq; publicatis bonis, cenſuit. Quin et tantum metum injecit aſperiora ſuadentibus, identidem oſtentans quanta eos in poſterum a plebe Romana maneret invidia, ut D. Silanum conſulem deſignatum non piguerit ſententiam ſuam, quia mutare turpe erat, interpretatione lenire, velut gravius atque ipſe ſenſiſſet exceptam: obtinuiſſetq; adeo, tranſductis ad ſe jam pluribus, et in his Ciceronis conſulis fratre, niſi labentem ordinem confirmaſſet M. Catonis oratio. Ac ne ſic quidem impedire rem deſtitit, quoaduſque manus equitum Romanorum, quæ armata præſidii cauſſa circumſtabat, immoderatius perſeveranti necem comminata eſt; etiam ſtrictos gladios uſque eo intentans, ut ſedentem una proximi deſeruerint, vix pauci complexu togaq; objecta protexerint. Tunc plane deterritus non modo ceſſit, ſed etiam in reliquum anni tempus Curia abſtinuit.

the office of high-prieſt, not without the moſt profuſe briberyimaginable; upon which, conſidering the greatneſs of the debts he had contracted, he is reported to have ſaid to his mother, when ſhe kiſſed him at his going out in the morning to the election, that he would never come home again, unleſs he was made high-prieſt. And he ſo baffled two competitors of the greateſt power and intereſt in the city, and much ſuperior to him both in age and dignity, that he had more votes in their own tribes, than they both had in all together.

14. Upon his being choſe prætor, Catiline's conſpiracy came out; and tho' the whole ſenate inclined to inflict capital puniſhment upon all ſuch, as ſhould appear to be concerned in that villainy, he alone adviſed to confiſcate their eſtates, and impriſon their perſons ſeparately in the borough-towns of Italy. Nay, and ſtruck ſo great a terror into thoſe that adviſed to greater ſeverities, by now and then repreſenting to them, what a general odium they would in time bring upon themſelves from the commonalty, by ſuch a proceeding, that Decimus Silanus conſul elect thought fit to qualify his advice, becauſe it was not very honourable to change it, by a ſoftening interpretation, as if it had been underſtood in a harſher ſenſe than he deſigned it; and Cæſar would certainly have carried his point, having now brought over a great many to ſide with him, and amongſt them Cicero the conſul's brother, had not a ſpeech of M. Cato's ſpirited up the houſe with new vigor. But notwithſtanding that, he ſtill perſiſted to obſtruct the buſineſs, 'till a body of the equeſtrian order, that ſtood under arms as a guard, upon his purſuing his point with eagerneſs, threatned him with death, holding up their drawn ſwords at him, inſomuch that thoſe that ſat next him moved off, and a few friends with much ado protected him, by getting him in their arms, and holding their togas before him. At which being quite diſcouraged, he not only dropt the matter, but declined his attendance in the houſe for all the reſt of that year.

15. Primo præturæ die Q. Catulum de refectione Capitolii ad diſquiſitionem populi vo-

15. Upon the firſt day of his prætorſhip, he called Q. Catulus to an account before the people about the repairs of the capitol,

cavit,

cavit, rogatione promulgata, qua curationem eam in alium transferebat. Verum impar optimatium conſpirationi, quos relicto ſtatim novorum conſulum officio, frequentes, obſtinatoſq; ad reſiſtendum concurriſſe cernebat, hanc quidem actionem depoſuit.

preferring at the ſame time a bill, for the grant of that commiſſion to another; but not being able to ſtand the ſtrong oppoſition made againſt him by the party of the quality, whom he perceived to quit their attendance upon the new conſuls in great numbers, and fully reſolved to oppoſe him, he dropped the deſign.

16. Cæterum Cæcilio Metello Tribun. pleb. turbulentiſſimas leges adverſus collegarum interceſſionem ferenti, auctorem propugnatoremq; ſe pertinaciſſime præſtitit: donec ambo adminiſtratione reipub. decreto patrum ſummoverentur. Ac nihilo minus permanere in magiſtratu, et jus dicere auſus, ut comperit paratos, qui vi ac per arma prohiberent, dimiſſis lictoribus abjectaq; prætexta, domum clam refugit, pro conditione temporum quieturus. Multitudinem quoq; biduo poſt ſponte et ultro confluentem, operamq; ſibi in aſſerenda dignitate tumultuoſius pollicentem, compeſcuit. Quod cum præter opinionem eveniſſet, ſenatus ob eundem cœtum feſtinato coactus gratias ei per primores viros egit: acceitumq; in Curiam, et ampliſſimis verbis collaudatum, in integrum reſtituit inducto priore decreto.

16. *He likewiſe ſtood very reſolutely by Cæcilius Metellus tribune of the commons, in his preferring ſome very ſeditious bill to the people, in ſpite of all oppoſition from his colleagues, till they were both by a vote of the houſe diſplaced. He ventured notwithſtanding to continue in his office, of adminiſtering juſtice; but finding ſome prepared to hinder him by force of arms, he diſmiſſed his officers, threw off his gown, and got privately home with a reſolution to be quiet, ſince the times run ſo ſtrong againſt him. He likewiſe pacified the mob, that in two days after gathered about him, and in a riotous manner offered him their aſſiſtance, for the vindication of his honour. Which happening contrary to expectation, the ſenate, who had met in all haſte upon occaſion of this tumult, gave him their thanks by ſome of their leading members of the houſe, ſent for him, and after they had highly commended his behaviour, cancelled their former vote, and reſtored him to his place.*

17. Recidit rurſus in diſcrimen aliud, inter ſocios Catilinæ nominatus: et apud Novium Nigrum quæſtorem a L. Vettio indice, et in ſenatu a Q. Curio: cui, quod primus concilia conjuratorum detexerat, conſtituta erant publice præmia. Curius e Catilina ſe cognoviſſe dicebat: Vettius etiam chirographum ejus Catilinæ datum pollicebatur. Id vero Cæſar nullo modo tolerandum exiſtimans, cum implorato Ciceronis teſtimonio, quædam ſe de conjuratione ultro ad eum detuliſſe docuiſſet, ne Curio præmia da-

17. *But he fell again into a freſh danger, being named among the accomplices of Catiline, both before Novius Niger the queſtor, by the informer L. Vettius, and in the ſenate by Q. Curius; for whom rewards had been voted in conſideration of his having firſt diſcovered the deſigns of the conſpirators. Curius ſaid he received his information from Catiline: Vettius likewiſe promiſed to produce his own hand writing in evidence againſt him, which he had given Catiline. Cæſar reſenting this uſage as intolerable, appealed to Cicero himſelf, if he had not voluntarily made a diſcovery to him of ſome particulars of the conſpiracy, and ſo baulked Curius of the rewards deſigned him. Vettius he obliged to*

rentur,

rentur, effecit: Vettium pignoribus captis, et direpta suppellectile male multatum, ac pro rostris in concione pæne discerptum, conjecit in carcerem: eodem Novium quæstorem, quod compellari apud se majorem potestatem passus esset.

18. Ex prætura ulteriorem sortitus Hispaniam, retinentes creditores interventu sponsorum removit: ac neq; more, neq; jure, antequam provinciæ ornarentur, profectus est: incertum metune judicii, quod privato parabatur, an quo maturius sociis implorantibus subveniret. Pacataque provincia, pari festinatione, non expectato successore, ad triumphum simul consulatumq; decessit. Sed cum edictis jam comitiis ratio ejus haberi non posset, nisi privatus introisset urbem, et ambienti ut legibus solveretur, multi contradicerent, coactus est triumphum, ne consulatu excluderetur, dimittere.

give pledges to answer for his behaviour, sold off his goods; and after he had been sadly mauled, and almost torn in pieces, in an assembly of the people at the Rostra, threw him in prison: which he likewise did by Novius the questor, for presuming to take an information against a magistrate of superior authority.

18. *After his prætorship he got by lot the province of further Spain, and got rid of his creditors, that were for stopping him, by giving them security; and contrary to both law and custom, went off, before the usual allowance from the treasury was made him for his equipage: whether from the apprehension of an impeachment, after the expiration of his office, which was intended; or out of haste to relieve the allies, that earnestly desired his presence, is uncertain. And after he had brought the province to a peaceable settlement, did with the same haste, and without waiting for his successor, leave it, to sue for a triumph and the consulship. But as the day of election was already fixed by proclamation, and consequently he could not be admitted as a candidate, unless he entered the town as a private person, he sued hard for a suspension of the laws in his favour; but as this was much opposed, he found himself obliged to lay aside the thoughts of a triumph, lest he should be baulked of the consulship.*

19. E duobus consulatus competitoribus, L. Luceio, M. que Bibulo, Luceium sibi adjunxit: pactus ut is, quoniam inferior gratia esset pecuniaq; polleret, nummos de suo communi nomine per centurias pronuntiaret. Qua cognita re optimates, quos metus ceperat, nihil non ausurum eum in summo magistratu, concordi et consentiente collega, auctores Bibulo fuerunt tantumdem pollicendi; ac pleriq; pecunias contulerunt, ne Catone quidem abneunte eam largitionem a rep. fieri. Igitur cum Bibulo consul creatus est. Eandem ob causam opera optimatibus data est ut provinciæ futuris coss. minimi negotii, id est, silvæ callesq;

19. *Of the two competitors for the consulship, L. Luceius and M. Bibulus, he joined with Luceius, upon condition that he being a person of less interest but longer purse, should in the name of them both promise the burgesses money. Upon which the party of the nobility, fearing he would push at all in that high office, with a colleague of his own kidney, advised Bibulus to promise as much, and most of them contributed to raise the money; Cato himself acknowledging that bribery upon such an occasion was for the publick good. Accordingly he was made consul with Bibulus. For the same reason the noble party took care to assign provinces of small importance to the new consuls, such as the care of woods and roads. At which affront being most highly incensed, he endeavoured by all imaginable civilities to gain Pompey, who was at that time out of humour with the senate, for the*

decernerentur. Qua maxime injuria instinctus, omnibus officiis Cn. Pompeium assectatus est, offensum patribus, quod Mithridate rege victo, cunctantius confirmarentur acta sua: Pompejoque M. Crassum reconciliavit, veterem inimicum ex consulatu, quem summa discordia simul gesserant; ac societatem cum utroq; iniit, ne quid ageretur in rep. quod displicuisset ulli e tribus.

backwardness they shewed to confirm his acts, after the conquest of Mithridates. He likewise reconciled M. Crassus to Pompey, who had been his enemy from the time of their being consuls together, in which office they were continually clashing; and entered into an agreement with both, that nothing should be transacted in the government, that was displeasing to any one of the three.

20. Inito honore, primus omnium instituit ut tam senatus quam populi diurna acta conficerentur, et publicarentur. Antiquum etiam retulit morem, ut quo mense fasces non haberet, accensus ante eum iret, lictores pone sequerentur. Lege autem agraria promulgata, obnuntiantem collegam armis foro expulit. Ac postero die in senatu conquestum, nec quoquam reperto qui super tali consternatione referre aut censere aliquid auderet, qualia multa sæpe in levioribus turbis decreta erant, in eam coegit desperationem, ut quoad potestate abiret, domo abditus nihil aliud quam per edicta obnuntiaret. Unus ex eo tempore omnia in rep. et ad arbitrium administravit: ut nonnulli urbanorum, cum quid per jocum testandi gratia signarent, non Cæsare & Bibulo, sed Julio et Cæsare coss. actum scriberent, bis eundem præponentes, nomine atque cognomine: utque vulgo mox ferentur hi versus:

20. *After he was entered upon his office, he ordered the acts of the senate and people too, to be daily committed to writing and published, which had never been done before: and revived an old custom, of having an accensus walk before him, and his lictors follow him, every other month that he had not the fasces. Upon his preferring a bill to the people for a division of some publick lands, he was opposed by his colleague, but drove him out of the forum. This he complained of the day after in the senate, but no body having the courage to move or advise the house upon such a consternation, which yet had been often done upon less disturbances, he was so discouraged, that 'till he quitted his office, he kept close at home, and only endeavoured to obstruct proceedings by his proclamations. From that time therefore Cæsar had the sole management of all affairs in his hands, insomuch that some wags, when they signed any writing as witnesses, did not add in the consulship of Cæsar and Bibulus, but of Julius and Cæsar; putting the same person down twice, under his name and surname. And the following verses too were in every body's mouth.*

Non Bibulo quidquam nuper sed Cæsare factum est;
Nam Bibulo fieri consule nil memini.

Nothing was done in Bibulus's Year;
No, Cæsar only was late consul here.

Campum Stellatem majoribus consecratum, agrumque Campanum ad subsidia reip. vectigalem relictum, divisit extra sortem, ac xx millibus civium, quibus terni plureve liberi es-

The land of Stella consecrated by our ancestors to the Gods, and some other land of Campania left liable to tribute, to support the expences of the government, he divided, but not by lot, to above twenty thousand freemen, that had each of them three or

sent.

sent. Publicanos remissionem petentes, tertia mercedum parte relevavit: ac ne in locatione novorum vectigalium immoderatius licerentur, propalam monuit. Cætera item quæ cuiq; libuissent, dilargitus est, contradicente nullo, ac si conaretur quis, absterrito. M. Catonem interpellantem extrahi curia per lictorem, ducique in carcerem jussit. L. Lucullo liberius resistenti tantum calumniarum metum injecit, ut ad genua ultro sibi accideret. Cicerone in judicio quodam deplorante temporum statum, P. Clodium inimicum ejus frustra jam pridem a patribus ad plebem transire nitentem, eodem die, horaque nona, traduxit. Postremo in universos diversæ factionis induxit Vettium præmiis, ut se de inferenda Pompejo nece solicitatum a quibusdam profiteretur, productiq; pro rostris auctores ex compacto nominaret: sed uno atque altero frustra nec sine suspicione fraudis nominatis, desperans tam præcipitis consilii eventum, intercepisse veneno indicem creditur.

21. Sub idem tempus Calpurniam L. Pisonis filiam, successuri sibi in consulatu, duxit uxorem: suamque Juliam Cn. Pompejo collocavit, repudiato priore sponso Servilio Cæpione, cujus vel præcipua opera paullo ante Bibulum impugnaverat. Ac post novam affinitatem, Pompejum primum rogare sententiam cœpit, cum Crassum soleret: esset*que* consuetudo ut quem ordinem interrogandi sententias consul Kalend. Januariis instituisset, eum toto anno conservaret.

22. Socero igitur generoque suffragantibus, ex omni provinciarum copia Gallias potissimum

more children. He eased the publicans, upon their petition, of a third part of the sum they had promised for that year's revenue; and publickly admonished them, not to bid so extravagantly upon the next occasion. All other things he disposed of at pleasure, without the least opposition from any body; or if any one did make an offer that way, he was soon discouraged. M. Cato that interrupted him in his proceedings, he ordered to be pulled out of the senate-house by an officer, and carried to prison. L. Lucullus too that opposed him pretty warmly, he so terrified with the apprehension of false accusation, that he threw himself at his knees. And upon Cicero's lamenting in some trial the miserable condition of the times, he the very same day by nine o'clock, brought over his enemy P. Clodius from the nobility to the commons, which he himself had a long time attempted in vain. At last, to strike a terror upon all those of the opposite party, he by great rewards persuaded Vettius to declare, that he had been sollicited by certain gentlemen to assassinate Pompey; and when he was brought upon the rostra to name such as had been agreed on betwixt them, after he had named one or two to no purpose, not without great suspicion of foul play, Cæsar despairing of success in this rash enterprize, is supposed to have taken off his informer by poison.

21. *About the same time he married Calpurnia, the daughter of L. Piso, that was to succeed him in the consulship, and gave his own daughter Julia to Pompey, rejecting Servilius Cæpio, whom she had before been contracted to, and by whose means chiefly he had but a little before baffled Bibulus. After this new alliance he begun upon any debates in the senate, to ask Pompey's opinion first; whereas he used before that to ask M. Crassus: and the way was for the consul to keep all the year through to the method of consulting the house, which he began with the first of January.*

22. *Wherefore being now supported by the interest of his father and son-in-law, of all the provinces he made choice of Gaul*

 elegit,

elegit, cujus emolumento & opportunitate idonea sit materia triumphorum. Et initio quidem Galliam Cisalpinam, Illyrico adjecto, lege Vatinia accepit: mox per senatum, Comatam quoque; veritis patribus ne si ipsi negassent, populus et hanc daret. Quo gaudio elatus, non temperavit quin paucos post dies frequenti curia jactaret, invitis et gementibus adversariis, adeptum se quæ concupisset: proinde ex eo insultaturum omnium capitibus; ac negante quodam per contumeliam *Facile hoc ulli fœminæ fore*, responderit, quasi alludens, *In Assyria quoque regnasse Semiramin, magnamque Asiæ partem Amazonas tenuisse quondam.*

23. Functus consulatu, C. Memmio Lucioque Domitio prætoribus, de superioris anni actis referentibus, cognitionem senatui detulit: nec illo suscipiente, triduoq; per irritas altercationes absumto, in provinciam abiit: & statim quæstor ejus in præjudicium aliquot criminibus arreptus est. Mox & ipse a L. Antistio tribuno plebis postulatus, appellato demum collegio, obtinuit, cum reip. caussa abesset, reus ne fieret. Ad securitatem ergo posteri temporis, in magno negotio habuit obligare semper annuos magistratus, et e competitoribus, non alios adjuvare, aut ad honorem pati pervenire, quam qui sibi pepigissent, propugnaturos absentiam suam: cujus pacti non dubitavit a quibusdam jusjurandum atq; etiam syngraphum exigere.

24. Sed cum L. Domitius consulatus candidatus palam minaretur, cos. se effecturum quod prætor nequisset, ademturumq; ei exercitus; Crassum Pompe-

as most likely to furnish him with matter and occasion for triumphs. At first indeed he had but Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum given him by a bill of Vatinius to the people; but soon after he obtained by the senate Gallia Comata too, the house being apprehensive if they did not give it him, the people would. Upon which being transported with joy he could not forbear boasting in a full house a few days after, that he had, in spite of his enemies, and to their great mortification, got all he desired, and should for the future play upon them at pleasure; and some body smartly replying, That that would not be very easy for a woman to do, *he merrily answered again,* that Semiramis had formerly reigned in Assyria, and the Amazons been masters of a great part of Asia.

23. *After he was out of his consulship, upon C. Memmius and L. Domitius the prætors moving the senate, with relation to the transactions of the year past, he offered to refer himself to the house; but they declining the business, after three days spent in vain wrangling, he went into his province; but immediately his quæstor was impeached for several misdemeanors, by way of prelude to the future condemnation of Cæsar. And soon after he himself was prosecuted by L. Antistius tribune of the commons; but by making his appeal to the rest of the body he prevailed, since he was absent from town in the service of his country, to have his prosecution taken off. To secure himself therefore for the time to come, he made it his business always to oblige the magistrates of every year, and to assist none of the candidates with his interest, nor suffer any to be advanced to any post whatever, that would not undertake to stand by him in his absence; for which purpose he made no scruple to require of some an oath, and even a note under their hands.*

24. *But when L. Domitius stood for the consulship, and openly threatened that he would, when consul, effect what he could not, when he was prætor, and would take his armies from him, he sent for*

jumq;

jumq; in urbem provinciæ suæ Lucam extractos compulit ut detrudendi Domitii causſa consulatum alterum peterent: et ut quinquennium sibi imperium propagaretur: perfecitq; utrumque. Qua fiducia ad legiones quas a rep. acceperat, alias privatu sumtu addidit: unam etiam ex Transalpinis conscriptam, vocabulo quoq; Gallico (Alauda enim appellabatur:) quam disciplina cultuq; Romano institutam et ornatam, postea universam civitate donavit. Nec deinde ulla belli occasione, ne injusti quidem ac periculosi, abstinuit, tam fœderatis quam infestis ac feris gentibus ultro lacessitis: adeo ut senatus quondam legatos ad explorandum statum Galliarum mittendos decreverit, ac nonnulli dedendum eum hostibus censuerint. Sed prospere decedentibus rebus, et sæpius et plurium quam quisquam unquam dierum supplicationes impetravit.

Crassus and Pompey to Luca, a city of his province, and obliged them to stand again for the consulship, in order to baulk Domitius, and to continue him in his command for five years longer; and succeeded in both. Upon which he had the assurance to add, at his own private charge, more legions to those he had received from the government; one raised in Transalpine Gaul, and called by a Gallick name, Alauda, which he trained and armed after the Roman fashion, and afterwards made the whole free of the city. After this he declined no occasion of war, though never so unjust and dangerous, attacking as well our allies, as the wild nations that were enemies to Rome: insomuch that the senate appointed commissioners to go and examine into the condition of Gaul; and some members of the house advised the delivering of him up to the enemy. But being successful in all his enterprizes, he had more days of thanksgiving appointed in his honour, and oftener than any before him ever had.

25. Gessit autem novem annis, quibus in imperio fuit, hæc fere. Omnem Galliam, quæ a saltu Pyrenæ Alpibusq; et monte Gebenna, fluminibus Rheno et Rhodano continetur, patetq; circumitu ad bis et tricies centum millia passuum, præter socias ac bene meritas civitates, in provinciæ formam redegit: eique, quadringenties in singulos annos stipendii nomine imposuit. Germanos, qui trans Rhenum incolunt, primus Romanorum ponte fabricato aggressus, maximis affecit cladibus. Aggressus est et Britannos, ignotos antea, superatisq; pecunias et obsides imperavit. Per tot successus ter, nec amplius, adversum casum expertus: in Britannia, classe vi tempestatis prope absumta: et in Gallia, ad Gergoviam legione fusa: et in Germanorum finibus, Titurio et Aurunculeio legatis per insidias cæsis.

25. In the nine years of his command, he reduced all Gaul, bounded by the Pyrenæan, the Alps, mount Gebenna, and the two rivers of the Rhine and Rhone, and being about three thousand two hundred miles in compass, into the form of a province, excepting only our allies, and such nations as had deserved well of him; and laid a yearly tax upon it of forty millions of sesterces. He first of all the Romans pass'd the Rhine by a bridge against the Germans, and gave them several considerable defeats. He likewise invaded the Britons, and after he had overthrown them in battle, exacted contributions and hostages from them. Amidst so many successes he met with ill fortune but thrice, once in Britain when his fleet was almost destroyed by a storm; and in Gaul at Gergovia, where a legion of his was put to the rout; and in the country of the Germans, his lieutenants Titurius and Aurunculeius were cut off by an ambuscade.

26. Eodem

26. Eodem temporis ſpatio matrem primo, deinde filiam, nec multo poſt neptem, amiſit. Inter quæ conſternata P. Clodii cæde rep. cum ſenatus unum coſ. nominatimque Cn. Pompeium fieri cenſuiſſet, egit cum tribunis plebis, collegam ſe Pompejo deſtinantibus, id potius ad populum ferrent, ut abſenti ſibi, quandoque imperii tempus expleri cœpiſſet, petitio ſecundi conſulatus daretur: ne ea cauſſa maturius, et imperfecto adhuc bello decederet. Quod ut adeptus eſt, altiora jam meditans, et ſpei plenus, nullum largitionis, aut officiorum in quemquam genus publice privatimque omiſit. Forum de manubiis inchoavit, cujus area ſuper HS. millies conſtitit. Munus populo, epulumque pronuntiavit in filiæ memoriam, quod ante eum nemo. Quorum ut quam maxima exſpectatio eſſet, ea quæ ad epulum pertinerent, quamvis macellariis oblocata, etiam domeſticatim apparabat. Gladiatores notos, ſicubi infeſtis ſpectatoribus dimicarent, vi rapiendos reſervandoſque mandabat. Tirones neque in ludo, neque per laniſtas, ſed in domibus per equites Romanos, ac etiam per ſenatores armorum peritos erudiebat: precibus enitens, quod epiſtolis ejus oſtenditur, ut diſciplinam ſingulorum ſuſciperent, ipſique dictata exercentibus darent. Legionibus ſtipendium in perpetuum duplicavit. Frumentum, quoties copia eſſet, etiam ſine modo menſuraque præbuit: ac ſingula interdum mancipia & prædia viritim dedit.

27. Ad retinendam autem Pompeii neceſſitudinem ac vo-

26. *During this time he loſt his mother firſt, then his daughter, and not long after his grand-daughter. And in the mean while the government being alarmed with the murther of P. Clodius, and the ſenate with an eye to Pompey, paſſing a vote, that only one conſul ſhould be choſen for the year enſuing, he prevailed with the tribunes of the commons, who deſign'd to join him with Pompey, to propoſe a bill to the people, to enable him to ſtand candidate for a ſecond conſulſhip in his abſence, when the time of his command ſhould be near expiring, that he might not be obliged upon that account to quit his province too ſoon, and before the war was ended. After he had compaſſed this point, carrying his views ſtill higher, and big with the hopes of ſucceſs, he let ſlip no opportunity of ſhewing his generoſity, and obliging every body by all manner of good offices, both publickly and privately. He begun a new forum with money raiſed from the ſpoils of the war; the ground plot of which coſt him above a hundred millions of ſeſterces. He promiſed the people a publick entertainment of gladiators, and a feaſt in memory of his daughter, which no body ever did before him. And to raiſe their expectations to the higheſt, tho' he had agreed with the victuallers of all denominations for his feaſt, yet he made further preparations in private houſes, up and down the town. He gave order to have the moſt celebrated gladiators, if at any time they fought under the diſadvantage of the people's diſpleaſure, to be carried off by force, and reſerved for further uſe. Young gladiators he trained up not in the ſchool, and by the maſters of defence, but in gentlemen's houſes by Roman knights, and even ſenators, ſkilled in the uſe of arms; earneſtly beſeeching them, as appears from his letters, to take the trouble of inſtructing them upon them, and give them leſſons themſelves. He doubled the pay of the legions for ever, and allowed them corn, as oft as he had plenty, without ſtint or meaſure, and ſometimes diſtributed to every ſoldier in his army a ſlave, and a piece of land, or a houſe.*

27. *To keep up an alliance and a good underſtanding with Pompey, he offered*

luntatem,

luntatem, Octaviam sororis suæ neptem, quæ C. Marcello nupta erat, conditione ei detulit, filiq; filiam ejus in matrimonium petiit, Fausto Sullæ destinatam. Omnibus vero circa eum, atq; etiam parte magna senatus, gratuito, aut levi fœnore obstrictis, ex reliquo quoq; ordinum genere vel invitatos, vel sponte ad se commeantes, uberrimo congiario prosequebatur: libertos insuper, servulosque cujusque prout domino patronove gratus quis esset. Tum reorum aut obæratorum, aut prodigæ juventutis subsidium unicum ac promptissimum erat: nisi quos gravior criminum, vel inopiæ luxuriæve vis urgeret, quam ut subveniri posset a se: his plane palam bello civili opus esse dicebat.

him in marriage Octavia his sister's grand daughter, who had been married to C. Marcellus, and desired his daughter for himself, who had been contracted to Faustus Sylla. And took care to oblige all about him, and a great part of the senate too, by the loan of money upon low interest, or none at all; and was very free of his presents to all others, that came to wait upon him, either upon his invitation, or of their own accord; not neglecting even freedmen, and slaves that were favourites with their masters and patrons. And then he was a sure and never failing succour to persons under prosecution, or in debt, or prodigal young gentlemen, unless those whose load of guilt, poverty, or luxury, was such, that it was impossible for him effectually to relieve them. These he openly declared there was no help for, but from a civil war.

28. Nec minore studio reges atq; provincias per terrarum orbem alliciebat: aliis captivorum millia dono offerens: aliis citra senatus populique auctoritatem quo vellent, et quoties vellent, auxilia submittens; superq; Italiæ, Galliarumque et Hispaniarum, Asiæ quoq; et Græciæ potentissimas urbes præcipuis operibus exornans: donec attonitis jam omnibus, et quorsum illa tenderent reputantibus, M. Claudius Marcellus cos. edicto præfatus de summa se rep. acturum, retulit ad senatum ut ei succederetur ante tempus: quoniam bello confecto pax esset, ac dimitti deberet victor exercitus: et ne absentis ratio comitiis haberetur, quando nec plebiscito Pompejus postea abrogasset. Acciderat autem ut is legem de jure magistratuum ferens, eo capite quo a petitione honorum absentes submovebat, ne Cæsarem quidem excipiet, per oblivionem:

28. *Nor did he with less application endeavour to engage in his interest princes, and provinces, all the world over; presenting some with thousands of prisoners, and sending troops to the assistance of others, without any authority from the senate and people of Rome for it, whither they would, and as oft as they would; beautifying with extraordinary publick buildings the most potent cities not only of Italy, Gaul, and Spain, but Asia too and Greece; 'till all people being now astonished, and guessing at the design of these proceedings, Claudius Marcellus the consul declaring first by proclamation, that he design'd to go upon matters of the utmost concern to the publick, made a motion in the senate, that some body should be appointed to succeed Cæsar in his province, before his time in it was up, because the war was at an end, and all quiet there, and it was fit that the victorious army should be disbanded. He further moved that, as he was absent, his suit at the next election for consuls should not be allowed, because Pompey had not abrogated that act of the people by their consent. Now Pompey, in his law relating to the choice of magistrates, had forgot to except Cæsar in the article wherein he declared all*

ac

ac mox lege jam in æs inciſa, et in ærarium condita, corrigeret errorem. Nec contentus Marcellus provincias Cæſari et privilegium eripere, retulit etiam ut colonis quos rogatione Vatinia Novum Comum deduxiſſet, civitas adimeretur: quod per ambitionem et ultra præſcriptum dat eſſet.

29. Commotus his Cæſar, ac judicans, quod ſæpe ex eo auditum ferunt, difficilius ſe principem civitatis a primo ordine in ſecundum, quam ex ſecundo in noviſſimum detrudi, ſumma ope reſtitit, partim per interceſſores tribunos, partim per Servium Sulpicium alterum conſulem. Inſequenti quoq; anno, C. Marcello, qui fratri patrueli ſuo Marco in conſulatu ſucceſſerat, eadem tentante, collegam ejus Æmilium Paullum, Cajumque Curionem, violentiſſimum tribunorum ingenti mercede defenſores paravit. Sed cum obſtinatius omnia agi videret, et deſignatos etiam coſſ. e parte diverſa, ſenatum literis deprecatus eſt, ne ſibi beneficium populi adimeretur: aut ut cæteri quoq; imperatores ab exercitibus diſcederent: confiſus, ut putant, facilius ſe, ſimulatq; libuiſſet, veteranos convocaturum, quam Pompejum novos milites. Cum adverſariis autem pepigit, ut dimiſſis octo legionibus, Tranſalpinaq; Gallia, duæ ſibi legiones, et Ciſalpina provincia, vel etiam una legio cum Illyrico, concederetur quoad coſ. fieret.

30. Verum neq; ſenatu interveniente, et adverſariis negantibus ullam ſe de rep. facturos pactionem, tranſiit in citeri-

ſuch as were not preſent uncapable of being candidates for any poſt in the government; and ſoon afterwhen the lawwas now inſcribed upon a copper-plate, and laid up in the treaſury, corrected his miſtake. Nor was Marcellus content with depriving Cæſar of his provinces, and the favour d.ſign'd him byPompey, but he likewiſe moved the houſe, that the freedom of the city ſhould be taken from thoſe planters, he had byVatinius's law ſettled at Novum Comum; becauſe it had been given them with an ambitious view, and contrary to the direction of the law.

29. *Cæſar being alarmed at theſe proceedings, and thinking, as he was often heard to ſay, that it would be a more difficult matter to bring him down, now he was at the head of the government, from the firſt rank of citizens into the ſecond, than from the ſecond to the loweſt of all, he made a vigorous oppoſition, partly by the tribunes, who interpoſed in his behalf, and partly by Ser. Sulpicius the other conſul. And when C. Marcellus, who ſucceeded his couſin Mark in the conſulſhip the year following, purſued the ſame meaſures, he engaged by a round ſum of money, his colleague Æmilius Paulus and C. Curio the hotteſt of all the tribunes, in his defence. But finding all things carried againſt him with a high hand, and that the conſuls elect too were of the party, he wrote a letter to the ſenate, to beg of them, they would not deny him the kindneſs the people intended him; or elſe that other gentlemen at the head of the armies of the commonwealth, ſhould reſign their ſeveral commands as well as himſelf; not doubting, as it's thought, but he could more eaſily call together his old ſoldiers, whenever he pleaſed, than Pompey could his new-raiſed troops. He likewiſe made his adverſaries an offer to part with eight of his legions, and Tranſalpine Gaul, provided he might keep two legions, with the Ciſalpine province, or but one legion with Illyricum, 'till he was made conſul.*

30. *But as the ſenate did not think fit to interpoſe in the affair, and his enemies declared, that they would not barter away the intereſts of their country, he advanc'd*

orem

orem Galliam : conventibusq; peractis, Ravennæ substitit, bello vindicaturus, si quid de tribunis plebis intercedentibus pro se gravius a senatu constitutum esset. Et prætextum quidem illi civilium armorum hoc fuit : causas autem alias fuisse opinantur. Cn. Pompejus ita dictitabat, quod neq; opera consummare quæ instituerat, neq; populi exspectationem, quam de adventu suo fecerat, privatis opibus explere posset, turbare omnia ac permiscere voluisse. Alii timuisse dicunt ne eorum quæ primo consulatu adversus auspicia legesq; et intercessiones gessisset, rationem reddere cogeretur : cum M. Cato identidem, nec sine jurejurando, denuntiaret, delaturum se nomen ejus, simul ac primum exercitum dimisisset : cumq; vulgo fore prædicarent ut si privatus rediisset, Milonis exemplo circumpositis armatis causam apud judices diceret. Quod probabilius facit Asinius Pollio, Pharsalica acie cæsos profligatosq; adversarios prospicientem, hæc eum ad verbum dixisse referens, *Hoc voluerunt : tantis rebus gestis C. Cæsar condemnatus essem, nisi ab exercitu auxilium petiissem.* Quidam putant captum imperii consuetudine, pensitatisq; suis et inimicorum viribus, usum occasione rapiendæ dominationis, quam ætate prima concupisset. Quod existimasse videbatur et Cicero, scribens de officiis tertio libro, semper Cæsarem in ore habuisse Euripidis versus, quos sic ipse convertit :

into hither Gaul, and having gone the circuit of the province for the holding of assizes, he made a halt at Ravenna, resolving to avenge himself by war, if the senate came to any severe resolution against the tribunes that, in his behalf, interposed to stop their proceedings. And this was indeed his pretence for engaging in a war with his country; but it's supposed there was at bottom other reasons for it. Cn. Pompeius used frequently to say, that because he was not able, with all the state he was worth, to finish the works he had begun, and answer the vast expectations he had raised in the people of mighty things from him at his return, he was resolved to throw all things into confusion. Others say, he was apprehensive of being called to an account for what he had done in his first consulship, contrary to the auspicia, laws, and authority of the tribunes ; since M. Cato now and then declared, and with an oath too, that he would impeach him, as soon as he had disbanded his army ; and it was commonly talked, that if he returned a private person, he would, like Milo, be tried with a guard to attend the court. Which Asinius Pollio renders highly probable ; for he says, that, upon viewing the vanquished and slaughtered enemy in the field of Pharsalia, he said these very words. This they designed : I C. Cæsar, after all the great things I have performed, must have undergone a sentence of condemnation, had I not desired the assistance of my army. *Some think, that being grown fond of power from his long continuance in it, and having weighed his own and his enemies' strength, he laid hold of that occasion of seizing the government : of which opinion Cicero seemed to be, who writes in his third book of Offices, that Cæsar used to have frequently in his mouth two verses of Euripides, which he translates in the following manner :*

Nam si violandum est jus, regnandi gratia,
Violandum est, aliis rebus pietatem colas.

Let nothing but the hopes of royal sway
'Tempt man the rule of right to disobey.

31. Cum ergo ſublatam tribunorum interceſſionem, ipſoſque urbe ceſſiſſe nuntiatum eſt, præmiſſis confeſtim clam cohortibus, ne qua ſuſpicio moveretur, et ſpectaculo publico per diſſimulationem interfuit, et formam, qua ludum gladiatorum erat ædificaturus conſideravit, et ex conſuetudine convivio ſe frequenti dedit. Dein poſt ſolis occaſum, mulis e proximo piſtrino ad vehiculum junctis, occultiſſimum iter modico comitatu ingreſſus eſt: et cum luminibus extinctis deceſſiſſet via, diu errabundus, tandem ad lucem duce reperto, per anguſtiſſimos tramites pedibus evaſit: conſecutuſq; cohortes ad Rubiconem flumen, qui provinciæ ejus finis erat, paullum conſtitit: ac reputans quantum moliretur, converſus ad proximos, *Etiam nunc*, inquit, *regredi poſſumus: quod ſi ponticulum tranſierimus, omnia armis agenda erunt.*

31. *Wherefore when news was brought, that the interpoſition of the tribunes in his favour had been utterly rejected, and that they themſelves had fled out of the town, he forthwith privately diſpatched away ſome battalions, and to prevent all ſuſpicion of his deſign, he attended at a publick ſhow, examined the model of a fencing-ſchool he was a going to build, and ſat down to table with his friends about him as uſual. But after ſun-ſet, having clapped to his chaiſe mules from a neighbouring bake-houſe, he put himſelf upon his journey, with all poſſible privacy, and a ſmall retinue. But his lights going out, he loſt his way, and wandered about a long time, 'till by the help of a guide he light on at break of day, he got on foot through ſome narrow paths into the road again; and coming up with his troops on the banks of the river Rubicon, which was the boundary of his province, he ſtood muſing for ſome time upon the greatneſs of his attempt; and then turning to thoſe about him,* We may ſtill retreat, *ſays he*; but if we paſs this little bridge, we muſt make our way by force of arms.

32. Cunctanti oſtentum tale factum eſt. Quidam eximia magnitudine et forma, in proximo ſedens, repente apparuit, arundine canens: ad quem audiendum, cum præter paſtores, plurimi etiam ex ſtationibus milites concurriſſent, interque eos et æneatores, rapta ab uno tuba profiluit ad flumen: et ingenti ſpiritu claſſicum exorſus pertendit ad alteram ripam. Tunc Cæſar, *Eatur*, inquit, *quo deorum oſtenta, et inimicorum iniquitas vocat: jacta alea eſt*, inquit.

32. *Whilſt he was demurring upon the matter, there happened ſomething very ſtrange. A proper graceful perſon all on a ſudden appeared hard by, ſitting and playing upon a pipe; and a great many, not only ſhepherds, but ſoldiers too upon duty, and amongſt them ſome trumpeters, flocking to hear him, he ſnatched a trumpet from one of them, ran to the river with it, and ſounding an alarm with a prodigious blaſt advanced to the other ſide; upon which Cæſar cried out,* Let us march whither divine prodigies, and the perverſeneſs of our enemies call us. The die is now caſt, *ſays he.*

33. Atque ita trajecto exercitu, adhibitis tribunis pleb. qui pulſi ſupervenerant, pro concione fidem militum flens, ac veſte a pectore diſciſſa, invocavit. Exiſtimatur etiam equeſtres cenſus pollicitus ſingulis:

33. *And accordingly drawing his army over the river, and attended by the tribunes of the commons who, upon their being forced from the city, were come up to him, he did at the head of his troops, with tears in his eyes, and his cloaths tore away from his breaſt, implore their protection. He is ſup-*

quod

quod accidit opinione falsa. Nam cum alloquendo exhortandoque sæpius digitum lævæ manus ostentans, affirmavit se ad satisfaciendum omnibus, per quos dignitatem suam defensurus esset, annulum quoque æquo animo detracturum sibi: extrema concio, cui facilius erat videre concionantem, quam audire, pro dicto accepit quod visu suspicabatur; promissumque jus annulorum cum millibus quadringenis fama distulit.

34. Ordo et summa rerum quas deinceps gessit, sic se habent. Picenum, Umbriam, Etruriam occupavit: et L. Domitio, qui per tumultum successor ei nominatus, Corfinium præsidio tenebat, in deditionem redacto, atque dimisso, secundum superum mare Brundisium tetendit, quo COSS. Pompeiusq; confugerant, quam primum transfretaturi. Hos frustra per omnes moras exitu prohibere conatus, Romam iter convertit: appellatisque de rep. patribus, validissimas Pompeii copias, quæ sub tribus legatis M. Petreio, et L. Afranio, et M. Varrone in Hispania erant, invasit: professus ante inter suos, *ire se ad exercitum sine duce, et inde reversurum ad ducem sine exercitu.* Et quamquam obsidione Massiliæ, quæ sibi in itinere portas clauserat, summaque frumentariæ rei penuria retardante, brevi tamen omnia subegit.

35. Hinc urbe repetita, in Macedoniam transgressus, Pompejum per quatuor pæne menses maximis obsessum operibus, ad extremum Pharsalico prælio fudit: et fugientem Alexandriam persecutus, ut occisum deprehendit, cum Ptolemæo

posed too at that time to have promised every soldier a knight's estate, but that is founded on a mistake; for when in his harangue to them, he frequently held out a finger of his left hand, and declared, that in order to requite those that should assist him, in the defence of his honour, he would willingly part even with his ring; the soldiers at a distance, that could more easily see, than hear him, as he spoke, took that to be said by him, which they only suspected so to be, from what they saw; and accordingly gave out, that they were every one to be advanced to the privilege of wearing the gold ring, and an estate of four hundred thousand sesterces.

34. *I shall now give the reader the sum and substance of his exploits, in their order, as follows. He took possession of Picene, Umbria and Etruria; and having obliged L. Domitius, who had in the late confusion, been nominated to succeed him, and kept Corfinium with a garrison, to surrender, and dismissed him, he marched along the coast of the upper sea to Brundisium, to which place the consuls and Pompey were fled, with an intention to pass the sea, as soon as possible. After he had by various means endeavoured to prevent their getting out of the harbour, but all in vain, he marched for Rome, and having delivered his mind to the senate, upon the present situation of affairs, went for Spain, where Pompey had a very strong army, under the command of three lieutenants, M. Petreius, L. Afranius, and M. Varro; declaring, before he set forward, amongst his friends,* that he was going against an army without a general, and should return from thence against a general without an army. *And tho' his progress was retarded by the siege of Marseilles, which shut her gates against him, and a very great scarcity of corn, yet in a short time he bore down all before him.*

35. *After this he returned to the city, and passing from thence into Macedonia, he blocked Pompey up for almost four months together within a prodigious line, and at last routed him in the battle of Pharsalia. He pursued him in his flight to Alexandria, where he was informed of his murther; and presently found himself engaged with*

rege, a quo sibi quoq; insidias tendi videbat, bellum sane difficillimum gessit: neq; loco, neque tempore æquo, sed hyeme anni, et intra mœnia copiosissimi ac solertissimi hostis, inops ipse rerum omnium, atq; imparatus. Regnum Ægypti victor, Cleopatræ fratrique ejus minori permisit: veritus provinciam facere, ne quandoque violentiorem præsidem nacta, novarum rerum materia esset. Ab Alexandria in Syriam, et inde Pontum transiit, urgentibus de Pharnace nuntiis: quem Mithridatis Magni filium, ac tunc occasione temporum bellantem, jamq; multiplici successu præferocem intra quintum, quam adsuerat, diem, quatuor, quibus in conspectum venit, horis, una profligavit acie: crebro commemorans Pompeji felicitatem, qui præcipua militiæ laus de tam imbelli genere hostium contigisset. Dehinc Scipionem ac Jubam, reliquias partium in Africa resoventes, devicit: Pompeji liberos in Hispania.

36. Omnibus civilibus bellis nullam cladem, nisi per legatos suos passus est: quorum C. Curio in Africa periit: C. Antonius in Illyrico in adversariorum devenit potestatem: P. Dolabella classem in eodem Illyrico, Cn. Domitius Calvinus in Ponto exercitum amiserunt. Ipse prosperrime semper, ac ne ancipiti quidem unquam fortuna, præterquam bis dimicavit: semel ad Dyrrachium, ubi pulsus, non instante Pompejo, negavit eum vincere scire: iterum in Hispania ultimo prælio, cum desperatis rebus etiam de conscisenda nece cogitavit.

37. Confectis bellis, quinquies triumphavit; post devictum

king Ptolemy, who, he saw, had a design upon his life, in a very dangerous war, under all the disadvantage of time and place that could be. It was winter, and he within the walls of a well provided subtle enemy, destitute of every thing, and wholly unprepared for such a rencounter. However he carried his point, and put the kingdom of Ægypt into the hands of Cleopatra and her younger brother, being afraid to make it a province of the empire, lest under a hot-headed governor, it might be a temptation to him to rebel against the Romans. He went from Alexandria to Syria, and from thence to Pontus, being obliged to it by the account he received of Pharnaces, who being the son of the great Mithridates, had laid hold of the opportunity of the distraction of the times offered, for making war upon his neighbours, and was hugely elevated with his success. This prince he conquered five days after he came into his country, and within four hours after he came in sight of him, in one single battle; upon which he frequently took notice to those about him of Pompey's good fortune, who had raised his character for a soldier, chiefly from the conquest of so sorry an enemy. After this he defeated Scipio and Juba, who were rallying the remains of the party in Africa, and Pompey's sons in Spain.

36. *In all his civil wars he was never once baffled, unless in the person of his lieutenants: of whom C. Curio lost his life in Africa; C. Antonius was taken prisoner in Illyricum; P. Dollabella lost a fleet in the same Illyricum; and Cnæus Domitius Calvinus an army in Pontus. He constantly came off with success, and without any thing of hazard, unless twice; once at Dyrrachium, when being obliged to give ground, and Pompey not pursuing his advantage, he said he knew not how to conquer; and again in his last battle in Spain, where in despair of success, he had thoughts of killing himself.*

37. *After the wars were over, he triumphed five several times; after the defeat*

Scipio-

Scipionem quater eodem menſe, ſed interjectis diebus: et rurſus ſemel poſt ſuperatos Pompeji liberos. Primum et excellentiſſimum triumphum egit Gallicum, ſequentem Alexandrinum, deinde Ponticum, huic proximum Africanum, noviſſimum Hiſpanienſem, diverſo quemq; apparatu et inſtrumento. Gallici triumphi die Velabrum prætervehens pæne curru excuſſus eſt, axe diffracto: adſcenditq; Capitolium ad lumina, quadraginta elephantis dextra atque ſiniſtra lychnos geſtantibus. Pontico triumpho inter pompæ fercula trium verborum prætulit titulum, *VENI. VIDI. VICI.* non acta belli ſignificantem, ſicut cæteri, ſed celeriter confecti notam.

38. Veteranis legionibus prædæ nomine in pedites ſinguios ſuper bina ſeſtertia quæ initio civilis tumultus numeraverat, vicena millia nummum dedit: aſſignavit et agros, ſed non continuos, ne quis poſſeſſorum expelleretur. Populo præter frumenti denos modios, ac totidem olei libras, trecenos quoq; nummos, quos pollicitus olim erat, viritim diviſit: et hoc amplius, centenos pro mora. Annuam etiam habitationem Romæ uſq; ad bina millia nummum, in Italia non ultra quingentos ſeſtertios remiſit. Adjecit epulum ac viſcerationem, et poſt Hiſpanienſem victoriam duo prandia. Nam cum prius parce, neq; pro liberalitate ſua præbitum judicaret, quinto poſt die aliud largiſſimum præbuit.

39. Edidit ſpectacula varii generis: munus gladiatorium, ludos etiam regionatim urbe tota, et quidem per omnium linguarum hiſtriones: item circenſes, athletas, naumachiam. Munere in foro depugnavit Furius

of Scipio four times in one month, but with a pauſe of a few days betwixt every two triumphs; and once again after the conqueſt of Pompey's ſons. The firſt and moſt glorious triumph was for his victories obtained againſt the Gauls; the next for that of Alexandria, the third for the reduction of Pontus, the fourth for his African victory, and the laſt for that in Spain, all different from one another in their furniture and pomp. On the day of the Gallick triumph, as he was riding along the ſtreet called Velabrum, he had like to have been thrown out of his chariot by the breaking of the axle-tree; and mounted the capitol by torch-light, forty elephants carrying flambeaux on the right and left of him. Amongſt the other pageantry of the Pontick triumph, this inſcription was carried before him, I came, ſaw, and overcame; *not ſignifying, as other motto's on the like occaſion, what was done, ſo much as the diſpatch with which it was done.*

38. *To every footman in his veteran legions, beſides the two thouſand ſeſterces paid them in the beginning of the civil war, he gave twenty thouſand more, under the name of plunder. He aſſigned them lands too, but not together, that the former owners might not be quite diſpoſſeſſed. He gave the people of Rome beſides ten modius's of corn, and as many pounds of oil, three hundred ſeſterces a man, which he had formerly promiſed them, and a hundred a piece more, for delay. He likewiſe remitted a year's rent due, to the treaſury, for ſuch houſes in Rome, as did not pay above two thouſand ſeſterces a year; and the like he did through the reſt of Italy, for all whoſe yearly rent did not exceed five hundred ſeſterces. To all this he added a publick entertainment, and a diſtribution of fleſh, and after his Spaniſh victory, two dinners. For looking upon the firſt as too mean, and not agreeable to his generoſity, he five days after added another very plentiful one.*

39 *He entertained the people with ſhows of various kinds, as a fight of gladiators, and ſtage plays in the ſeveral wards of the town, and in ſeveral languages; Circenſian games too, wreſtlers, and the repreſentation of a ſea fight. And in the fight of gladiators preſented in the forum,*

rius

rius Leptinus, ſtirpe prætoria, et Q. Calpenus ſenator quondam actorq; cauſarum. Pyrrhicham ſaltaverunt Aſiæ Bithyniæque principum liberi. Ludis Decimus Laberius eques Romanus mimum ſuum egit: donatuſq; quingentis ſeſtertiis, et annulo aureo, ſeſſum in quatuordecim e ſcena per orcheſtram tranſiit. Circenſibus, ſpatio circi ab utraq; parte producto, et in gyrum Euripo addito, quadrigas bigaſque, et equos deſultorios agitaverunt nobiliſſimi juvenes. Trojam luſit turma duplex, majorum minorumq; puerorum. Venationes editæ per dies quinque: ac noviſſime pugna diviſa in duas acies, quingentis peditibus, elephantis vicenis, trecenis equitibus hinc et inde commiſſis. Nam quo laxius dimicaretur, ſublatæ metæ, inq; earum locum bina caſtra ex adverſo conſtituta erant. Athletæ, ſtadio ad tempus extructo in regione Martii campi, certaverunt per triduum. Navali prælio in minore Codeta defoſſo lacu, biremes ac triremes; quadriremeſq; Tyriæ et Ægyptiæ claſſes, magno pugnatorum numero conflixerunt. Ad quæ omnia ſpectacula tantum undiq; confluxit hominum, ut pleriq; advenæ aut inter vicos aut inter vias tabernaculis poſitis manerent: ac ſæpe præ turba eliſi exanimatiq; ſint plurimi, et in his duo ſenatores.

Furius Leptinus, a gentleman of a prætorian family, fought amongſt them, as alſo Q. Calpenus, formerly a ſenator, and a pleader of cauſes. The Pyrrhick was danced by ſome young gentlemen, that were ſons to perſons of the greateſt figure in Aſia and Bithynia. Decimus Laberius acted a mimick piece of his own; and being immediately preſented with five hundred thouſand ſeſterces, and a gold ring, he went from the ſtage, thro' the Orcheſtra, into the ſeats aſſigned the equeſtrian order. In the Circenſian games, the Circus being enlarged at each end, and a canal ſunk round it, ſome young gentlemen of the firſt quality rid the races in chariots drawn ſome by four, and ſome by two horſes, and vaulted from one horſe to another. The Trojan game was acted by two ſeveral companies of bigger and leſſer boys. The hunting of wild beaſts was preſented for five days together; and at laſt, a battle fought by five hundred foot, twenty elephants, and thirty horſe on each ſide. To make room for which, the goals were taken away, and in their room two camps were pitched over-againſt one another. Wreſtlers too performed for three days together in a ſtadium provided for the purpoſe in the field of Mars, and in a lake ſunk in the leſſer Codeta. Tyrian, and Egyptian fleets, conſiſting of ſhips of two, three, and four banks of oars, and with a good many fighting men on board, entertained the people with the repreſentation of a ſea fight. To the ſight of theſe diverſions, ſuch vaſt crowds of people flocked from all parts, that moſt of them were obliged to lodge in tents erected in the ſtreets, or the roads near the town. And ſeveral in the throng were ſqueezed to death, and amongſt them two ſenators.

40. Converſus hinc ad ordinandum reip. ſtatum, faſtos correxit, jam pridem vitio pontificum per intercalandi licentiam adeo turbatos, ut neque meſſium feriæ æſtati, neq; vindemiarum autumno competerent. Annumq; ad curſum ſolis accommodavit, ut trecentorum ſexaginta quinq; dierum eſſet:

40. *After this, turning his thoughts to the regulation of the commonwealth, he corrected the calendar, which was become ſadly confuſed, by the fault of the high-prieſts, in the ſtrange liberty they took in the buſineſs of intercalation, which was come to ſuch a height, that neither the holidays deſigned for harveſt fell in ſummer, nor thoſe for the vintage in autumn. He accommodated the year to the courſe of the*

effet: et intercalario menſe ſublato, unus dies quarto quoq; anno intercalaretur. Quo autem magis in poſterum ex Kalendis Januariis nobis temporum ratio congrueret, inter Novembrem ac Decembrem menſem, interjecit duos alios: fuitq; is annus, quo hæc conſtituebantur, xv menſium cum intercalario, qui ex conſuetudine in eum annum inciderat.

41. Senatum ſupplevit, patricios allegit: prætorum, ædilium, quæſtorum, minorum etiam magiſtratuum numerum ampliavit: nudatos opere cenſorio, aut ſententia judicum de ambitu condemnatos, reſtituit. Comitia cum populo partitus eſt: ut exceptis conſulatus competitoribus, de cætero numero candidatorum, pro parte dimidia, quos populus vellet, pronuntiarentur: pro parte altera, quos ipſe edidiſſet. Et edebat per libellos circum tribus miſſos ſcriptura brevi, *Cæſar dictator illi tribui. Commendo vobis illum, et illum, ut veſtro ſuffragio ſuam dignitatem teneant.* Admiſit ad honores et proſcriptorum liberos. Judicia ad duo genera judicum redegit, equeſtris ordinis ac ſenatorii: tribunos ærarios, quod erat tertium, ſuſtulit. Recenſum populi, nec more, nec loco ſolito, ſed vicatim per dominos inſularum egit: atq; ex viginti trecentiſq; millibus accipientium frumentum e publico, ad centum quinquaginta retraxit. Ac ne qui novi cœtus recenſionis cauſa moveri quandoq; poſſent, inſtituit, quotannis in demortuorum locum ex his qui recenſiti non eſſent, ſubſortitio a prætore fieret.

42. Octoginta autem civium millibus in tranſmarinas colonias diſtributis, ut exhauſtæ quoque

ſun, ordering that it ſhould for the future conſiſt of three hundred and ſixty five days, without any intercalatory month, and that every fourth year an intercalatory day ſhould be inſerted. And that for the future the year might run regularly from the firſt of January, he inſerted two months betwixt November and December; ſo that the year, in which this regulation was made, conſiſted of fifteen months, with the month of intercalation, which happened that year in courſe.

41. *He filled up the vacancies in the ſenate, advanced ſeveral commoners to the dignity of patricians, enlarged the number of pretors, ædiles, queſtors, and inferior magiſtrates too; and reſtored ſuch as had been diſgraced by the cenſors, or condemned for bribery in elections. The choice of magiſtrates he ſo divided with the people, that excepting only the competitors for the conſulſhip, they choſe one half of them, and he the other. And his way was to recommend ſuch as he had pitched upon, by billets diſperſed through the ſeveral tribes to this effect*; Cæſar the Dictator to ſuch a tribe. I recommend to you ſuch and ſuch perſons, that by the favour of your votes they may attain to the reſpective honours they ſue for. *He likewiſe admitted to offices the ſons of ſuch as had been proſcribed. He reſtrained the trial of cauſes to two ranks of judges, thoſe of the Equeſtrian and Senatorian order; laying aſide the commiſſioners of the treaſury, who had before made a third claſs. The ſurvey of the people he took, neither after the uſual manner, nor in the uſual place, but in the ſeveral ſtreets by the principal inhabitants; and reduced the number of thoſe that received corn from the publick, from three hundred and twenty thouſand to a hundred and fifty: and to prevent all riots upon account of the ſurvey, he ordered that every year a choice ſhould be made by lot by the prætor, in the room of ſuch as died, out of thoſe that were not enrolled for the receipt of corn.*

42. *Having diſpoſed of fourſcore thouſand citizens in foreign colonies, to ſupply the want of them, he enacted that no free-*

urbis

urbis frequentia ſuppeteret, ſanxit. Ne quis civis major annis viginti, minorve xl. qui ſacramento non teneretur, plus triennio continuo Italia abeſſet; neu quis ſenatoris filius, nisi contubernalis, aut comes magiſtratus, peregre proficiſceretur: neve hi qui pecuariam facerent minus tertia parte puberum in genuorum inter paſtores haberent. Omneſq; medicinam Romæ profeſſos, et liberalium artium doctores, quo libentius et ipſi urbem incolerent, et cæteri appeterent, civitate donavit. De pecuniis mutuis, disjecta novarum tabularum expectatione, quæ crebrò movebatur, decrevit tandem, ut debitores creditoribus ſatisfacerent, per æſtimationem poſſeſſionum, quanti quaſq; ante civile bellum comparaſſent, deducto ſummæ æris alieni, ſi quid uſuræ nomine numeratum, aut perſcriptum fuiſſet: qua conditione quarta pars fere crediti deperibat. Cuncta collegia, præter antiquitus conſtituta, diſtraxit. Pœnas facinorum auxit: et cum locupletes eo facilius ſcelere ſe obligarent, quod integris patrimoniis exſulabant, parricidas, ut Cicero ſcribit, bonis omnibus, reliquos dimidia parte multavit.

43. Jus laborioſiſſime ac ſeveriſſime dixit. Repetundarum convictos etiam ordine ſenatorio movit. Diremit nuptias prætorii viri, qui digreſſam a marito poſt biduum ſtatim duxerat, quamvis ſine probri ſuſpicione. Peregrinarum mercium portoria inſtituit. Lecticarum uſum, item conchyliatæ veſtis, et margaritarum, niſi certis perſonis, et ætatibus, perq; certos dies, ademit. Legem præcipue ſumptuariam exercuit: diſpoſitis circa macellum cuſtodibus, qui

man of the city above twenty, and under forty, that was not in the ſervice of his country in the wars, ſhould be above three years together abſent from Italy; and that no Senator's ſon ſhould go into foreign parts, unleſs in the retinue of ſome governor of a province; and that thoſe who followed grazing, ſhould have no leſs than a third part of their ſhepherds free-born. He likewiſe made all ſuch as practis'd phyſick in Rome, and all maſters of the liberal arts, free of the city, in order to fix them in it, and invite others to the town. As for debts, he baulked the expectation people had, that they would be univerſally cancelled, a thing that was frequently moved for; and ordered, that the debtors ſhould ſatisfy their creditors, according to an eſtimate of their eſtates, at the rates they were purchaſed at, before the commencement of the civil war; deducting from the debt, what intereſt had been paid, either by money or bills; by virtue of which order, about a fourth part of the debt was loſt. He likewiſe broke up all companies of artificers, but ſuch as were of ancient eſtabliſhment. And encreaſed the puniſhments of crimes beyond what the law had ordained; and becauſe the rich were the more eaſily induced to tranſgreſs, by reaſon they were only puniſhed with baniſhment, but ſaved their eſtates, he ſtript parricides, as Cicero writes, of their whole eſtates, and others of one half.

43. *He was mighty induſtrious and ſtrict in the adminiſtration of juſtice. He turn'd ſuch as were convicted of bribery out of the Senate; diſſolved the marriage of a Prætorian gentleman, who had married a gentlewoman two days after her divorce from a former huſband, tho' there was no ſuſpicion of any former unlawful commerce betwixt them. He laid duties upon foreign goods imported. The uſe of chairs, deep ſcarlet and jewels, he would not allow, but to certain perſons of ſuch an age, and for certain days. He put the ſumptuary law in ſtrict execution, planting ſpies about the ſhambles, to ſeize upon all victuals ex-*

obſo-

obsonia contra vetitum retinerent, deportarentq; ad se, submissis nonnunquam lictoribus atq; militibus, qui si qua custodes fefellissent, jam apposita e triclinio auferrent.

44. Jam de ornanda instruendaque urbe, item de tuendo ampliandoq; imperio, plura ac majora indies destinabat. In primis Martis templum, quantum nusquam esset, extruere, repleto et complanato lacu, in quo naumachiæ spectaculum ediderat: theatrumq; summæ magnitudinis Tarpejo monti accubans. Jus civile ad certum modum redigere, atq; ex immensa diffusaq; legum copia, optima quæq; et necessaria in pauciſſimos conferre libros. Bibliothecas Græcas et Latinas, quas maximas posset, publicare, data M. Varroni cura comparandarum ac digerendarum. Siccare Pomptinas paludes: emittere Fucinum lacum: viam munire a mari supero per Appenini dorsum ad Tiberim usque: perfodere Isthmum: Dacos, qui se in Pontum et Thraciam effuderant, coercere: mox Parthis inferre bellum per Armeniam minorem, nec nisi ante expertos aggredi prælio. Talia agentem atq; meditantem mors prævenit: de qua prius quam dicam, ea quæ ad formam et habitum, et cultum et mores, nec minus quæ ad civilia et bellica ejus studia pertineant, non alienum erit summatim exponere.

45. Fuisse traditur excelsa statura, colore candido, teretibus membris, ore paullo pleniore, nigris vegetisq; oculis, valetudine prospera: nisi quod tempore extremo repente animo linqui,

posed to sale contrary to law, and bring them to him; sometimes sending his serjeants and soldiers to fetch off such victuals as had 'scaped the observation of his spies, even when they were upon the table.

44. *And now his thoughts were daily taken up with many and mighty projects for advancing the beauty and convenience of the city, as also for securing and enlarging the empire. In the first place he design'd a temple for the god Mars, that for grandeur should outdo every thing in the world besides of that kind; for which purpose he intended to fill up and level the lake, in which he had entertain'd the people with a sea fight; as also to build a most spacious theatre close by the Tarpeian mountain; to reduce the civil law into reasonable compass, and out of that immense and extravagant multiplicity of laws, to draw together the best and most necessary things into a few books. To make as large a collection as possible of the finest authors in the two languages of Greek and Latin, for publick use; having assigned M. Varro the province of providing and putting them in proper order. He intended too to drain the Pomptine marsh; to discharge the lake Fucinus; to make a causey from the upper sea, thro' the ridge of the Appenine, to the Tiber; to make a cut thro' the isthmus of Corinth; to reduce the Dacians within their proper limits, who had over run Pontus and Thrace; and then to make war upon the Parthians thro' the lesser Armenia, but not to come to a general engagement with them, 'till he had some little trial of them. But he was cut short in the midst of all his projects by death; before I speak of which, it may not be improper to give a brief account of his person, his management of himself, dress, manners, his views and inclinations with respect to matters, both civil and military.*

45. *He is said to have been tall, of a fair complexion, round-limb'd, pretty full-faced, with eyes black and lively, and very healthful, except that towards the latter end of his life he would suddenly swoon away, and be frighted in his sleep.*

atq; etiam per ſomnum exterreri ſolebat. Comitiali quoq; morbo bis inter res agendas correptus eſt. Circa corporis curam moroſior, ut non ſolum tonderetur diligenter, ac raderetur, ſed velleretur etiam; ut quidam exprobraverunt: calvitii vero deformitatem iniquiſſime ferre, ſæpe obtrectatorum jocis obnoxiam expertus. Ideoq; et deficientem capillum revocare a vertice aſſueverat: et ex omnibus decretis ſibi a ſenatu populoq; honoribus non aliud aut recepit aut uſurpavit libentius quam jus laureæ perpetuo geſtandæ. Etiam cultu notabilem ferunt. Uſum enim lato clavo ad manus fimbriato, nec ut unquam aliter quam ſuper eum cingeretur, et quidem fluxiore cinctura. Unde emanaſſe Sullæ dictum, optimates ſæpius admonentis, *ut male præcinctum puerum caverent.*

46. Habitavit primo in Suburra modicis ædibus: poſt autem pontificatum maximum, in Sacra via domo publica. Munditiarum lautitiarumq; ſtudioſiſſimum multi prodiderunt. Villam in Nemorenſi a fundamentis inchoatam, magnoq; ſumtu abſolutam, quia non tota ad animum ei reſponderat, totam diruiſſe, quanquam tenuem adhuc et obæratum. In expeditionibus teſſellata et ſectilia pavimenta circumtuliſſe.

47. Britanniam petiiſſe ſpe margaritarum, quarum amplitudinem conferentem, interdum ſua manu exegiſſe pondus. Gemmas, toreumata, ſigna tabulas operis antiqui ſemper animoſiſſime comparaſſe: ſervitia recentiora politioraq; immenſo pretio, et cujus ipſum etiam puderet, ſic ut rationibus vetaret inferri.

He was twice too ſeized with the falling-ſickneſs in the time of battle. He was ſo very nice in the care of his perſon, that he had not only the hair of his head cut, and his face ſhaved very exactly, but likewiſe had the hair in other parts of his body taken up by the roots, as ſome upbraidingly charged him. His baldneſs gave him a great deal of uneaſineſs, having often found himſelf upon that account expoſed to the drollery of his enemies, and therefore he uſed to bring his hair from about the crown of his head forward. And of all the honours conferred upon him by the ſenate and people, he accepted or made uſe of none more gladly than the right of perpetually wearing a laurel crown. They ſay too, he was particular in his dreſs. For he uſed the latus clavus with fringes about his hands, and always had it girded about him, but looſely; which was the occaſion of that advice of Sylla's to the noble party, to have a care of the looſe-coated boy.

46. *He lived firſt in Suburra, in a ſmall houſe; but after his advancement to the pontificate, in a houſe belonging to the ſtate, in the ſacred way. Many writers ſay that he affected neatneſs in his perſon, and niceneſs in his entertainments. That he took down again entirely a country-ſeat, in the neighbourhood of the grove of Aricia, which he had raiſed from the foundation, and finiſhed at a voſt expence, becauſe it had not exactly ſuited his fancy, tho' he was at that time poor and in debt; and that he carried about in his expeditions marble pavers for his tent.*

47. *They tell you too, that he invaded Britain in hopes of finding pearls there, the bigneſs of which he would compare together, and examine the weight of them by poiſing them in his hand; that he would buy at any rate gems, carv'd works, pictures done by the fine hands of antiquity; and that he would purchaſe handſome young ſlaves at a price ſo very extravagant, that he was aſham'd to have it book'd in the diary of his expences.*

48. Con-

48. Convivatum assidue per provincias duobus tricliniis; uno, quo sagati palliative; altero, quo togati cum illustrioribus provinciarum discumberent. Domesticam disciplinam in parvis ac majoribus rebus diligenter adeo severeq; rexit, ut pistorem, alium quam sibi panem convivis subjicientem, compedibus vinxerit: libertum gratissimum ob adulteratam equitis Romani uxorem, quamvis nullo querente, capitali pœna affecerit.

48. *The same authors tell us, that he constantly kept two tables in the provinces; one for the officers of the army, or the gentlemen of the provinces; and the other for such of the Roman gentry as had no commission in the troops, and provincials of the highest quality. He was so very exact in the management of his domestick affairs, both small and great, that he clapped a baker of his in fetters, for serving him with a finer sort of bread than his guests; and put to death a freed-man of his, and a particular favourite, for debauching the lady of a Roman knight, tho' no complaint had been made to him of the matter.*

49. Pudicitiæ ejus famam nihil quidem præter Nicomedis contubernium læsit, gravi tamen et perenni opprobrio, et ad omnium convitia expositio. Omitto Calvi Licinii notissimos versus.

49. *The only blot upon his chastity, was his behaviour in the court of Nicomedes; and that indeed stuck close to him all the days of his life, and exposed him to a great deal of bitter raillery. Not to insist upon those well-known verses of Calvus Licinius.*

Bithynia quicquid & pædicator Cæsaris
Unquam habuit.

——————— Whatever Bithynia,
And Cæsar's foul debaucher ever had.

Prætereo actiones Dolabellæ et Curionis patris: in quibus eum Dolabella *pellicem reginæ, spondam interiorem regiæ lecticæ*, ac Curio *stabulum Nicomedis*, et *Bithynicum fornicem* dicunt. Missa etiam facio edicta Bibuli, quibus proscripsit collegam suum, *Bithynicam reginam: eique regem antea fuisse cordi, nunc esse regnum.* Quo tempore, ut M. Brutus refert, Octavius etiam quidam valetudine mentis liberius dicax, conventu maximo cum Pompejum regem appellasset, ipsum reginam salutavit. Sed C. Memmius etiam ad cyathum et vinum Nicomedi stetisse objecit, cum reliquis exoletis pleno convivio, accubantibus nonnullis urbicis negotiatoribus, quorum refert nomina. Cicero vero non contentus in quibusdam epistolis scripsisse, a satellitibus eum in cubiculum

Nor the speeches of Dolabella, and Curio the father; in which Dolabella calls him the queen's rival, *and* the back side of the royal couch; *and Curio* the brothel of Nicomedes, *and* the Bithynian stew. *I pass by likewise the edicts of Bibulus, in which he proclaimed his colleague under the name of the* queen of Bithynia, *and tells him,* he had formerly been in love with a king, but was now with a kingdom. *At which time, as M. Brutus informs us, one Octavius, a man of a crazy brain, and therefore the more free in his raillery, after he had in a great assembly saluted Pompey by the name of king, saluted him under title of queen. And C. Memmius too charged him with serving the king at table, amongst the rest of his lusty catamites, with wine, in the face of a great deal of company, and some merchants from Rome, whose names he subjoins. But Cicero not thinking it sufficient to write in some of his letters, that he was conducted by some of the guards into the king's bed chamber, lay upon a bed of gold with a covering of*

regium eductum, in aureo lecto, veste purpurea decubuisse, floremq; ætatis a Venere orti, in Bithynia contaminatum: quondam etiam in senatu defendenti Nysæ caussam, filiæ Nicomedis, beneficiaq; regis in se commemoranti, *Remove*, inquit, *istæc oro te: quando notum est et quid ille tibi, et quid illi tu dederis.* Gallico deniq; triumpho milites ejus inter cætera carmina, qualia currum prosequentes joculariter canunt, etiam vulgatissimum illud pronunciaverunt:

scarlet, and that the bloom of this descendant of Venus had been polluted in Bithynia; upon Cæsar's pleading the cause of Nysa, Nicomedes's daughter, before the senate, and recounting the king's kindnesses to him, he reply'd, Prithee man no more of that; for it's well known what he gave you, and you gave him. *To conclude, his soldiers in the Gallick triumph, amongst other verses, such as they used jocularly to sing, in their attendance upon the general's chariot, on those occasions, had these up, since that time very much taken notice of.*

Gallias Cæsar subegit, Nicomedes Cæsarem:
Ecce Cæsar nunc triumphat qui subegit Gallias:
Nicomedes non triumphat, qui subegit Cæsarem.
Cæsar subdu'd the Gauls, Bithynia's king
Made him turn tail: yet now the haughty thing
That conquered Gaul, in lofty triumph rides,
But not poor Nicomed.

50. Pronum et sumptuosum in libidines fuisse constans opinio est, plurimasque et illustres fœminas corrupisse: in quibus Posthumiam Servii Sulpicii, Lolliam Auli Gabinii, Tertullam M. Crassi, etiam Cn. Pompeji Muciam. Nam certe Pompejo, et a Curionibus patre et filio, et a multis exprobratum est, quod *cujus caussa post tres liberos exegisset uxorem, et quem gemens Ægysthum appellare consuesset, ejus postea filiam potentiæ cupiditate in matrimonium recepisset.* Sed ante alias dilexit M. Bruti matrem Serviliam: cui et proximo suo consulatu sexagies H.S. margaritam mercatus est: et bello civili super alias donationes, amplissima prædia ex auctionibus nactæ nummo addixit. Cum quidem plerisque vilitatem mirantibus, facetissime Cicero, *Quo melius,* inquit, *emptum sciatis, Tertia deducta est:* existimabatur enim

50. *It is agreed by all that he was much addicted to women, and very expensive in his intrigues with them; amongst which were ladies of the highest quality, as Posthumia the wife of Servius Sulpicius, Lollia the lady of Aulus Gabinius, Tertulla M. Crassus's, and Mucia Cn. Pompey's. For it's certain Pompey was upbraided by the Curio's, father and son, and many others,* That he had, to gratify his ambition, married the daughter of a man, upon whose account he had divorced his wife, after he had had three children by her, and whom he used with a heavy sigh to call Ægisthus. *But above all the rest of his mistresses, he was fond of Servilia M. Brutus's mother, for whom he purchased, in the consulship next after his intrigue with her, a pearl that cost* 6000000 *of sesterces; and in the civil war, besides other presents, consigned to her, upon a very slight consideration, some considerable estates in land, that were exposed to publick sale; and when many people wondered at the lowness of the price, Cicero very wittily said,* to let you know how much a better purchase this is than you imagine, Tertia deducta est; Servilia

Servilia, etiam filiam suam Tertiam Cæsari conciliare.

51. Ne provincialibus quidem matrimoniis abstinuisse vel hoc districho apparet, jactato æque a militibus per Gallicum triumphum.

Urbani servate uxores, mœchum calvum adducimus:
Aurum in Gallia effutuisti: hic sumpsisti mutuum.
Look to your wives, ye cits, we bring a blade,
A bald pate master of the wenching trade.
Thy gold thou spen'st on many a Gallick whore,
And when 'twas gone, cam'st here to borrow more.

52. Dilexit et reginas, inter quas Eunoen Mauram, Bogudis uxorem; cui maritoq; ejus, plurima et immensa tribuit, ut Naso scribit: sed maxime Cleopatram, cum qua et convivia in primam lucem sæpe protraxit, et eadem nave thalamego pæne Æthiopia tenus Ægyptum penetravit, nisi exercitus sequi recusasset. Quam deniq; accitam in urbem, non nisi maximis honoribus præmiisque auctam remisit. Filiumq; natum appellare nomine suo passus est. Quem quidem nonnulli Græcorum similem quoq; Cæsaris et forma et incessu tradiderunt. M. Antonius agnitum etiam ab eo senatui affirmavit: quæ scire C. Mattium, et C. Oppium, reliquosq; Cæsaris amicos: quorum C. Oppius, quasi plane defensione ac patrocinio res egeret, librum edidit, *Non esse Cæsaris filium, quem Cleopatra dicat.* Helvius Cinna trib. pleb. plerisq; confessus est, habuisse se scriptam paratamq; legem, quam Cæsar ferre jussisset, cum ipse abesset, uti uxores liberorum quærendorum caussa, quas et quot vellet, ducere liceret. Ac ne cui dubium omnino sit, et impudicitiæ eum, et adulteriorum flagrasse infamia, Curio pater quadam eum oratione, *omnium mulierum virum, et omnium virorum mulierem* appellat.

for Servilia was supposed to prostitute her daughter Tertia to Cæsar.

51. *He made free with the wives of veral gentlemen in the provinces, as appears by this distich, which was as much used by the soldiers in the Gallick triumph as the former.*

52. *He had amongst his mistresses some queens too, as Eunoe the Moor, the wife of Bogudes, to whom and her husband too he made a great many immense presents, as Naso says: but his darling mistress was Cleopatra, with whom he would revel all night 'till day break, and would have gone with her up Ægypt in a pleasure boat as far as Æthiopia, had not the army refused to follow him. At last he invited her to Rome, and sent her back again loaded with honours and presents, and permitted her to call a son she had, by his name; which some of your Greek historians say was like Cæsar too, both in his person and gate. M. Anthony avowed to the senate, that he was owned by him as his; and that C. Mattius, C. Oppius, and the rest of Cæsar's friends knew it to be true: of which C. Oppius, as if it was an aspersion that required a vindication from him, published a book to shew, that* that was none of Cæsar's son, which Cleopatra pretended so to be. *Helvius Cinna, tribune of the commons, owned to several people, that he had a bill ready drawn up, which Cæsar had ordered him to get enacted in his absence, that, in order to have issue, he might marry what women he pleased, and as many as he pleased; and to leave no room for doubt of his passing under an infamous character for unnatural uncleanness and adultery, Curio the father, in a speech of his, says,* he was every woman's man, and every man's woman.

53. Vini

53. Vini parcissimum ne inimici quidem negaverunt. Verbum M. Catonis est, *Unum ex omnibus Cæsarem ad evertendam remp. sobrium accessisse.* Nam circa victum C. Oppius adeo indifferentem docet, ut quondam ab hospite conditum oleum, pro viridi appositum, aspernantibus cæteris, solum etiam largius dicat appetisse: ne hospitem aut negligentiæ, aut rusticitatis videretur arguere.

54. Abstinentiam neq; in imperiis neq; in magistratibus præstitit. Ut enim quidam monumentis suis testati sunt, in Hispania a proconsule, et a sociis pecunias accepit, emendicatas in auxilium æris alieni: et Lusitanorum quædam oppida, quamquam nec imperata detrectarent, et advenienti portas patefacerent, diripuit hostiliter. In Gallia fana templaq; Deum donis referta expilavit: urbes diruit, sæpius ob prædam quam ob delictum: unde factum ut auro abundaret, terniscq; millibus nummum in libras promercale, per Italiam provinciasq; divideret. In primo consulatu tria millia pondo auri furatus e Capitolio, tantundem inaurati æris reposuit. Societates ac regna pretio dedit: ut qui uni Ptolemæo prope sex millia talentorum suo Pompejique nomine abstulerit. Postea vero evidentissimis rapinis ac sacrilegiis, et onera bellorum civilium, et triumphorum ac munerum sustinuit impendia.

55. Eloquentia militariq; re aut æquavit præstantissimorum gloriam, aut excessit. Post accusationem Dolabellæ, haud dubie principibus patronis enumeratus est. Certe Cicero ad

53. *His very enemies allow he was not at all addicted to wine. There goes a saying of M. Cato's,* that he was the only sober man of all the whole tribe engaged in a design to subvert the government. *For as to his diet C. Oppius tells us he was so indifferent for his own part, that when a person, in whose house he was entertained, had served him, instead of fresh oil, with oil that had some sort of seasoning in it, and the rest of the company would not touch it, he alone eat very heartily of it, that he might not seem to tax his friend with negligence, or want of elegance.*

54. *He never shewed any great regard to justice, either in his command of the army, or civil offices. For as some have left upon record, he begged money of the proconsul his predecessor in Spain, and the Roman allies there, for the discharge of his debts; and some towns of the Lusitanians, tho' they complied with his commands, and opened their gates to him, upon his arrival before them, he plundered in a hostile manner. In Gaul he rifled the chaples and temples of the Gods, filled with rich presents; and demolished cities more for plunder, than any fault they had committed: by which means gold became so plentiful with him, that he exchanged it thro' Italy, and the provinces of the empire, for three thousand sesterces the pound. In his first consulship he stole three thousand pound weight of gold out of the capitol, and substituted in the room of it, the like weight of gilt brass. He sold likewise to foreign nations and princes, the titles of allies and kings, for their gold; and squeezed out of Ptolemy alone near six thousand talents, in his own and Pompey's name together: and afterwards supported the burthen of his civil wars, and the expences of his triumphs and publick shows, for the entertainment of the people, by the most flagrant rapine and sacrilege imaginable.*

55. *For eloquence and military atchievements he equalled at least, if he did not excel the greatest. After his prosecution of Dolabella, he was indisputably reckoned amongst the finest pleaders. And Cicero, in reckoning up the famous orators to Bru-*

Brutum oratores enumerans, negat, *se videre cui Cæsar debeat cedere: aitque eum elegantem, splendidam quoque, ac etiam magnificam ac generosam quodammodo rationem dicendi tenere.* Et ad Cornelium Nepotem de eodem ita scripsit: *Quid? oratorum quem huic antepones eorum qui nihil aliud egerunt? Quis sententiis aut acutior, aut crebrior? Quis verbis aut ornatior, aut elegantior?* Genus eloquentiæ duntaxat adolescens adhuc Strabonis Cæsaris secutus videtur: cujus etiam ex oratione, quæ inscribitur *Pro Sardis*, ad verbum nonnulla transtulit in *Divinationem* suam. Pronunciasse autem dicitur voce acuta, ardenti motu gestuque, non sine venustate. Orationes aliquas reliquit, inter quas temere quædam feruntur: ut *Pro Q. Metello*: quam non immerito Augustus existimat magis ab actuariis exceptam, male subsequentibus verba dicentis, quam ab ipso editam. Nam in quibusdam exemplaribus invenio, ne inscriptam quidem *Pro Metello*, sed, *quam scripsit Metello*, cum ex persona Cæsaris sermo sit, Metellum seq; adversus communium obtrectatorum criminationes purgantis. *Apud milites* quoq; *in Hispania*, idem Augustus orationem esse vix ipsius putat: quæ tamen duplex fertur; una quasi priore habita prælio; altera posteriore; quo Asinius Pollio ne tempus quidem concionandi habuisse eum dicit, subita hostium incursione.

56. Reliquit et rerum suarum Commentarios, Gallici civilisq; belli Pompejani. Nam Alexandrini, Africiq; et Hispanienſis, incertus auctor est. Alij enim Oppium putant, alij Hirtium: qui etiam Gallici

tus declares, that he does not see that he was inferior to any of them; that he was got into a neat, shining, grand and noble vein of eloquence. *And in a letter to Cor. Nepos, he writes of him in the following words.* What? which of all the orators, that have all their lives been doing nothing else, can you prefer before him? which of them is smarter in his periods, or more neat and elegant in the choice of words? *Whilst he was young, he seems to have proposed Strabo Cæsar as his model; out of whose oration* for the Sardinians *he has transcribed some things, word for word, into his* divination. *He is said to have delivered himself with a shrill voice, and a quickness of action, that was very graceful. He has left some speeches behind him, amongst which are inserted some that are none of his, as that* for Q. Metellus; *which Augustus supposes, and with reason, to have been a blundered copy, taken by writers of short hand, that were not able to keep pace with him in the delivery, rather than any thing published by himself: for I find in some copies the title is not* for Metellus, *but* what he writ for Metellus; *whereas the speech runs in the name of Cæsar, vindicating Metellus and himself against the aspersions cast upon them, by their common defamers. The speech to his soldiers in Spain, the same Augustus too looks upon to be none of his. There are indeed two of them; one made, as is pretended, in the first battle; and the other in the latter; at which time Asinius Pollio says, he had not time to speak to the soldiers, by reason of the sudden assault of the enemy.*

56. *He has likewise left memoirs of his own transactions both in the Gallick and civil war with Pompey: for the author of the Alexandrian, African, and Spanish war, is not certainly known. Some will have Oppius, and some Hirtius, to be the author of them; which Hirtius*

belli

belli noviſſimum imperfectumq; librum ſuppleverit. De commentariis Cæſaris Cicero in eodem libro ſic refert; *Commentarios ſcripſit valde quidem probandos: nudi ſunt, recti, et venuſti, omni ornatu orationis, tanquam veſte detracta: ſed dum voluit alios habere parata unde ſumerent, qui vellent ſcribere hiſtoriam, ineptis gratum fortaſſe fecit, qui illa volunt calamiſtris inurere, ſanos quidem homines a ſcribendo deterruit.* De eiſdem commentariis Hirtius ita prædicat. *Adeo probantur omnium judicio, ut prærepta, non præbita facultas ſcriptoribus videatur. Cujus tamen rei major noſtra quam reliquorum eſt admiratio. Cæteri enim quam bene atq; emendate, nos etiam quam facile atque celeriter eos perſcripſerit, ſcimus.* Pollio Aſinius parum diligenter, parumque integra veritate compoſitos putat: cum Cæſar pleraq; et quæ per alios erant geſta temere crediderit: et quæ per ſe, vel conſulto, vel etiam memoria lapſus, perperam ediderit; exiſtimatque reſcripturum et correcturum fuiſſe. Reliquit et *De analogia* libros duos, et *Anticatones* totidem, ac præterea poema quod inſcribitur *Iter*. Quorum librorum primos, in tranſitu Alpium, cum ex citeriore Gallia, conventibus peractis, ad exercitum rediret: ſequentes, ſub tempus Mundenſis prælii fecit: noviſſimum, dum ab urbe in ulteriorem Hiſpaniam IV et XX die pervenit. *Epiſtolæ* quoq; ejus *ad ſenatum* exſtant, quas primum videtur ad paginas et formam memorialis libelli convertiſſe, cum antea coſſ. et duces nonniſi tranſverſa charta ſcriptas mitterent. Exſtant et *ad Ciceronem*, item

made a ſupplement to the laſt book of the Gallick war, left unfiniſhed. Of theſe memoirs of Cæſar, Cicero in his Brutus writes thus. He writ his own memoirs admirably well; they are plain, juſt, and neat, without any thing of ornament or dreſs. In thus preparing materials for ſuch as might have a mind to write his hiſtory, he has perhaps encouraged ſome ſilly creatures ſo to do, that will needs be dreſſing up his actions in fuſtian and bombaſt; but he has diſcouraged wiſe men from meddling at all. *Hirtius gives his opinion of the ſaid memoirs too, as follows.* They are in the judgment of all people ſo much approved of, that he does not ſeem to have given the writers of hiſtory an advantage for the writing of his, but to have prevented them indeed. And yet as to this matter we have more reaſon to admire him than others: for they only know how well and correctly he has writ, but we know too how eaſily and quickly he did it. *Pollio Aſinius thinks they were not very carefully compiled, or with a due regard to truth: for Cæſar, as he will have it, was a little too haſty of belief with reſpect to what was done by others under him; and what he himſelf tranſacted in perſon, he has given no very juſt account of, either with deſign, or thro' a defect of memory: and he is of opinion that he intended a new and more correct draught of them. He has left behind him likewiſe two books of* Analogy, *and as many under the title of* Anticato, *and a poem too, entituled the* Journey. *Of which he compiled the firſt two, in his paſſage of the Alps, as he was returning from holding the aſſizes in hither Gaul to his army; and the other about the time of the battle of Munda; and the laſt during the four and twenty days he was upon his expedition from Rome to further Spain. There are extant ſome letters of his to the ſenate, writ in a manner never uſed by any before him,* i. e. *diſtinguiſhed into pages, in the form of a pocket-book; whereas the conſuls and generals 'till then uſed conſtantly in their letters to continue the line quite a croſs the ſheet, without any*

ad

ad familiares domeſticis de rebus: in quibus ſi qua occultius perferenda erant, per notas ſcripſit, id eſt, ſic ſtructo literarum ordine, ut nullum verbum effici poſſet: quæ ſi quis inveſtigare & perſequi vellet, quartam elementorum literam, id eſt, *d* pro *a*, & perinde reliquas commutet. Feruntur & a puero, & ab adoleſcentulo, quædam ſcripta: ut *Laudes Herculis*, tragœd a *OEdipus*: item *Dicta collectanea*: quos omnes libellos vetuit Auguſtus publicari, in epiſtola quam brevi admodum ac ſimplici, ad Pompejum Macrum, cui ordinandas bibliothecas delegraverat, miſit.

folding or diſtinction of pages. There are extant too ſome letters of his to Cicero, as alſo to his friends concerning his domeſtick affairs, in which if there was occaſion for ſecrecy, he uſed to put the letters together in ſuch a manner, that not a ſingle word could be made out: the way to decipher which, was to ſubſtitute a d *for an* a, *and ſo of the reſt. Some things likewiſe paſs under his name, ſaid to have been writ by him when a boy, or but a very young man, as* the Encomium of Hercules, *a tragedy entitled* OEdipus, *and a collection of* apophthegms; *all which Auguſtus forbid to be publiſhed, in a ſhort and plain letter to Pompeius Macer, whom he had appointed to put his libraries in order.*

57. Armorum & equitandi peritiſſimus, laboris ultra fidem patiens erat, in agmine nonnunquam equo ſæpius pedibus anteibat, capite detecto, ſeu ſol ſeu imber eſſet. Longiſſimas vias incredibili celeritate confecit, expeditus, meritoria rheda, centum paſſuum millia in ſingulos dies; ſi flumina morarentur, eando trajiciens, vel innixus inflatis utribus, ut perſæpe nuntios de ſe prævenerit.

57. He was a perfect maſter of his weapons, a complete horſeman, and able to endure fatigue, beyond all belief. Upon a march, he uſed to go at the head of his troops, ſometimes on horſeback, but often on foot, and bare headed too, whether it was fair or foul weather. He would travel in a poſt chaiſe at the rate of an hundred miles a day, and paſs rivers in his way by ſwimming, or ſupported with leathern bags filled with wind, ſo that he oftentimes prevented all intelligence of his approach,

58. In obeundis expeditionibus, dubium, cautior an audentior. Exercitum neque per inſidioſa itinera duxit unquam, niſi perſpiculatus locorum ſitus: neque in Britanniam tranſvexit, niſi ante per ſe portus & navigationem & acceſſum ad inſulam exploraſſet. At idem obſeſſione caſtrorum in Germania nuntiata, per ſtationes hoſtium Gallico habitu penetravit ad ſuos. A Brundiſio Dyrrachium inter oppoſitas claſſes hyeme tranſmiſit. Ceſſantibuſq; copiis, quas ſubſequi juſſerat, cum ad arceſſendas fruſtra ſæpe miſiſſet noviſſime ipſe clam noctu parvulum navigium ſolus obvoluto

58. In his expeditions, it's hard to ſay, whether he was more cautious or more daring. He never marched his army where he was liable to any ambuſh from the enemy, without taking all poſſible precaution by his ſcouts. Nor did he paſs over into Britain, 'till he had made due enquiry into the harbours and what convenience there was for landing his troops. But when advice was brought him of the ſiege of a camp of his in Germany, he made his way to his men in a Gallick habit, thro' the enemy's guards. He went over from Brundiſium to Dyrrachium, in the winter, amidſt the enemy's fleets. And the troops he had ordered to follow him not making that haſte he expected, after he had ſeveral times ſent for them to no purpoſe, he at laſt went privately aboard a ſmall veſſel, in the night-

capite conscendit: neque aut quis esset ante detexit, aut gubernatorem cedere adversæ tempestati passus est, quam pœne obrutus fluctibus.

59. Ne religione quidem ulla a quoquam incepto absterritus unquam vel retardatus est. Cum immolanti aufugisset hostia, profectionem adversus Scipionem et Jubam non distulit. Prolapsus etiam in egressu navis, verso ad melius omine, *teneo te*, inquit, *Africa*. Ad eludendas autem vaticinationes, quibus felix et invictum in ea provincia fataliter Scipionum nomen feretur, despectissimum quendam ex Corneliorum genere, cui ad opprobrium vitæ Salutionis cognomen erat, in castris secum habuit.

60. Prælia non tantum destinato sed ex occasione sumebat: ac sæpe ab itinere statim, interdum spurcissimis tempestatibus cum minime quis moturum putaret: nec nisi tempore extremo ad dimicandum cunctantior factus est. Quo sæpius vicisset, hoc minus experiendos casus opinans: nihilque se tantum acquisiturum victoria, quantum auferre calamitas posset. Nullam unquam hostem fudit, quin castris quoque exueret: ita nullum spatium perterritis dabat. Ancipiti prælio equos demittebat, et in primis suum, quo major permanendi necessitas imponeretur, auxilio fugæ erepto.

61. Utebatur autem equo insigni, pedibus prope humanis, et in modum digitorum ungulis fissis: quem natum apud se, cum haruspices imperium orbis terræ significare domino pronuntiassent, magna

time, and alone with his head muffled up: nor did he discover who he was, or suffer the master to turn with the wind, that was very strong against them, 'till they were ready to sink.

59. *He was never discouraged from any enterprize, or retarded in the prosecution of it, by any ill omens. Tho' a victim he was about to offer in sacrifice got away from him, he did not defer his expedition against Scipio and Juba. And chancing to fall upon his landing, he gave a lucky turn to the omen, by crying out,* I have thee fast, Africa. *And to hunter the prophecies that were given out, as tho' the name of the Scipios was by the decrees of fate lucky and invincible in that province, he kept with him in the camp, a sorry wretch of the family of the Cornelii, who for his scandalous life was sirnamed Salutio.*

60. *He engaged in battle, not only upon long previous deliberation, but upon the sudden, when occasion offered; and oftentimes immediately after a march, and sometimes in dismal weather, when no body could imagine he would stir. Nor was he ever backward of fighting, 'till about the latter end of his life. He then supposed the ofter he had come off with success, the less he ought to expose himself to new hazards; and that he could never acquire so much by any victory, as he might lose by a miscarriage. He never defeated an enemy that he did not at the same time beat out of their camp: so warmly did he pursue his advantage, that he gave them no time to recover their courage. Where the success of a battle proved dubious, he sent off all the officers' horses, and in the first place his own, that being deprived of that convenience for running away, they might be under the stronger obligation to stand their ground.*

61. *He had a very remarkable horse, with feet almost like those of a man, his hoofs being divided so, as to have some resemblance of toes. This horse he had bred himself, and took a particular care of; because the soothsayers gave it as their opinion, that the master of him would be master of*

cura

cura a'uit: nec patientem sessoris alterius, primus adscendit: cujus etiam instar pro æde Veneris genetricis postea dedicavit.

62. Inclinatam aciem solus sæpe restituit, obsistens fugientibus, retinensque singulos, et contortis faucibus convertens in hostem: et quidem adeo plerumque trepidos, ut aquilifer moranti cuspide sit comminatus, alius in manu detinentis reliquerit signum.

63. Non m nora illa constantiæ ejus, imo majora etiam indicia fuerant: post aciem Pharsalicam, cum præmissis in Asiam copiis, per augustias Hellesponti vectoria novicula trajiceret, L. Cassium partis adversæ cum decem rostratis navibus obvium sibi, neque refugit: et cominus tendens, ultro ad deditionem hortatus, supplicem ad se recepit.

64. Alexandriæ, circa oppugnationem pontis, eruptione hostium subita compulsus in scapham, pluribus eodem præcipitantibus, cum desiliisset in mare, nando per cc passus, evasit ad proximam navem, elata læva, ne libelli, quos tenebat, madefierent: paludamentum mordicas trahens, ne spolio potiretur hostis.

65. Militem neque a moribus neque a fortuna probabat, sed tantum a viribus: tractabatque pari severitate atque indulgentia. Non enim ubique ac semper, sed cum hostis in proximo esset, coercebat: tum maxime exactor graviſſimus disciplinæ, ut neque itineris, neq; prælii tempus denuntiaret: sed paratum et intentum momentis omnibus, quo vellet, subito educeret. Quod etiam sine causa plerumque faciebat, præ-

the world too. He backed him too himself, for the horse would suffer no other rider. And afterwards erected a statue of him, before the temple of mother Venus.

62. *He oftentimes alone put new life into his army, when they were ready to run for it, opposing and stopping such as fled, and turning them by the jaws upon the enemy; tho' so frighted many of them, that an eagle bearer, upon his stopping him, made a pass at him with the sharp end of his standard; and another upon the like occasion left his in his hand.*

63. *The following instances of his resolution are no less, nay more remarkable. After the battle of Pharsalia, having sent his troops before him into Asia, as he was passing the Hellespont in a ferry-boat, he met with L. Cassius, one of the opposite party, with ten ships of war, but was so far from flinching, that he advanced close up with him, and advised him to surrender, and upon his compliance took him into the boat to him.*

64. *At Alexandria, in the attack of a bridge, being forced by a sudden sally of the enemy into a boat, and several hurrying in along with him, he jumped into the sea, and saved himself by swimming to the next ship, which was two hundred paces off; holding up his left hand out of the water, for fear of wetting some papers he had in it; and pulling his general's cloke after him with his teeth, lest it should fall into the enemy's hands.*

65. *He valued not a soldier either for his manners or his fortune, but for his strength only; and treated them with equal severity and indulgence; for he did not every where and always keep a strict hand over them, but only when an enemy was near: then indeed he was a rigorous exacter of discipline; so that he would give no notice of march or battle, 'till the moment he was to enter upon them, that the troops might hold themselves in readiness for any sudden motion; and he would frequently draw them out of the camp, without any necessity for it, especially in rainy wea-*

cipue pluviis, et festis diebus. Ac subinde observandum se admonens, repente interdiu vel nocte subtrahebat: augebatque iter, ut serius subsequentes defatigaret.

66. Fama vero hostilium copiarum perterritos non negando, minuendove, sed insuper amplificando, mentiendoque confirmabat. Itaque cum expectatio adventus Jubæ terribilis esset, convocatis ad concionem militibus, *Scitote*, inquit, *proximis his diebus regem affuturum cum x legionibus, equitum xxx, levis armaturæ c millibus, elephantis ccc. Proinde desinant quidam quærere ultra, aut opinari, mihique qui compertum habeo credant: aut quidem vetustissima nave impositos, quocumque vento, in quascumque terras jubebo avehi.*

67 Delicta neque observabat omnia, neque pro modo exsequebatur: sed desertorum ac seditiosorum et inquisitor et punitor acerrimus, connivebat in cæteris. Ac nonnunquam post magnam pugnam atque victoriam, remisso officiorum munere licentiam omnem passim lasciviendi permittebat: jactare solitus, *milites suos etiam unguentatos bene pugnare posse*: nec *milites* eos pro concione, sed blandiori nomine *commilitones* appellabat: habebatque tam cultos, ut argento et auro politis armis ornaret: simul et ad speciem, et quo tenaciores eorum in prælio essent, metu damni. Diligebat quoque usque adeo, ut audita clade Tituriana barbam capillumque summiserit; nec ante dempserit quam vindicasset. Quibus rebus et devotissimos sibi, et fortissimos reddidit.

ther, and upon holy-days. And sometimes giving them warning to watch him, he would suddenly withdraw himself, by day or by night; and would oblige them to long marches, on purpose to tire them, if they were tardy.

66. *And if at any time his soldiers were disheartened with reports of the force of the enemy, he recovered them, not by denying the truth of what was said, or mincing the matter, but by enlarging and improving upon it. And accordingly, when his army were under terrible apprehensions of the arrival of king Juba, he called them together, and said,* You are to understand, that in a few days the king will be here, with ten legions, thirty thousand horse, a hundred thousand light armed foot, and three hundred elephants. And therefore let none presume to trouble their heads with further enquiry or giving their sentiments upon the matter, but take my word for what I say; which I have upon very good intelligence; otherwise I shall put them a board a crazy old vessel and leave them exposed to the mercy of the winds.

67. *He neither took notice of all their faults, nor proportioned his punishments to the nature of them. But deserters and mutineers he would be sure to find out, if possible, and punish severely; others he would connive at; and sometimes after a successful battle, he would excuse them from all manner of duty, and leave them to revel at pleasure, being used to boast,* that his soldiers fought never the worse for being perfumed. *In his speeches to them, he called them not* soldiers, *but by the softer name of* fellow-soldiers; *and kept them so fine, that their arms were trimmed with silver and gold, as well to make the finer appearance, as also to render them the more tenacious of them in battle, from their value. And he loved them to that degree, that when he heard of the disaster of his troops under Tituriu, he neither cut his hair nor shaved his beard, 'till he had revenged it upon the enemy; by which means he made them infinitely fond of him, and brave to the last degree.*

68. In-

68. Ingresso civile bellum, centuriones cujusque legionis singulos equites e viatico suo obtulerunt, et universi milites gratuitam et sine frumento stipendioque operam, cum tenuiorum tutelam locupletiores in se contulissent. Neq; in tam diuturno spatio quisquam omnino defecit: pleriq; capti concessam sibi sub conditione vitam; si militare adversus eum vellent, recusarunt. Famem et cæteras necessitates, non cum obsiderentur modo, sed et si alios ipsi obsiderent, tantopere tolerabant, ut Dyrrachina munitione Pompejus, viso genere panis ex herba, quo sustinebantur, *cum feris sibi rem esse*, dixeret: amoveriq; ocius, nec cuiquam ostendi, jusserit: ne patientia et pertinacia hostis, animi suorum frangerentur. Quanta fortitudine dimicaverint, testimonio est, quod adverso semel apud Dyrrachium prælio pœnam in se ultro depoposcerunt: ut consolandos eos magis imperator quam puniendos habuerit. Cæteris præliis innumeras adversariorum copias multis partibus ipsi pauciores facile superaverunt. Deniq; una sextæ legionis cohors præposita castello, quatuor Pompeji legiones per aliquot horas sustinuit, pæne omnis confixa multitudine hostilium sagittarum, quarum centum ac triginta millia intra vallum reperta sunt. Nec mirum, si quis singulorum facta respiciat, vel Cassii Scævæ centurionis, vel C. Acilii militis, ne de pluribus referam. Scæva excusso oculo, transfixus femore et humero, centum et viginti ictibus scuto perforato, custodiam portæ commissi castelli retinuit. Acilius navali ad Massiliam prælio, injecta in

68. *Upon his engaging in the civil war the centurions of every legion offered each of them to maintain a horseman at their own expence, and the whole army agreed to serve gratis, without either corn or pay; the rich taking upon them the maintenance of the poor. Nor did any one of them in all that time go over to the enemy; and most of those that were taken prisoners, tho' they were offered their lives, upon the condition of bearing arms against him, refused. They bore want, and other hardships, not only when they were besieged themselves, but when they besieged others, to that degree, that Pompey, when blocked up in the neighbourhood of Dyrrachium, upon seeing a sort of bread made of an herb, which they lived upon, said,* he had to do with wild beasts; *and ordered it immediately to be taken away, and that no body should see it, lest the spirits of his men should be broke by seeing the hardiness, and desperate resolution of the enemy. With what bravery they fought, this is proof enough, that after an unsuccessful rencounter at Dyrrachium, they desired him to punish them; insomuch that their general found it more necessary to comfort than punish them. In the other battles they defeated with ease vast armies of the enemy, tho' they were much inferior to them in number. To conclude, one battalion of the sixth legion, held out a fort against four legions of Pompey's for several hours, being almost every man of them wounded, by the vast number of arrows poured in upon them, of which there were found a hundred and thirty thousand within the rampart. And no wonder, if one does but consider the behaviour of some single men amongst them, as of the centurion Cassius Scæva, or C. Acilius, a common soldier. Scæva, after he had an eye struck out, was run through the thigh and the shoulder, and had his shield bored in an hundred and twenty places, still maintained the guard of a gate, in a fort he was entrusted with the command of. And Acilius in the sea fight at Marseilles, having seized a ship of the enemy with his right-hand, and that being cut off, in imitation of that memorable in-*

pup-

puppem hostium dextra, et abscissa, memorabile illud apud Græcos Cynægyri exemplum imitatus, transilivit in navem umbone obvios agens.

69. Seditionem per x annos Gallicis bellis nullam omnino moverunt, civilibus aliquas; sed ut celeriter ad officium redierint, nec tam indulgentia ducis quam auctoritate. Non enim cessit unquam tumultuantibus, atque etiam obviam semper iit. Et nonam quidem legionem apud Placentiam, quamquam adhuc in armis Pompejus esset, totam cum ignominia missam fecit: atque post multas et supplices preces, nec nisi exacta de sontibus pœna, restituit.

70. Decumanos autem Romæ cum ingentibus minis, summoque etiam urbis periculo, missionem et præmia flagitantes, ardente tunc in Africa bello, neque adire cunctatus est, quanquam deterrentibus amicis, neque dimittere: sed una voce, qua *Quirites* eos pro militibus appellaret, tam facile circumegit et flexit, ut ei *milites* esse confestim responderint, et quamvis recusantem ultro in Africam sint secuti: ac sic quoque seditiosissimum quemque et prædæ et agri destinati tertia parte multavit.

71. Studium et fides erga clientes, ne juveni quidem defuerunt. Masinthan nobilem juvenem, cum adversus Hiempsalem regem tam enixe defendisset, ut Jubæ regis filio in altercatione barbam invaserit, stipendiarium quoque pronunciatum, et abstrahentibus statim eripuit, occultavitque apud se diu: et mox ex prætura proficiscens in Hispaniam, inter of-

stance of resolution in Cynægyrus among st the Greeks, jump'd into the ship, bearing down all before him, with the boss of his shield.

69. *They never so much as once mutinied, during all the ten years of the Gallick war, but were sometimes a little guilty that way in the civil war; but so that they quickly returned to their duty again, which was effected, not so much by the compliance, as the authority of their general. For he never gave ground to them one jot upon those occasions, but constantly stood buff. The ninth legion he dismissed entirely with ignominy at Placentia, tho' Pompey was at that time in arms; and would not receive them again into his service, but with much ado, after the most humble submission and entreaty, and not till the ringleaders in the mutiny were all punished.*

70. *And when the soldiers of the tenth legion at Rome demanded their discharge, and rewards for their service, with huge threats, and no small danger to the city, tho' the war at that time was warmly carried on against him in Africa, and his friends endeavoured to dissuade him from it, he immediately came up to them, and disbanded them; but at the same time so easily turn'd and fetch'd them about with a single word, calling them* Quirites, *instead of soldiers, that they immediately replied, they were his* soldiers, *and followed him into Africa, notwithstanding he refused their service; yet nevertheless he punish'd the most seditious of them, with the loss of a third of their share in the plunder, and the land designed for them.*

71. *He was wonderful zealous and faithful in the service of his clients, even whilst he was yet but a young man. He defended the cause of a noble youth, by name Masintha, against king Hiempsal, with that keenness, that in a wrangle that happened upon the occasion, he seized Juba the king's son by the beard; and upon his being declared tributary to Hiempsal, he immediately took him by force, from those that were carrying him off, and kept him concealed in his house a long time; and when he went*

ficia

ficia prosequentium, fasces que lictorum, lectica sua avexit.

72. Amicos tanta semper facilitate indulgentiaque tractavit, ut C Oppio comitanti se per sylvestre iter, correptoque subita valetudine et in diversorio, quod unum erat, cesserit: ac ipse humi ac sub divo cubuerit. Jam autem rerum potens, quosdam, etiam infimi generis ad amplissimos honores provexit. Cum ob id culparetur, professus est palam, *si grassatorum et sicariorum ope in tuenda sua dignitate usus esset, talibus quoque se parem gratiam relaturum.*

73. Simultates contra nullos tam graves excepit unquam, ut non occasione oblata libens deponeret. C. Memmii, cujus asperrimis orationibus non minore acerbitate rescripserat, etiam suffragator mox in petitione consulatus fuit. C. Calvo post famosa epigrammata de reconciliatione per amicos agenti, ultro ac prior scripsit. Valerium Catullum, a quo sibi versiculis de Mamurra perpetua stigmata imposita non dissimulaverat, satisfacientem, eadem die adhibuit cœnæ: hospitioq; patris ejus, sicut consueverat, uti perseveravit.

74. Sed et in ulciscendo natura leniissimus. Piratas, a quibus captus est, cum in deditionem redegisset, quoniam suffixurum se cruci ante juraverat, jugulari prius jussit, deinde suffigi. Cornelio Phagitæ, cujus quondam nocturnas insidias æger ac latens ne perduceretur ad Sullam, vix præmio dato evaserat, nunquam nocere sus-

at the expiration of his prætorship for Spain, carried him off in his chair, amidst his serjeants, and others that came to attend and take leave of him.

72. *He always treated his friends with that good-nature and kindness, that when C. Oppius in travelling along with him through a forest, was suddenly taken ill, he quitted to him the only place there was to lodge in at night, and lay upon the ground, and in the open air. And when he came to have the whole power of the commonwealth in his hands, he advanced some of his friends, tho' of very mean extraction, to the highest posts in the government. And when he was reflected upon for it, he openly declared,* That had he been assisted by robbers and cut throats in the defence of his honour, he would have made them the same requital.

73. *He never in any quarrel carried his resentment so far, as not very willingly to lay it down upon any fair occasion offered. Tho' C. Memmius had published some very abusive speeches against him, and he had answered him with equal sharpness, yet he afterwards assisted him with his vote and interest when he stood for the consulship. And when C. Calvus, after the publishing of some scandalous epigrams upon him, endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation by the intercession of friends, he writ the first letter. And when Valerius Catullus, who had, as he himself could not forbear to take notice, in his verses upon Mamurra, put a stur upon his character never to be wiped off, begged his pardon, he invited him to supper the same day, and continued to take up his lodging with his father, upon occasion, as he had been used to do.*

74. *He had a natural abhorrence of severity. After he had made the pirates, by whom he had been taken, prisoners, because he had sworn he would crucify them, he did so indeed; but ordered their throats to be cut first. He could never find in his heart to do any harm to Cornelius Phagitas, notwithstanding he had, not without difficulty, and a good bribe too, got out of his clutches, after he had in the night trepanned him, with a design to carry him*

tinuit.

tinuit. Philemonem a manu ſervum, qui necem ſuam per venenum inimicis promiſerat, non gravius quam ſimplici morte puniit. In P. Clodium Pompejæ uxoris ſuæ adulterum, atque eadem de cauſa pollutarum ceremoniarum reum, teſtis citatus, negavit ſe quidquam comperiſſe: quamvis et mater Aurelia, et ſoror Julia, apud eoſdem judices, omnia ex fide retuliſſent: interrogatuſque, cur igitur repudiaſſet uxorem, *Quoniam*, inquit, *meos tam ſuſpicione quam crimine judico carere oportere.*

75. Moderationem vero clementiamque, tum in adminiſtratione, tum in victoria belli civilis, admirabilem exhibuit. Denuntiante Pompejo, pro hoſtibus ſe habiturum, qui reip. defuiſſent: ipſe medios et neutrius partis, ſuorum ſibi numero futuros pronuntiavit. Quitus autem ex commendatione Pompeji, ordines dederat, poteſtatem tranſeundi ad eum omnibus fecit. Motis apud Ilerdam deditionis conditionibus, cum aſſiduo inter utraſq; partes uſu atq; commercio, Afranius ac Petrejus deprehenſos intra caſtra Julianos ſubita pœnitentia interfeciſſent, admiſſam in ſe perfidiam non ſuſtinuit imitari. Acie Pharſalica proclamavit *ut civibus parceretur*: deincepſq; nemini non ſuorum quem vellet unum partis adverſæ ſervare conceſſit: nec ulli periiſſe, niſi in prælio reperiuntur, exceptis duntaxat Afranio et Fauſto et L. Cæſare juvene: ac ne hos quidem voluntate ipſius interemptos putant: quorum tamen et priores poſt impetratam veniam rebellaverant: et Cæſar libertis ſerviſq; ejus ferro et igni crudelem in modum enectis, beſtias

to Sylla. Philemon, his ſecretary, who had promiſed his enemies to poiſon him, he put to death only, without torture And when he was ſummoned as a witneſs againſt P. Clodius his lady's gallant, who was proſecuted for a ſcandalous affront upon the religion of his country, he declared he knew nothing of the matter, tho' his mother Aurelia, and his ſiſter Julia, gave the court an exact and full account of what they knew of the affair. And being aſked why then he had divorced his wife? Becauſe, *ſays he*, I would have thoſe of my family not only clear of all crime, but ſuſpicion too.

75. *He ſhewed a wonderful moderation and clemency in the adminiſtration of the government, as well as his behaviour towards the conquered party in the civil war. And whilſt Pompey declared that he would treat all thoſe as enemies, that did not riſe in defence of the government, he declared he ſhould look upon all thoſe that ſtood neuter as his friends. And as for all thoſe, to whom he had at the inſtance of Pompey given companies, he granted them leave to go over to him, if they would. And when ſome propoſals were made at Ilerda, in order to a ſurrender, that occaſioned a pretty free communication betwixt the two camps, and Afranius and Petreius, upon a ſudden alteration of mind, had put to the ſword all Cæſar's men that they found in their camp, he ſcorn'd to imitate the vile treachery they had practiſed againſt himſelf. In the field of Pharſalia he called out to his ſoldiers* to ſpare their fellow citizens, *and afterwards gave liberty to every man in his army to ſave an enemy. Nor did any of them indeed loſe their lives but in battle, excepting only Afranius, Fauſtus, and young Lucius Cæſar; and it's thought too, they were put to death without his conſent. The two former of which had bore arms againſt him, after their pardon had been granted them, and Cæſar had not only in the moſt cruel manner deſtroyed his freed-men and ſlaves with fire and ſword, but cut to pieces too the wild beaſts, he had prepared for*

quoq

quoq; ad munus populi comparatas contrucidaverat. Denique tempore extremo etiam quibus nondum ignoverat, cunctis in Italiam redire permisit, magistratusq; et imperia capere. Sed et statuas L. Sullæ atque Pompeii a plebe disjectas, reposuit. Ac si qua posthac aut cogitarentur gravius adversus se, aut dicerentur, inhibere maluit quam vindicare. Itaque et detectas conjurationes, conventusq; nocturnos, non ultra arguit, quam ut edicto ostenderet esse sibi notas: et acerbe loquentibus satis habuit pro concione denuntiare ne perseverarent. Aulique Cæcinnæ criminosissimo libro, et Pitholai carminibus maledicentissimis, laceratam existimationem suam, civili animo tulit.

76. Prægravant tamen cætera facta dictaque ejus, ut et abusus dominatione, et jure cæsus existimetur. Non enim honores modo nimios recepit, ut continuum consulatum, perpetuam dictaturam præfecturamque morum, insuper prænomen imperatoris, cognomen patris patriæ, statuam inter reges, suggestum inter orchestra: sed et ampliora etiam humano fastigio decerni sibi passus est: sedem auream in curia et pro tribunali, thensam et ferculum Circensi pompa, templa, aras, simulacra juxta deos, pulvinar, flaminem, lupercos, appellationem mensis e suo nomine. Ac nullos non honores ad libidinem cepit, et dedit. Tertium et quartum consulatum titulo tenus gessit, contentus dictaturæ potestate decretæ cum consulatibus simul: atque utroque anno binos consules substituit sibi in ternos novissimos menses: ita ut medio tempore

the entertainment of the people. And finally, a little before his death, he gave liberty for all he had not yet pardoned to return into Italy, and admitted them to a capacity of bearing offices, both civil and military. Nay, he moreover erected again the statues of Sylla and Pompey, which had been thrown down by the mob. And any contrivances against him, or reflections upon him, he chose rather to put a stop to, than punish; and accordingly, with regard to any conspiracies against him that came to light, or nightly cabals, he went no farther than only to signify by a proclamation, that he knew of them. And with respect to such as took the liberty to reflect upon him with great severity, he only warned them in a publick speech, not to persist in their folly: and bore with a great deal of moderation a libel of Aulus Cæcinna against him, full of the most bitter invectives, and the scandalous lampoons of Pitholaus, most highly reflecting upon his honour.

76. *Yet his other actions and declarations with regard to the publick, so far outweigh all his good qualities, that it is thought he abused his power, and was very justly taken off. For he not only accepted of excessive honours, as the consulship every year successively, the dictatorship for life, the superintendency of the publick manners; moreover the prenomen of imperator, the title of father of his country, a statue amongst the kings, and a throne in the place assigned the senators in the theatre; but he likewise suffered some things to be decreed for him, much too great for the greatest of the sons of men; as a golden chair in the senate-house, and upon the bench, when he sate for the trial of causes, a stately chariot in the Circensian procession, temples, altars, images near the gods, a bed of state in the temples, a peculiar priest, and a college of priests, like those appointed in honour of Pan; and that one of the months should be called by his name. He did indeed both assume to himself, and grant to others all manner of honours at pleasure. In his third and fourth consulship, he had but the title of the office, being well contented with the power of dictator, which*

comitia nulla habuerit, præter tribunorum et ædilium plebis: præfectosq; pro prætoribus constituerit, qui præsente se res urbanas administrarent. Pridie autem Kal. Januarias repentina consulis morte cessantem honorem in paucas horas petenti dedit. Eadem licentia spreto patriæ more, magistratus in plures annos ordinavit. Decem prætoriis viris consularia ornamenta tribuit. Civitate donatos, et quosdam e semibarbaris Gallorum recepit in curiam. Præterea monetæ, publicisque vectigalibus, peculiares servos præposuit. Trium legionum, quas Alexandriæ relinquebat, curam, et imperium Rufini liberti sui filio, exoleto suo, demandavit.

was conferred upon him at the same time; and in both the years, he substituted other consuls in his room, for the three last months; so that in the meanwhile beheld no assemblies of the people, for the choice of magistrates, excepting only tribunes and ædiles of the commons, and appointed officers under the name of prefects, instead of the prætors, to manage the affairs of the city in his presence. And he conferred the honour of the consulship, which was vacant by the sudden death of one of the consuls, the day before the 1st of January, upon a gentleman, that made suit to him for it, for a few hours. And with the same licentious freedom, in defiance to the constant usage of his country, he nominated the magistrates for several years to come. He granted the distinguishing badges of the consular dignity to ten prætorian gentlemen, and chose into the senate some that had been made free of the city, even of the Gauls, little better than meer Barbarians. He likewise committed the management of the mint, and the publick revenue of the state to his own servants; and intrusted the command of three legions he left at Alexandria, to an old catamite of his, the son of his freed-man Rufinus.

77. Nec minoris impotentiæ voces propalam edebat, ut T. Ampius scribit: *Nihil esse remp. appellationem modo, sine corpore, ac specie, Sullam nesciisse litteras. qui dictaturam deposuerit. Debere homines consideratius jam loqui secum, ac pro legibus habere quæ dicat.* Eoque arrogantiæ progressus est, ut haruspice tristia et sine corde exta sacro quodam nuntiante, *futura* diceret *lætiora, cum vellet: nec pro ostento ducendum si pecudi cor defuisset.*

77. *He was guilty of the like extravagance in his publick conversation, as T. Ampius informs us: he said* the commonwealth was nothing but a name, without substance, or so much as the appearance of any; that Sylla was an illiterate fellow to lay down the dictatorship. That men ought to be more cautious in their converse with him, and look upon what he said as a law. *And he proceeded to that height of arrogance, that when a sooth sayer brought him word, that the entrails of a victim opened for sacrifice were without a heart, he said* the entrails would be more favourable when he pleased, and that it ought not to be looked upon as any ill omen, if a beast did want a heart.

78. Verum præcipuam et inexpiabilem sibi invidiam hinc maxime movit: adeuntes se cum plurimis honorificentissimisque decretis, universos patres conscriptos sedens pro æde Veneris genetricis excepit. Quidam putant retentum a Cornelio Balbo, cum conaretur assurgere: alii

78. *But what brought upon him the greatest and the most invincible odium, was his receiving the whole body of the senate sitting, when they came to wait upon him before the temple of mother Venus, with a great many very honourable decrees in his favour. Some say he was held down, as he attempted to rise up, by Corn. Balbus. Others say he did not attempt it at all,*

ne

ne conatum quidem omnino, ſed etiam admonentem C. Trebatum, ut aſſurgeret minus familiari vultu reſpexiſſe. Idq; factum ejus tanto intolerabilius eſt viſum, quod ipſe triumphanti, et ſubſellia tribunitia prætervehenti ſibi, unum e collegio Pontium Aquilam non aſſurrexiſſe adeo indignatus ſit, ut proclamaverit, *Repete ergo a me Aquila remp. tribunus:* et nec deſtiterit per continuos dies quidquam cuiquam, niſi ſub exceptione polliceri: *ſi tamen per Pontium Aquilam licuerit.*

79. Adjecit ad tam inſignem deſpecti ſenatus contumeliam, multo arrogantius factum. Nam cum ſacrificio Latinarum revertente eo inter immodicas ac novas populi acclamationes, quidam e turba ſtatuæ ejus coronam lauream candida faſcia præligatam impoſuiſſet: et tribuni plebis Epidius Marullus Cæſetiuſq; Flavus coronæ faſciam detrahi, hominemq; duci in vincula juſſiſſent, dolens ſeu parum proſpere motam regni mentionem, ſive, ut ferebat, ereptam ſibi gloriam recuſandi, tribunos graviter increpitos poteſtate privavit: neque ex eo infamiam affectati etiam regii nominis diſcutere valuit; quanquam et plebei regem ſe ſalutanti, *Cæſarem ſe, non Regem* eſſe reſponderit: et Lupercalibus, pro roſtris a conſule Antonio admotum ſæpius capiti ſuo diadema repulerit, atq; in capitolium Jovi Op. Max. miſerit. Quinetiam varia fama percrebuit, migraturum Alexandriam vel Ilium, tranſlatis ſimul opibus imperii, exhauſtaq; Italia delectibus, et procuratione urbis amicis permiſſa: proximo autem ſenatu L. Cottam quindecim virum ſententiam dictu-

but looked ſomewhat angrily at C. Trebatius, who put him in mind of ſtanding up. And this behaviour appeared the more intolerable in him, becauſe when one of the tribunes of the commons Pontius Aquila, would not riſe up to him, as in his triumph he paſſed by the place where they ſat, he was ſo angry with him, that he cried out, Well then, maſter tribune, take the government out of my hands. *And for ſome days after, he never promiſed any thing, but with this proviſo,* that Pontius Aquila would allow of it.

79. *To this notable affront upon the ſenate, he added a much more inſolent action. For when, after the ſacrifice of the Latin feſtival, he was returning home, amidſt the inceſſant and unuſual acclamations of the people, one of the croud put upon a ſtatue of his a laurel crown, with a white ribbon tied about it, and the tribunes of the commons, Epidius Marullus and Cæſetius Flavus, ordered the ribbon to be taken from the crown, and the man to be carried to priſon; being much concerned either that the mention of his advancement to a kingly power had been ſo unluckily made, or, as he pretended, that the glory of refuſing it had been thus taken from him, he chid the tribunes very ſeverely, and turned them both out of their office. And from that day forward he was never able to wipe off the ſcandal of affecting the name of king; altho' he replied to the people, when they ſaluted him by the title of king,* that his name was Cæſar, not Rex: *and in the feaſt of the Lupercalia, when the conſul Anthony in the roſtra put a diadem upon his head ſeveral times, he as often put it away, and ſent it into the capitol to Jupiter. There was a ſtrong report too, that he deſigned to remove to Alexandria or Ilium, and in order to it, to tranſfer thither the ſtrength of the empire, to drain Italy by new levies, and leave the government of the city to his friends: and that in the next meeting of the ſenate L. Cotta, one of the fifteen commiſſioners entruſted with the care of the Sybils books, would move the*

rum: ut, quoniam libris fatalibus contineretur, Parthos nisi a rege, non posse vinci, Cæsar rex appellaretur.

80. Quæ causa conjuratis maturandi fuit destinata negotia, ne assentiri necesse esset. Consilia igitur dispersim antea habita, et quæ sæpe bini ternive ceperant, in unum omnes contulerunt: ne populo quidem jam præsenti statu læto: sed clam palamque detractante dominationem, atque assertores flagitante. Peregrinis in senatum allectis libellus propositus est: *Bonum factum: Ne quis senatori novo curiam monstrare velit.* Et illa vulgo canebantur.

house that, since there was in those books a prophecy, that the Parthians should never be subdued but by a king, Cæsar should have that title conferred upon him.

80. *This was the reason why the conspirators against his life hastened the execution of their design, lest they should be obliged to comply with that proposal; wherefore, instead of caballing any longer separately by two or three together, they now united their counsels, the people themselves being not at all satisfied with the present state of affairs, but privately and publickly declaring against the tyranny they were under, and calling out amain for some to assert their cause against the usurper. Upon the admission of foreigners into the senate, a libel was posted up in these words:* A good deed: That no one should shew a new senator the way to the house. *And these verses were commonly sung.*

Gallos Cæsar in triumphum ducit, iidem in curia
Galli braccas deposuerunt, latum clavum sumserunt.
The Gauls in triumph here by Cæsar led,
Put off their breeches straight, and in their stead
The Senatorian Tunick took.

Q. Maximo suffecto trimestriq; consule theatrum introeunte, cum lictor animadverti ex more jussisset, ab universis conclamatum est: *Non esse consulem eum.* Post remotos Cæsetium et Marullum tribunos, reperta sunt proximis comitiis complura suffragia, consules eos declarantium. Subscripsere quidam L. Bruti statuæ, *Utinam viveres.* Item ipsius Cæsaris statuæ:

When Q. Maximus, deputed by him for the three last months of his consulship, entered the theatre, and his officer, according to custom, bid the people take notice who was coming, they all cried out, that he was no consul. *After the removal of Cæsetius and Marullus from their office, they were found to have a great many votes in the next election of consuls. Some writ under the statue of L. Brutus,* Would you were alive. *As also under a statue of Cæsar himself;*

Brutus, quia reges ejecit, consul primus factus est:
Hic, quia consules ejecit, rex postremo factus est.
Brutus, because he drove the royal race
From Rome, was first made consul in their place:
This man, because he turn'd the consuls out,
Was made a king at last, for that good bout.

Conspiratum est in eum a lx amplius, C. Cassio, Marcoq; et D. Bruto principibus conspira-

Above sixty persons were engaged in the conspiracy against him, the principal whereof were C. Cassius, M. and Decimus Bru-

tionis

tionis. Qui primum cunctati, utrumne illum in campo per comitia tribus ad suffragia vocantem partibus divisis e ponte dejicerent, atque exceptum trucidarent: an in sacra via vel in aditu theatri adorirentur: postquam senatus Idibus Martiis in Pompeji curiam edictus est, facile tempus et locum prætulerunt.

81. Sed Cæsari futura cædes evidentibus prodigiis denuntiata est. Paucos ante menses cum in colonia Capua deducti lege Julia coloni, ad extruendas villas sepulcra vetustissima disjicerent, idq; eo studiosius facerent, quod aliquantum vasculorum operis antiqui scrutantes reperiebant: tabula ænea in monumento, in quo dicebatur Capys conditor Capuæ sepultus, inventa est, conscriptis litteris verbisq; Græcis, hac sententia. *Quandoque ossa Capyis detecta essent, fore ut Julo prognatus manu consanguineorum necaretur, magnisque mox Italiæ cladibus vindicaretur.* Cujus rei, ne quis fabulosam aut commentitiam putet, auctor est Cornelius Balbus, familiarissimus Cæsaris. Proximis diebus equorum greges, quos in trajiciendo Rubicone flumine consecrarat, ac vagos et sine custode dimiserat, comperit pertinacissime pabulo abstinere, ubertimq; flere. Et immolantem haruspex Spurinna monuit, caveret periculum, quod non ultra Martias Idus proferretur. Pridie autem easdem Idus, avem regaliolum, cum laureo ramulo Pompejanæ curiæ se inferentem, volucres varii generis ex proximo nemore persecutæ, ibidem discerpserunt. Ea vero nocte cui illuxit dies cædis, et ipse sibi

tus, who at first had some debate, whether they should attack him in the field of Mars, as he was summoning the tribes to vote, and some of them throw him off the bridge, whilst others below should stab him upon his fall; or else in the sacred way, or in the entrance of the theatre. But after publick notice was given by proclamation for the senate to assemble upon the ides of March, in the senate house built by Pompey, they approved both of the time and the place, as most proper for their purpose.

81. *But Cæsar had warning given him of his approaching fate by several plain prodigies. A few months before, when some of the colony settled, by virtue of a law of his own preferring, at Capua, were pulling down some old sepulchres, for the building of country-houses, and were the busier in that work, because they found some vessels of antique workmanship, a table of brass was found in a monument, wherein Capys the founder of Capua was said to be buried, with an inscription, the letters and words of which were both Greek, to this effect,* That whenever the bones of Capys came to be uncovered, a descendant from Julus would be slain by the hands of his relations, and his death revenged by dreadful devastations throughout all Italy. *And this account, lest any one should think it an idle story, comes from C. Balbus, an intimate friend of Cæsar's. A few days too before his death, some horses, which upon his passing the Rubicon, he had consecrated, and let loose to graze without any keeper, he was informed, refrained eating entirely, and wept plentifully. And the sooth-sayer Spurinna, upon the foundation of some ominous appearances in a sacrifice he was offering, advised him to look to himself, otherwise some mischief would befal him, before the ides of March were over. And the day before the ides, birds of several kinds from a neighbouring grove pursuing a wren, that flew into Pompey's senate-house, with a sprig of laurel in its bill, tore it there all to pieces. The night too before the day of his being slain, he dream'd that he was got above the clouds, and shaking hands with Jupiter.*

visus

visus est per quietem interdum supra nubes volitare, alias cum Jove dextram jungere. Et Calpurnia uxor imaginata est, collabi fastigium domus, maritumque in gremio suo confodi: ac subito cubiculi fores sponte patuerunt. Ob hæc simul et ob infirmam valetudinem diu cunctatus, an se continere et quæ apud senatum proposuerat, agere differret: tandem D Bruto adhortante, ne frequentes ac jamdudum opperientes destitueret, quinta fere hora progressus est: libellumque insidiarum indicem, ab obvio quodam porrectum, libellis cæteris, quos sinistra manu tenebat, quasi mox lecturus, commiscuit. Dein pluribus hostiis cæsis, cum litare non posset, introiit curiam, spreta religione, Spurrinnamque irridens, et ut falsum arguens, quod sine ulla noxa Idus Martiæ adessent: quamquam is *venisse quidem eas* diceret, *sed non præteriisse*.

82. Assidentem conspirati, specie officii circumsteterunt: illicoque Cimber Tullius, qui primas partes susceperat, quasi aliquid rogaturus, propius accessit: renuentique et gestu in aliud tempus differenti, ab utroque humero togam apprehendit: deinde clamantem, *Ista quidem vis est*, alter Cassius adversum vulnerat paullum infra jugulum. Cæsar Cassii brachium arreptum graphio trajecit: conatusque prosilire, alio vulnere tardatus est. Utque animadvertit undique se strictis pugionibus peti, toga caput obvolvit: simul sinistra manu sinum ad ima crura deduxit, quo honestius caderet, etiam inferiore corporis parte velata. Atque ita tribus et viginti plagis confossus est, uno modo ad primum

And his lady Calpurnia fancied in her sleep that the top of the house was coming down, and her husband stabb'd in her bosom, immediately upon which, the chamber-doors flew open. Being in some doubt with himself, as well upon account of these omens, as his ill state of health, whether he should keep at home, and put off to some other time the business he intended to propose to the Senate; at last prevailed upon by the perswasions of Decimus Brutus, who advised him by no means to baulk the Senators, who were met in a full house, and waited his coming, he set forward about eleven o'clock. In his way, a paper was put into his hands, containing an account of the plot, which he mixed with some others he held in his left-hand, as if he would read it by and by. After this, tho' victim upon victim was slain without any favourable appearances in the entrails, yet in defiance of all that, he entered the house, laughing at Spurinna as a false prophet, because the ides of March were now come without any harm at all. To which he reply'd, They were come indeed, but not past.

82. *After he was sat down, the conspirators gathered about him under colour of paying their compliments; and immediately Cimber Tullius, who had taken upon him to make the first onset, advancing nearer than the rest, as if he had some favour to requeſt of him, he made signs to him to let it alone to some other time; upon which he seized him by the toga, upon both shoulders; at which he crying out,* This is plain violence, *one of the Cassius's wounded him a little below the throat. Cæsar seized upon his arm, and run it through with his style; and endeavouring to rush forward, was stopped by another wound. And then finding himself attacked on all hands with drawn swords, he wrapped up his head in his toga, and at the same time drew the lap of it over his legs, that he might fall the more decently, with the lower part of his body covered; and so was stabbed with three and twenty wounds, fetching a groan only upon the first wound, with-*

primum ictum gemitu sine voce edito. Etsi tradiderunt quidam, M. Bruto irruenti dixisse, Καὶ σὺ εἰ ἐκείνων, καὶ σὺ τέκνον? Exanimis diffugientibus cunctis aliquamdiu jacuit, donec lecticæ impositum, dependente brachio, tres servuli domum retulerunt. Nec in tot vulneribus, ut Antistius medicus existimabat, lethale ullum repertum est, nisi quod secundo loco in pectore acceperat. Fuerat animus conjuratis, corpus occisi in Tiberim trahere, bona publicare, acta rescindere: sed metu M. Antonij consulis, et magistri equitum Lepidi, destiterunt.

83. Postulante ergo L. Pisone socero, testamentum ejus aperitur, recitaturque in Antonii domo, quod Idibus Septembribus proximis in Lavicano suo fecerat, demandaveratque virgini Vestali maximæ. Q. Tubero tradit, hæredem ab eo scribi solitum ex consulatu ipsius primo, usque ad initium civilis belli, Cn. Pompejum: idque militibus pro concione recitatum. Sed novissimo testamento tres instituit hæredes sororum nepotes, C. Octavium ex dodrante, et L. Pinarium, et Q. Pedium ex quadrante, reliquos in ima cera. C. Octavium etiam in familiam nomenque adoptavit; pluresque percussorum in tutoribus filii, si quis sibi nasceretur, nominavit: D. Brutum etiam in secundis hæredibus. Populo hortos circa Tiberim publice, et viritim trecenos sestertios, legavit.

84. Funere indicto, rogus extructus est in Martio campo juxta Juliæ tumulum: et pro rostris aurata ædes ad simula-

out saying so much as one word; tho' some writers relate, that when M. Brutus came upon him, he said, What art thou one of them too, thou my son! *Upon this the conspirators making off some one way, and some another, he laid for some time after he was dead, 'till three of his slaves put him into a chair, and carried him home, with one of the chair poles hanging lower than the rest, for want of a fourth man to bear it. And amongst so many wounds, as the surgeon Antistius thought, there was ne'er a one mortal, but the second which he received in his breast. The conspirators had a design to drag his body, after they had killed him, into the Tiber, to confiscate his estate, and cancel all that he had done; but for fear of the consul M. Anthony, and Lepidus master of the horse to Cæsar as dictator, they forbore.*

83. *At the instance of L. Piso his father-in-law, his will was opened and read in M. Anthony's house, which he had made the ides of September before, in a country seat of his near Lavicum, and had committed to the custody of the eldest of the Vestal virgins. Q. Tubero tells us, that in all his wills, made from the time of his first consulship to the breaking out of the civil war, Cn. Pompey was his heir, and the same publickly signified to the army. But in his last he named three heirs, the grandsons of his sisters, C. Octavius for three fourths of his estate, and L. Pinarius and Q. Pedius for the other fourth; such as were to succeed them in case they died before him, he placed towards the conclusion of his will. He likewise adopted C. Octavius into his family, with an intention he should bear his name. And most of those that were concerned in his death, he named amongst the guardians of his son, if he should have any, and D. Brutus amongst the second heirs. He left as a legacy to the people his gardens near the Tiber, and three hundred sesterces a man.*

84. *The time for his funeral being fixed by proclamation, a pile was erected in the field of Mars, nigh the tomb of his daughter Julia, and a gilt tabernacle, in form*

crum

crum templi Veneris Genetricis, collocata; intraque lectus eburneus, auro ac purpura stratus: et ad caput tropæum, cum veste in qua fuerat occisus. Præferentibus munera quia sufficturus dies non videbatur, præceptum est ut omisso ordine, quibus quisque vellet itineribus urbis, portaret in campum. Inter ludos cantata sunt quædam ad miserationem et invidiam cædis ejus accommodata ex Pacuvii *Armorum judicio*.

of the temple of Venus Genetrix, before the rostra, within which was an ivory bed, covered with scarlet, and cloth of gold; at the head was a trophy, with the garment, in which he was slain. And because it was thought the whole day would not be sufficient for carrying in solemn procession before the corpse the funeral oblations, directions were given for every one, without regard to order, to carry them into the field, what way they pleased. In the plays acted at the funeral, several things out of Pacuvius's tragedy, entitled, The trial for arms, *suited to the occasion, were sung to raise pity and indignation at his death.*

Men' me servasse, ut essent qui me perderent?
That ever I unhappy man should save
Wretches, that thus have brought me to the grave!

Et ex Electra Attilii alia ad simlem sententiam. Laudationis loco consul Antonius per præconem pronuntiavit senatusconsultum quo omnia ei divina simul atq; humana decreverat: item jusjurandum, quo se cuncti pro salute unius adstrinxerant: quibus perpauca a se verba addidit. Lectum pro rostris in forum magistratus et honoribus functi detulerunt. Quem cum pars in Capitolini Jovis cella cremare, pars in curia Pompeij, destinaret, repente duo quidem gladiis succincti, ac bina jacula gestantes, ardentibus cereis succenderunt: confestimq; circumstantium turba virgulta arida, et cum subselliis tribunalia, quidquid præterea ad manum aderat, congessit: deinde tibicines et scenici artifices vestem, quam ex instrumento triumphorum ad præsentem usum induerant, detractam sibi, atq; discissam, injecere flammæ; et veteranorum militum legionarii, arma sua, quibus exculti funus celebrabant. Matronæ etiam pleræq;

And some passages too out of Attilius's tragedy, called Electra, to the same effect. Instead of a funeral panegyrick, the consul Anthony ordered a crier to read aloud to the company, the decree of the senate, wherein all honours, divine and human, had been heaped upon him; and the oath, by which they had all engaged themselves for the defence of his person. To which he added but a very few words of his own. The magistrates, and others that had been so, carried the bed from the rostra into the forum. And whilst some were for having the body burnt in the most sacred apartment of Jupiter Capitolinus's temple, and others in Pompey's senate-house, on a sudden two men with swords by their sides, and each a couple of lances in their hands, set fire to the bed with lighted torches. Upon which immediately the whole company present, threw in dry faggots, the tribunals, and benches of the adjacent courts, and whatsoever came to hand: and then the musicians, and players, stript off the cloaths they had from the furniture of his triumphs for the present occasion, tore them, and threw them into the flame. His veteran soldiers too cast in the arms, they had put on, to attend his funeral. And the ladies most of them did the same by their ornaments, with the bullæ and coats of their children. In this

orna-

ornamenta ſua quæ gerebant, et liberorum bullas atq; prætextas. In ſummo publico luctu exterarum gentium multitudo circulatim ſuo quæque more lamentata eſt; præcipueque Judæi, qui etiam noctibus continuis buſtum frequentarunt.

85. Plebs ſtatim a funere ad domum Bruti et Caſſii cum facibus tetendit: atque ægre repulſa, obvium ſibi Helvium Cinnam, per errorem nominis, quaſi Cornelius is eſſet, quem graviter pridie concionatum de Cæſare requirebat, occidit: caputq; ejus præfixum haſtæ circumtulit. Poſtea ſolidam columnam prope xx pedum lapidis Numidici in foro ſtatuit, ſcripſitque, PARENTI PATRIÆ. Apud eandem longo tempore, ſacrificare, vota ſuſcipere, controverſias quaſdam, interpoſito per Cæſarem jurejurando, diſtrahere, perſeveravit.

86. Suſpicionem Cæſar quibuſdam ſuorum reliquit, neque voluiſſe ſe diutius vivere, neq; curaſſe, quod valetudine minus proſpera uteretur: ideoque et quæ religiones monerent, et quæ renuntiarent amici, neglexiſſe. Sunt qui putent confiſum eum noviſſimo illo Senatus conſulto ac jurejurando etiam cuſtodias Hiſpanorum cum gladiis ſectantium ſe, removiſſe. Alii e diverſo opinantur, inſidias undique imminentes ſubire ſemel confeſſum ſatius eſſe, quam cavere ſemper. Alii ferunt dicere ſolitum, non tam ſua quam reip. intereſſe uti ſalvus eſſet: ſe jampridem potentiæ gloriæq; abunde adeptum: remp. ſi quid ſibi eviniret, neque quietam fore, et aliquanto deteriore conditione civilia bella ſubituram.

publick mourning joined a great number of foreigners, expreſſing their ſorrow, according to the faſhion of their reſpective countries; but more eſpecially the Jews, who for ſeveral nights together frequented the place where his body was burnt.

85. *After the funeral, the commonalty run immediately with torches to the houſes of Brutus and Caſſius, and were with much ado obliged to retire. They murthered Helvius Cinna, that chanced to fall into their hands, ſuppoſing him to be Cornelius Cinna, who had the day before in a ſpeech of his reflected very ſeverely upon Cæſar, and whom for that reaſon they were in queſt of; and when they had done, carried his head about town upon the point of a ſpear. Afterwards they erected a column of Numidian marble, conſiſting of but one ſtone near twenty foot high, with this inſcription upon it,* TO THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, *and continued for a long time to ſacrifice, make vows, and decide controverſies before it, making uſe of an oath for that purpoſe, by the name of Cæſar.*

86. *Cæſar gave occaſion to ſome of his friends to imagine, that he neither deſired, nor cared to live any longer, becauſe of his bad ſtate of health; and for that reaſon ſlighted all the prognoſticks of his death, and the information of his friends. Others think, that ſuppoſing himſelf ſecure in the laſt decree of the ſenate, and their oath, he diſmiſſed his Spaniſh guard, that attended him with their ſwords. Others again are of opinion, that he judged it better at once to expoſe himſelf to the plots that threatned him on all hands, than to be always upon his guard. Some tell us, he uſed to ſay, that tht publick had a greater concern in the ſafety of his perſon than himſelf; for that he had for ſome time been ſatiated with power and glory; but that the common-wealth, if any thing ſhould befal him, would not be quiet, and would engage in another civil war upon worſe terms than before.*

87. Illud

87. Illud plane inter omnes fere conſtitit, talem ei mortem pene ex ſententia obtigiſſe. Nam et quondam cum apud Xenophontem legiſſet, Cyrum ultima valetudine mandaſſe quædam de funere ſuo, aſpernatus tam lentum mortis genus, ſubitam ſibi celeremq; optaverat. Et pridie quam occideretur, in ſermone nato ſuper cœnam, apud M. Lepidum, quiſnam eſſet finis vitæ commodiſſimus repentinum inopinatumq; prætulerat.

87. *This however was generally agreed, that his death was much ſuch an one as he deſired. For upon reading the account that Xenophon gives, how Cyrus in his laſt illneſs gave orders about his funeral, not liking ſo lingring a death, he wiſhed he might have a ſudden and a quick one. And the day before he died ſome diſcourſe happening at table in M. Lepidus's houſe upon that ſubject, which was the moſt commodious way of dying, he gave his opinion for what is ſudden and unexpected.*

88. Periit ſexto et quinquageſimo ætatis anno: atque in deorum numerum relatus eſt, non ore modo decernentium, ſed et perſuaſione vulgi. Siquidem ludis, quos primo conſecratos ei heres Auguſtus edebat, ſtella crinita per ſeptem dies continuos fulſit, exoriens circa undecimam horam. Creditumq; eſt, animam eſſe Cæſaris in cælum recepti: et hac de cauſſa ſimulacro ejus in vertice additur ſtella. Curiam, in qua occiſus eſt, obſtrui placuit: Iduſque Martias *parricidium* nominari: ac ne unquam eo die ſenatus ageretur.

88. *He died in the fifty-ſixth year of his age, and was ranked amongſt the Gods, not only by the words of a decree, but in the real perſuaſion of the vulgar. For during the games, which his heir Auguſtus gave in honour of his memory, a comet blazed for ſeven days together, riſing always about eleven o'clock; and it was ſuppoſed to be the ſoul of Cæſar, now received into heaven; for which reaſon too a ſtar was fixed upon the crown of his ſtatue. The ſenate houſe in which he was ſlain was ordered to be kept cloſe ſhut, and a decree made, that the Ides of March ſhould be called* the parricide, *and the ſenate ſhould never more aſſemble upon that day.*

89. Percuſſorum autem fere neque triennio quiſquam amplius ſupervixit, neque ſua morte defunctus eſt. Damnati omnes, alius alio caſu periit, pars naufragio, pars prælio, nonnulli ſemet eodem illo pugione quo Cæſarem violaverant, interemerunt.

89. *Hardly any of thoſe that had had a hand in his death lived above three years after him, or died a natural death. They were all condemned by the ſenate, and ſome were taken off by one misfortune, ſome by another: ſome periſhed at ſea, others fell in battle; and ſome ſlew themſelves with the ſame ponyard, they had ſlain Cæſar with.*

C. SEUTONII TRANQULLII

D. OCTAVIUS CÆSAR AUGUSTUS.

CHAP. I.

1. GEntem Octaviam Velitris præcipuam olim fuisse, multa declarant. Nam et vicus celeberrima parte oppidi jampridem Octavius vocabatur: et ostendebatur ara Octavio consecrata: qui bello dux finitimo, cum forte Marti rem divinam faceret, nuntiata repente hostis incursione, semicruda exta rapta foco prosecuit: atq; ita prælium ingressus, victor rediit. Decretum etiam publicum exstabat, quo cavebatur ut in posterum quoque simili modo exta Marti redderentur, reliquiæq; ad Octavios referrentur.

2. Ea gens a Tarquinio Prisco rege, inter Romanas gentes allecta in senatum, mox a Ser. Tullio in patricias transducta, procedente tempore ad plebem se contulit, ac rursus magno intervallo per D. Julium in patriciatum rediit. Primus ex hac magistratum populi suffragio cepit C. Rufus. Is quæstorius Cn. et C. procreavit: a quibus duplex Octaviorum familia defluxit, conditione diversa. Siquidem Cn. et deinceps ab eo reliqui omnes functi sunt honoribus summis. At Cajus ejusque posteri, seu fortuna,

THAT the family of the Octavii was of the first rank in Velitræ, is many ways apparent. For besides a street named Octavius in the most frequented part of the town, there was to be seen not long since an altar consecrated to one Octavius, who being chosen general in a war with some neighbours, and alarmed with advice of the sudden inroad of the enemy, as he was sacrificing to the God Mars, he snatched the entrails of the victim immediately from off the fire, and offered them half raw upon the altar, and then marching out to battle returned victorious. Which gave occasion to a law, whereby it was enacted, that the entrails should for ever after be offered to Mars in the same manner, and the rest of the sacrifice be carried to the Octavii.

2. *This family was by Tarquinius Priscus, amongst several other Roman families, taken into the senate, and soon after advanced by Servius Tullius amongst the patricians, but in time returned again to the commons, and a long time after that, was again raised by Julius Cæsar to the patrician dignity. The first person of the family advanced by the choice of the people to any post in the government, was C. Rufus. He came to the questorship, and had two sons Cnæus and Caius. From whom the two branches of that family are descended, very different in their circumstances. For Cnæus and his descendants in an uninterrupted succession bore all the great offices of state. But Caius and his posterity, whether*

tuna, seu voluntate, in equestri ordine constitere, usque ad Augusti patrem. Proavus Augusti secundo Punico bello, stipendia in Sicilia tribunus militum fecit, Æmilio Pappo imperatore. Avus municipalibus magistratibus contentus, abundante patrimonio tranquillissime senuit. Sed hæc alii. Ipse Augustus nihil amplius quam equestri familia ortum se scribit, vetere ac locuplete, et in qua primus senator pater suus fuerit. M Antonius libertinum ei proavum exprobrat restionem, e pago Thurino : avum argentarium. Nec quidquam ultra de paternis Augusti majoribus reperi.

through chance or choice, continued in the equestrian order, till the father of Augustus. His great grandfather served in quality of a tribune in the second Carthaginian war in Sicily, under the command of Æmilius Pappus. His grandfather contented himself with bearing the publick offices of his borough, and grew old in the quiet enjoyment of a very plentiful estate. But this account is given by others. As for Augustus himself, he says no more, but that he was descended of an equestrian family, that was both antient and rich, and in which his father was the first that was a senator. Mark Anthony upbraidingly tells him, that his great grandfather was a freed-man of the territory of Thurii, and a rope-maker, and his grandfather a banker. And this is all I have any where met with, concerning the ancestors of Augustus by the father's side.

3. C. Octavius pater a principio ætatis, et re et æstimatione magna fuit : ut equidem mirer, hunc quoque a nonnullis argentarium, atque etiam inter divisores operasque campestres, proditum. Amplis enim innutritus opibus honores et adeptus est facile, et egregie administravit. Ex prætura Macedoniam sortitus, fugitivos, residuam Spartaci et Catilinæ manum, Thurinum agrum tenentes, in itinere delevit, negotio sibi in senatu extra ordinem dato. Provinciæ præfuit, non minore justitia quam fortitudine : namque, Bessis ac Thracibus magno prælio fusis, ita socios tractavit, ut epistolæ M Tullii Ciceronis existent, quibus Q. fratrem, eodem tempore parum secunda fama proconsulatum Asiæ dministrantem, hortatur et monet, imitetur in promerendis sociis vicinum suum Octavium.

3. His father C. Octavius was even at his first setting out in the world, a person of a very considerable estate and figure; that I wonder indeed, some should pretend to say, that he was banker too, and one that was employed to distribute money amongst the citizens for the candidates at elections, and upon other the like occasions, in the field of Mars. For being bred up in all the affluence of a great estate, he did with ease attain to very considerable posts, and behaved as well in them. After his pretorship, he got by lot the province of Macedonia, and in his way thither, he cut off some fugitive rascals, the relicks of Spartacus's and Catiline's armies, that had possessed themselves of the territory of Thurii; having received an extraordinary commission from the senate for that purpose. In his government of the province, he behaved with equal justice and resolution: for he overthrew the Bessians and Thracians in a great battle, and treated our allies in such a manner, that there are some letters of M. Tully Cicero's extant, wherein he exhorts and advises his brother Quintus, who was at the same time proconsul of Asia, and under no very good character, to imitate the example of his neighbour Octavius, in gaining the affections of the allies of Rome.

4. De

4. Decedens Macedonia, priuſquam profiteri ſe candidatum conſulatus poſſet, morte obiit repentina, ſuperſtitibus liberis, Octavia majore, quam ex Ancharia, et Octavia minore; item Auguſto quos ex Atia tulerat. Atia M. Atio Balbo, et Julia ſorore C. Cæſaris, genita eſt. Balbus paterna ſtirpe Aricinus, multis in familia ſenatoriis imaginibus, a matre Magnum Pompejum arctiſſimo contingebat gradu; functuſque honore præturæ, inter xx viros agrum Campanum plebi Julia lege diviſit. Verum M. Antonius deſpiciens etiam maternam Auguſti originem, proavum ejus Afri generis fuiſſe, et modo unguentariam tabernam, modo piſtrinum Ariciæ exercuiſſe, objicit. Caſſius quidem Parmenſis quadam epiſtola, non tantum ut piſtoris, ſed etiam ut nummularii nepotem, ſic taxat Auguſtum, *Materna tibi farina: ſiquidem ex crudiſſimo Ariciæ piſtrino hanc finxit manibus collybo decoloratis Nerulonenſis menſarius.*

5. Natus eſt Auguſtus M. Tullio Cicerone, et Antonio coſſ. ix. Kal. Octob. paullo ante ſolis exortum, regione Palatii ad capita bibula: ubi nunc ſacrarium habet, aliquanto poſt quam exceſſit, conſtitutum. Nam ut ſenatus actis continetur, cum C. Lectorius adoleſcens patricii generis, in deprecanda graviore adulterii pœna, præter ætatem atque natales, hoc quoque patribus conſcriptis allegaret, ſe eſſe poſſeſſorem, ac velut ædituum ſoli, quod primum D. Auguſtus naſcens attigiſſet: petereiq; donari quaſi proprio ſuo, ac peculiari Deo, decretum eſt ut ea pars domus conſecraretur.

4. *After his quitting of Macedonia, before he could declare himſelf a candidate for the conſulſhip, he died ſuddenly, leaving behind him one daughter, which he had by Ancharia, and a younger daughter with Auguſtus, whom he had by Atia, which Atia was the daughter of M Atius Balbus, and Julia ſiſter to C Cæſar. Balbus was originally by the father's ſide of Aricia, of a family that had many of them been in the ſenate. By the mother's ſide he was nearly allied to Pompey the Great, and after he had bore the office of prætor was one of the twenty commiſſioners, appointed by the Julian law, to divide the land in Campania amongſt the commonalty. But M. Anthony, in contempt of Auguſtus's deſcent by the mother's ſide, ſays his great grandfather was an African, and one while kept a perfumer's ſhop, and another while a bakehouſe in Aricia. And Caſſius of Parma runs upon him, not only as the grandſon of a baker, but a banker too, in theſe words,* Thou art a lump of thy mother's meal, which a money-changer of Nerulum taking from a late bakehouſe of Aricia, kneaded up into ſome ſhape, with his hands all diſcolour'd with the fingering of money.

5. *Auguſtus was born in the conſulſhip of M. Tully Cicero and Anthony, upon the ninth of the kalends of October, a little before ſun-riſe, in the ward of the Palatium, at the ſign of the Ox-head, where he now has a chapel, built a little after his death. For as it is upon record in the acts of the ſenate, when C. Lectorius, a young man of a noble family, found guilty of adultery, to prevail with the ſenate for his pardon, alledged, beſides his youth and quality, he was the poſſeſſor, and as it were a warden of the ground, that Auguſtus firſt touched, after his being born into the world; and begged he might find favour, for the ſake of that God, who was in a peculiar manner his; an act of the ſenate was paſs'd upon it, for the conſecration of that part of his houſe, where Auguſtus was born.*

6. Nu-

6. Nutrimentorum ejus ostenditur adhuc locus in avito suburbano juxta Velitras, permodicus, et cellæ penuariæ instar: tenetque vicinitatem opinio, tanquam et natus ibi sit. Huc introire nisi necessario et caste, religio est; concepta opinione veteri, quasi temere adeuntibus horror quidam et metus objiciatur: sed et mox confirmata est. Nam cum possessor villæ novus, seu forte, seu tentandi causa cubitum se eo contulisset, evenit ut post pauciſſimas noctis horas exturbatus inde subita vi, et incerta, pæne semianimis cum strato simul ante fores inveniretur.

7. Infanti cognomen THURINO inditum est in memoriam majorum originis: vel quod in regione Thurina, recens eo nato, pater Octavius adversus fugitivos, rem prospere gesserat. Thurinum cognominatum, satis certa probatione tradiderim, nactus puerilem imagunculam ejus æream veterem, ferreis ac pæne jam exolescentibus litteris, hoc nomine inscriptam: quæ dono a me principi data inter cubiculares colitur. Sed et a M. Antonio in epistolis per contumeliam sæpe Thurinus appellatur: et ipse nihil amplius quam *mirari se* rescribit, *Pro opprobrio nomen prius sibi objici.* Postea C. CÆSARIS, et deinde AUGUSTI cognomen assumsit: alterum testamento majoris avunculi: alterum, Munatii Planci sententia: cum quibusdam censentibus, Romulum appellari oportere, quasi et ipsum conditorem urbis, prævaluisset ut *Augustus* potius vocaretur, non tantum novo sed etiam ampliore cognomine:

6. *The place of his nursery is to this day shewn in a seat belonging to the family nigh Velitræ, being but a poor little hole like a pantry. And the neighbourhood will have it, that he was born there too. And this place no body presumes to enter, unless upon necessity, and with great devotion, from a persuasion, that has a long time prevailed, that such as carelesly enter there are seized with great horror and consternation of mind, which not long since received a notable confirmation. For when a person, upon his first coming to live in the house, had either by mere accident, or in order to try the truth of the report, taken up his lodging in that room, he was a few hours after thrown out again, by a sudden violence, he knew not how, and was found but half alive, together with his bed, before the chamber-door.*

7. *When he was an infant, he had the sir-name of* Thurinus *given him in memory of the original of his family; or because just upon his birth, his father Octavius, had been successful against the fugitive slaves, in the country near Thurii. That he was sirnamed* Thurinus, *I can pretend to assure the reader, upon very good grounds, having had a little old brazen image of him whilst but a boy, with that name upon it, in iron letters, but almost worn out; which I made a present of to the emperor, by whom it is now worshipped amongst other tutelar deities, in his bed chamber. He is oftentimes too, by way of reproach, called* Thurinus *by M. Anthony, in his letters. To which he makes no other reply, but only* that he wonders, he should be upbraided with a former name of his, as matter of scandal. *Afterwards he assumed the name of* C. Cæsar, *and then of* Augustus, *the former from the will of his great uncle, and the latter upon a motion of Munatius Plancus to the senate; when some proposing to confer the name of* Romulus *upon him, being as it were a second founder of the city; it was carried, that he should rather be called* Augustus, *a name that was not only new, but much more considerable; because religious places, and those wherein any thing consecrated by Augury,*

quod

quod loca quoq; religiosa, et in quibus augurato quid consecratur, *Augusta* dicantur, ab *auctu*, vel ab *avium gestu, gustuve*, sicut etiam Ennius docet, scribens,

are called August, *either from the word* auctu, *or* ab avium gestu gustuve, *from the motion and feeding of birds, as appears from this line of Ennius.*

Augusto augurio postquam inclyta condita Roma est.

By august augury when Rome was built.

8. Quadrimus, patrem amisit : duodecimum annum agens, aviam Juliam defunctam pro concione laudavit. Quadriennio post virili toga sumta, militaribus donis triumpho Cæsaris Africano donatus est, quamquam expers belli propter ætatem. Profectum mox avunculum in Hispanias, adversus Cn. Pompeji liberos, vix tum firmus a gravi valetudine, per infestas hostibus vias, pauciſſimis comitibus, naufragio etiam facto, subsecutus, magnopere demeruit, approbata cito etiam morum indole super itineris industriam. Cæsare post receptas Hispanias expeditionem in Dacos, et inde in Parthos, destinante, præmissus Apolloniam, studiis vacavit. Utque primum occisum eum, hæredemque se comperit, diu cunctatus, an proximas legiones imploraret, id quidem consilium ut præceps immaturumque omisit: cæterum, urbe repetita, hæreditatem adiit, dubitante matre, vitrico vero Marcio Philippo consulari multum dissuadente. Atque ab eo tempore exercitibus comparatis, primum cum M. Antonio, Marcoque Lepido, dein tantum cum Antonio per duodecim fere annos, noviſſime per quatuor et quadraginta solus Rempublicam tenuit.

8. *He lost his father when he was but four years of age, and in his twelfth year pronounced a funeral oration in praise of his grandmother Julia. Four years after he took upon him the manly habit, and was honoured with several military presents by Cæsar, in his African triumph, tho' he was too young to be any ways concerned in the war. Afterwards when his uncle went for Spain against the sons of Pompey, tho' he was then scarce recovered of a dangerous fit of sickness, yet he followed him, and after he had been shipwrecked at sea, got up with him through roads that were beset by the enemy, and with very few attendants: whereby he very much won upon the affections of his uncle: But besides the mettle he shewed upon this occasion, he became still dearer to him for the tokens he gave of a considerable genius. After the reduction of Spain, whilst Cæsar was designing an expedition against the Dacians and Parthians, he was sent before him to Apollonia, where he followed his studies, 'till finding his uncle was slain, and himself left as heir, he was for some time dubious, whether he should desire the assistance of the legions nearest hand, but at last dropped that design as rash and unseasonable, However he returned to town, and entered upon the estate, tho' his mother was in some doubt whether it would be safe for him so to do, and his step-father M. Philippus a consular gentleman very much dissuaded him from it. After that drawing together several armies, he first held the government in conjunction with M. Anthony and M. Lepidus, and then with Anthony alone for twelve years, and at the last by himself for four and forty.*

9. Proposita vitæ ejus velut summa, partes sigillatim, neq; per tempora, sed per species,

9. *Having thus laid before the reader a very short summary of his life, I shall run through the several parts of it distinctly,*

exequar ;

exequar: quo distinctius demonstrari cognoscique possint. Bella civilia quinq; gessit; Mutinense, Philipense, Perusinum, Siculum, Actiacum. Ex quibus primum ac novissimum adversus M. Antonium: secundum adversum Brutum et Cassium: tertium adversum L. Antonium Triumviri fratrem; quartum adversus Sextum Pompejum, Cnæi filium.

10. Omnium bellorum initium et causam hinc sumsit, nihil convenientius ducens quam necem avunculi vindicare, tuerique acta. Confestim ut Apollonia rediit, Brutum Cassiumq; et vi nec opinantes, et quia præviſum periculum subterfugerant, legibus aggredi, reosq; cædis absentes deferre statuit. Ludos autem victoriæ Cæsaris non audentibus facere quibus obtigerat id munus ipse edidit. Et quo cunctantius cætera quoque exsequeretur, in locum Trib. plebis sorte demortui candidatum se ostendit: quamquam patricius nec dum senator. Sed adversante conatibus suis M. Antonio consule, quem vel præcipuum adjutorem speraverat: ac ne publicum quidem et translatitium jus ulla in re sibi sine pactione gravissimæ mercedis impertiente, ad optimates se contulit: quibus eum invisum sentiebat, maxime quod D. Brutum obsessum Murinæ, provincia a Cæsare data, et per senatum confirmata, expellere armis niteretur. Hortantibus itaque nonnullis, percussores ei subornavit. Hac fraude deprehensa, periculum invicem metuens, veteranos simul in suum ac Reip. auxilium, quanta potuit largitione, contraxit. Jussusque comparato exercitui pro prætore præesse, et cum

not in order of time, but throwing things of like nature together, to avoid confusion. He was engaged in five civil wars, that of Modena, Philippi, Perusia, Sicily and Actium. Of which the first and last were against M. Anthony, the second against Brutus and Cassius: the third against Luke Anthony, brother to the triumvir: the fourth against Sextus Pompey, Cn. Pompey's son.

10. *What gave the rise and occasion to all these wars, was an opinion that he was obliged in honour and interest to revenge his uncle's death, and maintain his establishment. Immediately upon his return from Apollonia, he intended to have trepanned Brutus and Cassius by surprize. But they having smelt the design, and got out of the way, he resolved to proceed against them in a legal way, and prosecute them for murder in their absence. And because those whose province it was to exhibit the publick diversions designed upon account of Cæsar's success in the civil war, durst not do it, he did it himself. And in order to execute his other purposes the more resolutely, he declared himself a candidate in the room of a tribune of the commons that chanced to die at that time, tho' he was of a patrician family, and had not yet been in the senate. But the consul M. Anthony opposing him in it (from whom he expected the utmost assistance) and refusing to do him so much as common and ordinary justice, without a swinging bribe for it, he went over to the party of the nobility, to whom he perceived him to be odious, especially for endeavouring to drive D. Brutus, whom he besieged in the town of Modena, out of the province, given him by Cæsar, and confirmed to him by the senate. Wherefore at the instigation of some about him, he engaged some villains in a design to murther him. And upon the discovery of that plot, fearing to be served in the same manner himself, by throwing his money about, he engaged Cæsar's old soldiers to stand by him and the government against Anthony; and being commissioned by the senate to com-*

Hirtio

Hirtio ac Panſa, qui conſulatum acceperant, D. Bruto opem ferre, demandatum bellum tertio menſe confecit duobus prœliis. Priore, Antonius eum fugiſſe ſcribit; ac ſine paludamento equoq; poſt biduum demum apparuiſſe: ſequenti, ſatis conſtat non modo ducis ſed etiam militis functum munere: atque in media dimicatione, aquilifero legionis ſuæ graviter ſaucio, aquilam humeris ſubiiſſe, diuque portaſſe.

11. Hoc bello cum Hirtius in acie, Panſa paulo poſt ex vulnere, periiſſent, rumor increbuit, ambos opera ejus occiſos: ut Antonio fugato, rep. conſulibus orbata, ſolus victores exercitus occuparet. Panſæ quidem adeo ſuſpecta mors fuit, ut Glyco medicus cuſtoditus ſit, quaſi venenum vulneri indidiſſet. Adjicit his Aquilius Niger, alterum e conſulibus Hirtium in pugnæ tumultu ab ipſo interemtum.

12. Sed ut cognovit, Antonium poſt fugam a M. Lepido receptum, cæteroſq; duces, et exercitus, conſentire pro patribus, cauſam optimatium ſine cunctatione deſeruit, ad prætextum mutatæ voluntatis dicta factaq; quorundam calumniatus: quaſi alii ſe *puerum*, alii *ornandum tollendumq;* jactaſſent: ne aut ſibi, aut veteranis par gratia referretur. Et quo magis pœnitentiam prioris ſectæ approbaret, Nurſinos grandi pecunia, et quam pendere nequirent, multatos, extorres egit oppido: quod Mutinenſi acie interemtorum civium tumulo publice exſtructo adſcripſerant, *Pro libertate eos occubuiſſe.*

13. Inita cum Antonio et Lepido ſocietate, Philippenſe

mand the army he had drawn together, with the dignity of a pretor, and to carry aſſiſtance in conjunction with the two conſuls Hirtius and Panſa, to Brutus, he made an end of the war in three months in two battles. Anthony writes that in the firſt he ran away, without his general's cloak and horſe, and was not ſeen in two days after. In the following battle however it's certain, he acted the part not only of a general, but a ſoldier too; and in the heat of the battle, when the ſtandard bearer of his legion was wounded, took the eagle upon his own ſhoulders, and carried it a long time.

11. *In this war, Hirtius falling in the battle, and Panſa dying not long after of a wound he received in it, there went a report, that he had murthered them both; that, upon the defeat of Anthony, the government being without conſuls, he might have the victorious armies entirely to himſelf. The death of Panſa was ſo much ſuſpected to be owing to foul play, that Glyco his ſurgeon was under confinement for ſome time, upon a preſumption, that he had put poiſon in his wound. And to this Aquilius Niger adds, that he killed Hirtius in the hurry of the battle with his own hands.*

12. *But upon advice that Anthony after his defeat had been received by M. Lepidus, and that the reſt of the generals and armies all declared for the ſenate, he without more ado deſerted the cauſe of the noble party; alledging by way of excuſe for his changing ſides the actions and ſayings of ſeveral amongſt them, as that ſome ſaid* he was a child, *others* ornandum tollendumque; *that he and his veterans might be paid their arrears. And to teſtify his hearty ſorrow for ſiding with the noble party, he fined the Nurſini in a great ſum of money, which it was impoſſible for them to pay, and then drove them out of their town, for an inſcription put upon a monument, erected at the publick charge for their countrymen, that were ſlain in the battle at Modena,* That they died for the liberty of Rome.

13. *Having clapped up an agreement with Anthony and Lepidus, he finiſhed the*

quoque bellum, quamquam invalidus atque æger, duplici prælio transegit: quorum priore castris exutus, vix ad Antonii cornu fuga evaserat. Nec successum victoriæ moderatus est: sed capite Bruti Romam misso, ut statuæ Cæsaris subjiceretur, in splendidissimum quemq; captivum non sine verborum contumelia sæviit. Ut quidem uni suppliciter sepulturam precanti respondisse dicatur, *jam istam in volucrum fore potestate:* alios, patrem et filium, pro vita rogantes, sortiri vel dimicare jussisse, ut alterutri concederetur: ac spectasse utrumque morientem, cum patre, qui se obtulerat, occiso, filius quoque voluntaria occubuisset nece. Quare cæteri, et in his M. Favonius, ille Catonis æmulus, cum catenati producerentur, imperatore Antonio honorifice salutato, hunc fœdissimo convicio coram prosciderunt. Partitis post victoriam officiis, cum Antonius Orientem ordinandum, ipse veteranos in Italiam reducendos, et municipalibus agris collocandos recepisset: neque veteranorum neque possessorum gratiam tenuit: alteris pelli se, alteris non pro spe meritorum tractari querentibus.

14. Quo tempore L. Antonium, fiducia consulatus quem gerebat ac fraternæ potentiæ, res novas molientem, confugere Perusiam coegit, et ad deditionem fame compulit: non tamen sine magnis suis et ante bellum, et in bello discrimi-nibus. Nam cum spectaculo ludorum gregarium militem in XIIII ordinibus sedentem excitari per apparitorem jussisset, rumore ab obtrectatoribus dilato,

war of Philippi in two engagements, tho' he was at that time very infirm and sickly. In the first battle he was forced out of his camp, and with some difficulty made his escape to the wing of the army commanded by Anthony. Upon his success, being unable to govern his temper, he sent the head of Brutus, to be thrown at the pedestal of Cæsar's statue, and treated the most illustrious of the prisoners with great cruelty and abusive language: insomuch that he is said to have answered one of them, that humbly begged for the favour of burial, that would be in the power of the birds. *And two others, father and son, who begged for their lives, he ordered to cast lots which of them should live, or determine it betwixt them by the sword, and looked on to see them both die; for the father offering his life to save his son, and being accordingly slain, the son killed himself too upon the spot. Wherefore the rest of them, and amongst them M. Favonius, who affected the manner of Cato in his behaviour, being brought out in chains, after they had paid their respects in a very handsome manner to the commander Anthony, reviled him in the foulest language. After this Anthony undertook to settle the East, and Cæsar to conduct the veteran soldiers back to Italy, and settle them in the lands designed them, belonging to several great towns in Italy. But had the misfortune to please, neither the soldiers, nor the owners of the lands, whilst one party complained of the injustice done them, by being violently forced from their possessions, and the other that they were not treated according to their merit.*

14. *At which time he obliged Luke Anthony, who, presuming upon his own authority as consul, and his brother's power, was raising a new war, to fly to Perusia, and forced him at last by famine to a surrender, yet not without great hazards run both before the war, and in it. For a common soldier having got into the seats of the equestrian order in the theatre, to see the publick diversions, he ordered him to be removed by an officer that attended him; and a rumour being spread upon it by his enemies, that he had put the fellow to death by tor-*

dilato, quasi eundem mox et discruciatum necasset : minimum abfuit quin periret, concursu et indignatione turbæ militaris. Saluti fuit, quod qui desiderabatur, repente comparuit incolumis, ac sine injuria. Circa Perusinum autem murum sacrificans, pene interceptus est a manu gladiatorum, quæ oppido eruperat.

15. Perusia capta, in plurimos animadvertit : orare veniam, vel excusare se conantibus una voce occurrens, *Moriendum esse*. Scribunt quidam, trecentos ex deditiis electos utriusque ordinis, ad aram Divo Julio exstructam, Idibus Martiis hostiarum more mactatos. Exstiterunt qui traderent, conspecto eum ad arma isse, ut occulti adversarii, et quos metus magis quam voluntas contineret, facultate L. Antonii ducis præbita, detegerentur : devictisque his, et confiscatis, promissa veteranis præmia persolverentur.

16. Bellum Siculum inchoavit in primis, sed diu traxit intermissum sæpius : modo reparandarum classium causa, quas tempestatibus, duplici naufragio, et quidem per ætatem, amiserat : modo pace facta, flagitante populo, ob intercluſos commeatus, famemq; ingravescentem ; donec navibus ex integro fabricatis, ac xx servorum millibus manumissis, et ad remum datis, portum Julium apud Bajas immisso in Lucrinum et Avernum lacum mari, effecit. In quo cum hyeme tota copias exercuisset, Pompejum inter Mylas et Naulochum superavit : sub horam pugnæ tam arcto repente somno devinctus, ut ad dandum signum ab amiture, *the soldiery were all in such an uproar about it, that he was within a little of losing his life. The only thing that saved him, was the appearance of the man safe and sound, without any harm done him. And as he was sacrificing before the walls of Perusia, he had like to have been snapped by a body of gladiators, that sallied upon him out of the town.*

15. *After the taking of Perusia, he put abundance of the prisoners to death, answering all that offered to beg pardon, or excuse themselves, very short,* that die they must. *Some authors write, that three hundred gentlemen of the equestrian and senatorian order, culled out from the rest, were slaughtered like victims, at an altar raised to Julius Cæsar, upon the Ides of March. Nay, some pretend to say, that he entered upon this war, on purpose to have his secret enemies, and such, whom fear more than affection for him kept quiet, to declare themselves, now that they had the opportunity of doing it, with Luke Anthony at the head of them ; and that by the defeat of them, and the confiscation of their estates, he might be enabled to make good his promises to the veteran soldiers.*

16. *He engaged in the war of Sicily pretty early, but spun it out for a long time by several fits of intermission : one while upon account of repairing his fleets, which he lost twice by storm, and in summer too ; another while by patching up a peace, being forced to it, by the clamour of the people, because of a famine, occasioned by Pompey's intercepting their provisions, fetched from foreign parts. But at last having built a new fleet, and twenty thousand slaves being manumised, and given him for the oar, he made the Julian harbour at Baiæ, by letting the sea into the Lucrine and Avernian lake. In which, after he had exercised his forces all winter, he defeated Pompey betwixt Mylæ and Naulochus, being suddenly seized, just before the battle begun, with so sound a sleep, that his friends were obliged to wake him to give the signal. Which gave occasion to Antho-*

cis excitaretur. Unde præbitam Antonio materiam putem exprobrandi, *Ne rectis quidem oculis eum adspicere potuisse instructam aciem: verum supinum cœlum intuentem, stupidum cubuisse: nec prius surrexisse, ac militibus in conspectum fuisse, quam a M Agrippa fugatæ sint hostium naves.* Alii dictum factumque ejus criminantur, quasi classibus tempestate perditis exclamaverit *etiam invito Neptuno victoriam se adepturum:* ac die Circensium proximo solienni pompæ simulacrum Dei detraxerit. Nec temere plura ac majora pericula ullo alio bello adiit. Trajecto in Siciliam exercitu, cum ad partem reliquam copiarum continentem repeteret, oppressus ex improviso a Demochare et Apollophane, præfectis Pompeji, uno demum navigio ægerrime effugit. Item cum præter Locros Rhegium pedibus iret, et prospectis biremibus Pompejanis terram legentibus, suas ratus, descendisset ad litus, pæne exceptus est. Tunc etiam per devios tramites refugientem, servus Æmilii Pauli, comitis ejus, dolens proscriptum olim ab eo patrem Paulum, et quasi occasione ultionis oblata, interficere conatus est. Post Pompeji fugam, collegarum alterum M. Lepidum, quem ex Africa in auxilium evocarat, superbientem xx legionum fiducia, summasq; sibi partes terrore ac minis vindicantem, spoliavit exercitu: supplicemque concessa vita Circeios in perpetuum relegavit.

17 M. Antonii societatem semper dubiam et incertam reconciliationibusque variis male socilatam abrupit tandem. Et quo magis degeneraſſe eum a

ny, I suppose, to upbraid him afterwards in the following words. That he was notable to look up upon the fleet, when drawn up ready for battle, but lay stupid upon his back gazing at the heavens, and did not rise, or come in sight of his men, till the enemy's ships were obliged to sheer off by M Agrippa. *Others charge him with a saying, and an action upon it, wholly indefensible; a that he cried out, upon the loss of his fleets by storm,* that he would have the victory in spite of NEPTUNE: *and that at the next Circensian games, he would not suffer the statue of that God to be carried in procession, as usual upon that occasion. Indeed he scarce ever run more or greater risques in any of his wars than this. Having shipt off part of his army into Sicily, and returning for the rest, he was surprized by Pompey's admirals Democharesand Apollophanes, and got off with much ado, and with a single ship only. Likewise as he was travelling on foot by Locri to Rhegium, upon sight of two biremes of Pompey's, passing by that coast, supposing them to be his own, he went down to the shore, and had like to have been snapped At the same time too, as he was making off by some out of the way paths, a slave of Æmilius Paulus that attended him, owing him a grudge, for the proscription of his father, and having now, as he thought, a fine opportunity to revenge it, he attempted to kill him. After the defeat of Pompey, one of his colleagues M. Lepidus, whom he had sent for out of Africa to his assistance, carrying it very high, because he was at the head of twenty legions, and claiming for himself the principal management of affairs, in a frightful and threatning manner, he stript him of his army, and upon his submission granted him his life, but banished him for ever to Circeii.*

17. *The alliance between him and Anthony, which had been always dubious and uncertain, and but sorrily patched up by several reconciliations, he at last quite broke off. And to let the world see, how far he*

civili

civili more approbaret, testamentum quod is Romæ etiam de Cleopatræ liberis inter hæredes nuncupatis reliquerat, aperiendum recitandumq; pro concione curavit. Remisit tamen hosti judicato necessitudines, amicosq; omnes: atq; inter alios C. Sosium et T. Domitium, tunc adhuc coss. Bononiensibus quoq; publice, quod in Antoniorum clientela antiquitus erant, gratiam fecit conjurandi cum tota Italia pro partibus suis. Nec multo post navali prælio apud Actium vicit, in serum dimicatione protracta, ut in navi victor pernoctaverit. Ab Actio cum Samum insulam in hiberna se recepisset, turbatus nuntiis de seditione militum præmia et missionem poscentium, quos ex omni numero confecta victoria Brundisium præmiserat, repetit Italiam, tempestate in trajectu bis conflictatus: primo inter promontoria Peloponnesi atque Ætoliæ, rursus circa montes Ceraunios, utrobiq; parte Liburnicarum demersa: simulq; ejus in qua vehebatur, fusis armamentis, et gubernaculo diffracto. Nec amplius quam septem et xx dies, donec desideria militum ordinarentur Brundisii commoratus, Asiæ Syriæq; circuitu Ægyptum petit; obsessaq; Alexandria quo Antonius cum Cleopatra confugerat, brevi potitus est. Et Antonium quidem feras conditiones pacis tentantem, ad mortem adegit, viditq; mortuum. Cleopatræ, quam servatam triumpho magnopere cupiebat, etiam Psyllos admovit, qui venenum ac virus exsugerent: quod periisse morsu aspidis putabatur. Ambobus communem sepulturæ honorem tribuit, ac tumulum ab ipsis inchoatum

had departed from the usages of his country, he took care to have a will of his, which he had left at Rome, and wherein he had appointed Cleopatra's children with others, to be heirs to his estate, opened and read in an assembly of the people. Yet upon his being declared an enemy, he sent him all his relations and friends: And amongst them C. Sosius and T. Domitius at that time consuls. He likewise excused the Bononians, because they had been of old under the protection of the family of the Antonii, from entering into the association with the rest of Italy in his favour. And not long after he conquered him in a sea fight near Actium, which lasted so long, that after the victory he was obliged to lie on board all night. From Actium he went to the isle of Samos to winter, but being alarmed with news of a mutiny amongst the soldiers he had sent to Brundisium after the victory, who insolently insisted upon being rewarded for their service and discharged, he returned to Italy, and met with two violent storms in his passage, the first betwixt the promontories of Peloponnesus and Ætolia, and the other about the Ceraunian mountains, and had in both a part of his Liburnian ships sunk, and the rigging of his own ship tore away, and the helm broken. He staid only twenty seven days at Brundisium, 'till he had settled affairs with regard to the expectations of the soldiers, and then went for Egypt by the way of Asia and Syria, and laying siege to Alexandria, whither Anthony was fled with Cleopatra, he made himself master of it in a short time. And forced Anthony, who desired conditions of peace, when it was too late, to kill himself, and took a view of him after he was dead. Cleopatra he would very gladly have saved for his triumph, and because she was supposed to have been bit by an asp, he ordered the Psylli to suck out the poison. He allowed them the favour of being buried together, and ordered a monument begun by themselves to be finished. The elder of his two sons by Fulvia, he ordered to be taken by force from the statue of Julius Cæsar, to which after many supplications for his life.

choatum perfici jussit. Antonium juvenem, majorem de duobus Fulvia genitis simulacro D. Julii, ad quod post multas et irritas preces confugerat, abreptum interemit. Item Cæsarionem, quem ex Cæsare Cleopatra concepisse prædicabat, retractum e fuga supplicio affecit. Reliquos Antonii reginæq; communes liberos, non secus ac necessitudine junctos sibi et conservavit, et mox pro conditione cujusque sustinuit ac fovit.

but all in vain, he had fled, and slain. He likewise put to death Cæsario, whom Cleopatra pretended she had by Cæsar, who had fled for his life, but was fetch'd back again. The children that Anthony and Cleopatra had had together, he saved and maintained in a manner suitable to their quality, as much as if they had been his own relations.

18. Per idem tempus, conditorium et corpus Magni Alexandri, cum prolatum e penetrali subjecissent oculis, corona aurea imposita, ac floribus asperfis, veneratus est: consultusque, num et Ptolemæum inspicere vellet, *Regem se voluisse* ait *videre, non mortuos.* Ægyptum, in provinciæ formam redactam, ut feraciorem habilioremq; annonæ urbicæ redderet, fossas omnes, in quas Nilus exæstuat, oblimatas longa vetustate, militari opere deterfit. Quoque Actiacæ victoriæ memoria celebratior in posterum esset, urbem Nicopolim apud Actium condidit: ludosque illic Quinquennales constituit: et ampliato vetere Apollinis templo, locum castrorum, quibus fuerat usus, exornatum navalibus spoliis, Neptuno ac Marti consecravit.

18. *At the same time he had the curiosity to view the coffin and body of Alexander the great, which were taken out of the vault they were in, for that purpose; and when he had done, he paid his respect to the memory of that prince, by the present of a golden crown, and scattering flowers upon the body. Being asked if he pleased to see those of the Ptolemy's too, he replied* he had a desire to see a king, not dead men. *He reduced Egypt into the form of a province, and in order to render it more fruitful, and more capable of supplying Rome with corn, he employed his army to scour the ditches, into which the Nile, upon its rise, discharges itself, which in a long series of years were almost quite choak'd up with mud. And to render his victory at Actium the more famous to posterity, he built the city Nicopolis near it, and appointed games to be celebrated there every five years; and enlarging an old temple of Apollo there, he dress'd up the place he had encamped upon, with naval spoils, and consecrated it to Neptune and Mars.*

19. Tumultus post hæc, ac etiam rerum novarum initia, conjurationesq; complures prius quam invalescerent, indicio detectas compressit, et alias alio tempore: Lepidi juvenis, deinde Varronis Murenæ, et Fannii Cæpionis, mox M. Egnatii, exin Plautii Rufi, Luciiq; Paulli progeneri sui: ac præter has L. Audasii falsarum tabularum rei, ac neq; ætate neq; corpore integri; item Asinii Epicadi ex gente Parthyna hybridæ:

19. *After this he quashed several disturbances and insurrections; as also several plots against his life, that were luckily discovered, before they were ripe enough for execution; but this he did at different times. Such were the conspiracies of young Lepidus, of Varro Muræna and Fannius Cæpio, then of M. Egnatius, the plot of Plautius Rufus and L. Paulus his granddaughter's husband; and besides these another of L. Audasius that was under a prosecution for forgery, and besides an old crazy fellow, as also of Asinius Epicadus, a Parthynian mungrel, and at last that of*

ad

ad extremum Telephi mulieris ſervi nomenclatoris. Nam ne ultimæ quidem ſortis hominum conſpiratione et periculo caruit. Audaſius atq; Epicadus Juliam filiam et Agrippam nepotem ex inſulis quibus continebantur, rapere ad exercitus: Telephus, quaſi debita ſibi fato dominatione, et ipſum et ſenatum aggredi, deſtinaverant. Quinetiam quondam juxta cubiculum ejus lixa quidam ex Illyrico exercitu, janitoribus deceptis, noctu deprehenſus eſt, cultro venatorio cinctus: impos ne mentis, an ſimulata dementia, incertum. Nihil enim exprimi quæſtione potuit.

20. Externa bella duo omnino per ſe geſſit: Dalmaticum, adoleſcens adhuc: et Antonio devicto, Cantabricum. Dalmatico etiam vulnera excepit una acie, dexterum genu lapide ictus; alterum autem, et crus et utrumq; brachium ruina pontis conſauciatus. Reliqua per legatos adminiſtravit: ut tamen quibuſdam Pannonicis, atque Germanicis aut inveniret, aut non longe abeſſet, Ravennam, vel Mediolanum, vel Aquilejam uſq; ab urbe progrediens.

21. Domuit autem partim ductu, partim auſpiciis ſuis Cantabriam, Aquitaniam, Pannoniam, Dalmatiam cum Illyrico omni: item Rhætiam, et Vindelicos, ac Salaſſios, gentes Inalpinas. Coercuit et Dacorum incurſiones, tribus eorum ducibus cum magna copia cæſis, Germanoſq; ultra Albim fluvium ſummovit: ex quibus Suevos et Sicambros dedentes ſe traduxit in Galliam, atq; in proximis Rheno agris collocavit. Alias item nationes male quietas ad obſequium redegit. Nec ulli genti ſine juſtis et neceſſariis

Telephus a lady's nomenclator. For he was in ſome danger of his life from the plots and contrivances of ſome of the loweſt of the people againſt him. Audaſius and Epicadus had deſign'd to bring to the armies his daughter Julia, and his grandſon Agrippa, from the iſlands where they were confined. Telephus propoſed to fall upon him and the ſenate both, from a wild imagination that the government was deſigned him by the fates. Nay once too a ſoldier's ſervant belonging to the army at Illyricum, having ſlipt by the porters unobſerved, was found in the night time ſtanding before his chamber-door, provided with a hunting dagger; whether the fellow was really diſordered in his head, or only counterfeited himſelf mad, is uncertain, for nothing could be got out of him by the rack.

20. *He managed only two foreign wars himſelf in perſon, the Dalmatian, while he was but young; and after the conqueſt of Anthony, the Cantabrian. In the Dalmatian he received ſome wounds, as in one battle a contuſion in his right-knee, from a ſtone, and in the other, he was ſorely maimed in one leg, and both arms, by the fall of a bridge. His other wars he managed by his lieutenants, yet ſo that he now and then made his appearance in ſome of the wars of Pannonia and Germany, or was not far off, advancing from the city as far as Ravenna, Milan, or Aquileia.*

21. *However he conquered partly in perſon, partly by his lieutenants, Cantabria, Aquitania and Pannonia, Dalmatia, with all Illyricum, Rhætia too with the two nations of the Vindelici and the Salaſſii, inhabiting the Alps. He alſo put a ſtop to the inroads of the Dacians, by cutting off three of their generals with vaſt armies, and drove the Germans beyond the river Elb: of which he removed the Ubii and Sicambri, upon their ſubmiſſion, into Gaul, and ſettled them in a country cloſe by the Rhine. And obliged other nations too, that were ſomewhat troubleſome, to a ſubmiſſion. But never made war upon any nation without a juſt and neceſſary occaſion. And was ſo far from a deſire of advancing at any*

cauſſis

cauſſis bellum intulit. Tantumq; abfuit a cupiditate quoquo modo imperium vel bellicam gloriam augendi, ut quorundam barbarorum principes in æde Martis Ultoris jurare coegerit, manſuros ſe in fide ac pace quam peterent: a quibuſdam vero novum genus obſidum fœminas exigere tentaverit: quod negligere marium pignora ſentiebat, et tamen poteſtatem ſemper omnibus fecit, quoties vellent, obſides recipiendi. Neq; aut crebrius aut perfidioſius rebellantes graviore unquam multatus eſt pœna, quam ut captivos ſub lege venundaret, ne in vicina regione ſervirent, neve intra xxx annum liberarentur. Qua virtutis moderationiſq; fama, Indos etiam ac Scythas, auditu modo cognitos, pellexit ad amicitiam ſuam populiq; Romani ultro per legatos petendam. Parthi quoq; et Armeniam vindicanti facile ceſſerunt: et ſigna militaria quæ M. Craſſo et M. Antonio ademerant, repoſcenti reddiderunt: obſideſq; inſuper obtulerunt: denique pluribus quondam de regno concertantibus, nonniſi ab ipſo electum comprobaverunt.

22. Janum Quirinum ſemel atq; iterum a condita urbe memoriam ante ſuam clauſum in multo breviore temporis ſpatio, terra mariq; pace parta ter cluſit. Bis ovans ingreſſus eſt urbem, poſt Philippenſe, et rurſus poſt Siculum bellum. Curules triumphos tres egit, Dalmaticum, Actiacum, Alexandrinum: continuo triduo omnes.

23. Graves ignominias cladeſq; duas omnino, nec alibi quam in Germania, accepit, Lollianam et Varianam: ſed Lollianam majoris infamiæ,

rate the empire, or his own military glory, that he obliged the chiefs of ſome barbarous people to ſwear in the temple of Mars the Revenger, that they would continue firm to their engagements, and duly keep the peace they had deſired; and demanded of ſome a new ſort of hoſtages, their women, becauſe he found by experience, they did not much regard their male-hoſtages. And yet he gave them all the liberty of taking them home again, whenever they pleaſed. He never puniſhed even thoſe that were the moſt frequent and perfidious in their rebellion, with any greater ſeverity, than only to ſell their priſoners upon condition they ſhould not ſerve in any neighbouring country, nor be releaſed from their ſlavery within thirty years. So that by the great fame of his virtue and moderation, he drew in the Indians and Scythians too, known only to the Romans 'till that time by hear-ſay, to court his friendſhip, and that of the Roman people, by their embaſſadors. The Parthians too readily allowed his pretenſions to Armenia, and at his demand reſtored the ſtandards they had taken from M. Caſſius, and M. Anthony, and offered him hoſtages beſides. And upon the occaſion of a conteſt betwixt ſeveral pretenders to the kingdom, would have none but the perſon he ſhould think fit to pitch upon.

22. *The temple of Janus Quirinus, which had been ſhut but once or twice, from the building of the city, to his own time, he ſhut thrice in a much ſhorter ſpace, having ſettled an univerſal quiet both by ſea and land. He twice entered the city in the leſſer triumph, after the war of Philippi, and again after that of Sicily. He had likewiſe three grand triumphs, that is, for his victories in Dalmatia, at Actium and Alexandria, which laſted three days.*

23. *He never in all his wars received any conſiderable or ſhameful defeat, but twice in Germany, in the perſon of his lieutenants Lollius and Varus. The former had indeed more of infamy, than loſs in it;*

quem

quam detrimenti: Varianam pæne exitiabilem, tribus legionibus, cum duce legatisq; et auxiliis omnibus, cæsis. Hac nuntiata excubias per urbem indixit, ne quis tumultus existeret: et præsidibus provinciarum propagavit imperium, ut et a peritis et assuetis socii continerentur. Vovit et magnos ludos Jovi Opt. Max. SI REMPUBLICAM IN MELIOREM STATUM VERTISSET: quod factum Cimbrico Marsicoque bello erat. Adeo namque consternatum ferunt, ut per continuos menses barba capilloque summisso, caput interdum foribus illideret, vociferans: *Quinctili Vare legiones redde*; diemque cladis quotannis mœstum habuerit ac lugubrem.

24. In re militari et commutavit multa, et instituit: atq; etiam ad antiquum morem nonnulla revocavit, disciplinam severissime rexit: ne legatorum quidem cuiquam, nisi gravate, hiberniq; demum mensibus, permisit uxorem invisere. Equitem R. quod duobus filiis adolescentibus causa detrectandi sacramenti pollices amputasset, ipsum bonaq; subjecit hastæ: quem tamen, quod imminere emptioni publicanos videbat, liberto suo addixit, ut relegatum in agros pro libero esse sineret. Decimam legionem contumacius parentem, cum ignominia totam dimisit: item alias immodeste missionem postulantes, citra commoda emeritorum præmiorum exauctoravit. Cohortes, si quæ cessissent loco, decimatas hordeo pavit. Centuriones, statione deserta itidem, ut manipulares, capitali animadversione puniit;

but that of Varus threatened the security of the empire itself, three legions being cut off with the general, lieutenant-generals, and all the auxiliary forces. Upon advice of which, he ordered strict watch to be kept all over the city, for fear of any publick disturbance, and continued the government of the provinces in the same hands, the better to keep the allies quiet, by the means of persons well acquainted with, and used to them. He made a vow to celebrate the great games in honour of Jupiter, if he pleased to give a happy turn to the present state of affairs. *Which thing had been done before in the Cimbrick and Marsick wars. For they tell us, that he was under so terrible a consternation upon it, that he let the hair of his head and beard grow for several months, and sometimes knock'd his head against the door, crying out,* QUINTILIUS VARUS, give me my legions again. *And every year observ'd the day upon which the disaster had happened, as a day of sorrow and mourning.*

24. *In military affairs he made a great many alterations, introducing some things entirely new, and reviving old customs that had been laid aside. He kept the troops to very strict discipline: And would not allow so much as any of the lieutenant-generals the liberty to visit their ladies, but with great difficulty, and in the winter-season only. A Roman knight having cut off the thumbs of two young sons of his, to render them uncapable of serving in the wars, he exposed him to sale, and his estate too. But yet upon observing the publicans very busy about the purchase, he consigned him over to a freed-man of his own, that he might send him into the country, and suffer him to enjoy his freedom. The tenth legion growing mutinous, he broke entirely with disgrace: and did the same by some others that in a mutinous manner demanded their discharge, baulking them of the rewards usually conferred upon such as had served up their time in the wars. Such battalions as quitted their ground in time of action, he decimated, and fed with barley. Captains as well as common centinels upon the guard that deserted their posts, he punished with*

pro cætero delictorum genere variis ignominiis affecit: ut stare per totum diem juberet ante Prætorium: interdum tunicatos, discinctosq; nonnunquam cum decempedis, vel etiam cespitem portantes.

25. Neq; post bella civilia aut in concione, aut per edictum, ullos militum *commilitones* appellabat, sed *milites*: ac ne a filiis quidem aut privignis suis, imperio præditis, aliter appellari passus est: ambitiosius id existimans quam aut ratio militaris, aut temporum quies, aut sua domusq; suæ majestas postularet. Libertino milite, præterquam Romæ incendiorum causa, et si tumultus in graviore annona metueretur, bis usus est: semel ad præsidium coloniarum Illyricum contingentium: iterum ad tutelam ripæ Rheni fluminis, eosq; servos adhuc viris fœminisq; pecuniosioribus indictos, ac sine mora manumissos, sub priore vexillo habuit, neq; aut commistos cum ingenuis, aut eodem modo armatos. Dona militaria aliquanto facilius, phaleras et torques; quicquid auro argentoq; constaret, quam vallares ac murales coronas, quæ honore præcellerent dabat: has quam parcissime, et sine ambitione, ac sæpe etiam caligatis tribuit. M. Agrippam in Sicilia post navalem victoriam cæruleo vexillo donavit. Solos triumphales quamquam et socios expeditionum, et participes victoriarum suarum, nunquam donis impertiendos putavit; quod ipsi quoq; jus habuissent tribuendi ea quibus vellent. Nihil autem minus in perfecto duce, quam festinationem temeritatemq; convenire arbitrabatur. Crebro itaq; illa jactabat.

death. For other faults he had various ways of disgracing them, as obliging them to stand all day before the general's tent, sometimes in their tunicks and without their belts, sometimes bearing polls ten foot long, or sods in their hands.

25. *After the civil wars, he never in any of his speeches to them, proclamations, called them fellow soldiers, but soldiers only. Nor would he suffer them to be otherwise called by his sons or step-sons, when they were in command, as judging the former appellation a degree of condescension not very consistent with military discipline, and what the peaceableness of the times, and the grandeur of himself and family rendered needless. Unless at Rome upon account of fire's happening, or under the apprehension of a publick disturbance, in a time of scarcity, he never suffered manumised slaves to bear arms in his troops, excepting twice, once for the security of the colonies bordering upon Illyricum, and again to guard the bank of the river Rhine. These he ordered people of estates, both gentlemen and ladies, to furnish him with; and tho' after some time he made free-men of them, yet he kept them in a body by themselves, unmixed with his other soldiers of better birth, and arm'd too in a different manner. Military presents, such as trappings for horses, chains, or any others of gold or silver, he disposed of much more easily, than he did of the crowns usually conferred for good behaviour in the siege of camps or towns, which were reckoned much more honourable than the former. These he gave, very sparingly, and without favour or affection, and oftentimes even to common soldiers. He presented M. Agrippa, after the sea-fight in the war of Sicily, with a green banner. Gentlemen that had had the honour of a triumph, tho' they attended him in his expeditions, and had a share in his successes, yet he did not judge it proper to distinguish by the usual military presents, because they themselves had a right to grant them to whom they pleased. He thought nothing more below the character of an accomplished general than haste and rashness. Wherefore he had frequently in his mouth,* Σπεῦδε

Σπεῦδε βραδέως, &
Ἀσφαλὴς γὰρ ἐς' ἀμείνων, ἢ θρασὺς σφαλάτης.

Be ſlowly haſty. *And*
The Wary Captain's better than the Bold.

Et, *Sat celeriter fieri, quicquid fiat ſatis bene.* Prælium quidem aut bellum ſuſcipiendum omnino negabat, niſi cum major emolumenti ſpes quam damni metus oſtenderetur. Nam *minima commoda non minimo ſectantes diſcrimine, ſimiles,* aiebat, *eſſe aureo hamo piſcantibus: cujus abrupti damnum nulla captura penſari poſſet.*

26. MAGISTRATUS atque honores, et ante tempus et quoſdam novi generis, perpetuoſq; cepit. Conſulatum XX ætatis anno invaſit, admotis hoſtiliter ad urbem legionibus, miſſiſq; qui ſibi nomine exercitus depoſcerent. Cum quidem cunctante ſenatu, Cornelius Centurio, princeps legationis, rejecto ſagulo, oſtendens gladii capulum, non dubitaſſet in curia dicere, *Hic faciet, ſi vos non feceritis.* Secundum conſulatum poſt IX annos, tertium anno interjecto geſſit; ſequentes uſque ad undecimum continuavit; multiſq; mox, cum deſerrentur, recuſatis, duodecimum magno, id eſt, ſeptemdecim annorum intervallo, et rurſus tertium decimum biennio poſt ultro petiit: ut Cajum et Lucium filios ampliſſimo præditus magiſtratu, ſuo quemq; tirocinio deduceret in forum. Quinque medios conſulatus a ſexto ad undecimum annos geſſit: cæteros aut novem aut ſex aut quatuor aut tribus menſibus; ſecundum vero pauciſſimis horis. Nam die Kalend. Janu. cum mane pro æde Capitolini Jovis paullulum curuli ſella præſediſſet honore abiit, ſuf-

And, That was done ſoon enough, that was done well enough. *He uſed to ſay too, that a battle or a war was never to be undertaken, where the hopes of advantage did not overbalance the fear of loſs. For* thoſe that purſued ſmall advantages with no ſmall hazard, *he ſaid,* were like ſuch as fiſhed with a golden hook, the loſs of which, if the line ſhould break, could never be countervailed by all the fiſh they might take.

26. *He was advanced to publick offices before he was legally qualified for them in point of age, and to ſome of a new kind, and for life. He ſeized the conſulſhip in the twentieth year of his age, advancing up with his legions in a hoſtile manner to the town, and ſending deputies to demand it for him in the name of the army. At which time the ſenate demurring upon the matter, a centurion called Cornelius, the leading deputy, throwing back his coat, and ſhewing the hilt of his ſword, had the aſſurance to ſay in the houſe,* This will make him conſul, if you will not. *His ſecond conſulſhip he bore nine years after, and the next but one, after that a third, and continued in the ſame office every year ſucceſſively till the eleventh. After which, tho' the conſulſhip was frequently offer'd him, yet he refuſed it, 'till after a long interval, no leſs than ſeventeen years, he voluntarily ſtood for the twelfth, and two years after that again for a thirteenth, that he might, whilſt inveſted in that high office, introduce, according to cuſtom, his two ſons Caius and Lucius, into the forum. For the five conſulſhips from the ſixth to the eleventh, he continued in office throughout the year conſtantly. But for the reſt, only nine, ſix, four, or three months, and in his ſecond only for a few hours. For having ſat, upon the firſt of January, on his ivory ſeat, for ſome ſmall time in the morning before the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, he quitted the office*

fecto alio in locum suum. Nec omnes Romæ, sed quartum consulatum in Asia, quintum in insula Samo, octavum et nonum Tarraconę iniit.

27. Triumviratum reip. constituendæ per decem annos administravit: in quo restitit quidem aliquandiu collegis, ne qua fieret proscriptio, sed incœptam utroq; acerbius exercuit. Namq; illis in multorum sæpe personam per gratiam et preces exorabilibus, solus magnopere contendit ne cui parceretur: proscripsitque etiam C. Toranium tutorem suum, eundemq; collegem patris sui Octavii in ædilitate. Junius Saturninus hoc amplius tradit; cum peracta proscriptione, M. Lepidus in senatu excusasset præterita, et spem clementiæ in posterum fecisset: quoniam satis pœnarum exactum esset; hunc e diverso professum, ita modum se proscribendi statuisse, ut omnia sibi reliquerit libera: in cujus tamen pertinaciæ pœnitentiam, postea T. Vinium Philopœmenem, quod patronum suum proscriptum celasse olim diceretur, equestri dignitate decoravit. In eadem hac potestate multiplici flagravit invidia. Nam et Pinarium equitem R. cum concionante se admissa turba paganorum apud milites subscribere quædam animadvertisset, curiosum ac speculatorem ratus, coram confodi imperavit. Et Tedium Afrum cos. designatum, quia factum quoddam suum maligno sermone carpsisset, tantis perterruit minis, ut is se præcipitaverit. Et Q. Gallium prætorem, in officio salutationis, tabulas duplices veste tectas tenentem suspicatus gladium occulere, nec quidquam statim, ne aliud inve-

and substituted another in his room. Nor did he enter upon them all at Rome, but upon the fourth in Asia, the fifth in the isle of Samos, and the eighth and ninth at Tarracon.

27. *He was one of the triumvirate for settling the commonwealth ten years, in which office, he for some time opposed his colleagues in their design of a proscription; but after it was begun, prosecuted it with more inflexible rigour than either of them: For whereas they were often prevailed upon by the interest and intercession of friends to shew mercy, he alone insisted vehemently, that no quarter should be given; and he proscribed too C. Toranius his guardian, who had been formerly his father Octavius's colleague in the Ædileship. Junius Saturninus adds this farther account of him, that when, after the proscription was over, M. Lepidus made an excuse to the Senate for their past proceedings, and gave them hopes of more gentle management for the future, because they had now had a sufficient revenge upon their enemies: He on the other hand declared, that he had set no other bounds to the proscription than his own pleasure, and so was entirely at liberty. Yet afterwards being sorry for this inflexible humour of his, he raised T. Vinius Philopœmen to the equestrian dignity, for having concealed his patron, and saved him from the fury of the proscription. In this same office he became very odious upon many accounts. For as he was once haranguing the soldiers, observing Pinarius a Roman knight to let in some other company, and subscribe something or other, he ordered him to be stabbed before his eyes as a busy body and a spy upon him. He so terrified with his menaces Tedius Afer, after he was consul elect, for having reflected upon some actions of his, that he threw himself from the top of a house and died. And when Q. Gallius the prætor came to wait on him, with a double tablet under his coat, suspecting it to be a sword, and yet not venturing to make a search, lest it should be found to be something else, he ordered him to be carried off by some captains and soldiers, and to be put to torture, as if he*

niretur,

niretur, ausus inquirere, paullo post per centuriones et milites raptum e tribunali, servilem in modum torsit, ac fatentem nihil, jussit occidi, prius oculis ejus sua manu effossis. Quem tamen scribit colloquio petito insidiatum sibi, conjectumq; a se in custodiam, deinde urbe interdicta dimissum, naufragio vel latronum insidiis periisse. Tribunitiam potestatem perpetuam recepit: in qua semel atq; iterum per singula lustra collegam sibi cooptavit. Recepit et morum legumque regimen æque perpetuum; quo jure quamquam sine censuræ honore, censum tamen populi ter egit: primum ac tertium cum collega, medium solus.

had been a slave; and tho' he would not own any ill design, commanded him to be slain, after he had pulled out his eyes with his own hands: yet he himself says, that this same gentleman desired a private conference with him, in order to murther him, for which reason he put him in prison, but afterwards released him, and banished him the city, and that he perished either in a storm at sea, or by the hands of robbers. He accepted of the Tribunitian power for life, but for two lustra successively took another person into commission with him. He had likewise the inspection of the publick manners and the laws conferred upon him for life, by virtue of which commission, tho' he had not the honourable title of censor, ye he thrice took a survey of the people, the first and third time with an assistant, but the second by himself.

28. De reddenda repub. bis cogitavit: primo post oppressum statim Antonium, memor objectum ab eo sibi sæpius, quasi per ipsum staret ne redderetur: ac rursus tædio diuturnæ valetudinis: cum etiam magistratibus ac senatu domum accitis rationarium imperii tradidit. Sed reputans et se privatum non sine periculo fore, et illam plurium arbitrio temere committi, in retinenda perseveravit; dubium eventu meliore an voluntate. Quam voluntatem cum præ se identidem ferret, quodam etiam edicto his verbis testatus est: *Ita mihi salvam ac sospitem remp. sistere in sua sede liceat, atque ejus rei fructum percipere, quem peto, ut optimi status auctor dicar: et moriens, ut feram mecum spem, mansura in vestigio suo fundamenta reipub. quæ jecero.* Fecitque ipse se compotem voti, nisus omni modo ne quem novi status pœniteret.

28. *He twice entertained thoughts of restoring the common-wealth; first immediately after the suppressing of Antony, remembring what he had oftentimes charged him with, that it was owing to him, that the common-wealth was not restored. The second time was upon occasion of a long illness, at which time he sent for the magistrates and the senate to his own house, and delivered them a particular account of the state of the empire; but considering at the same time, that he could not without hazard return to the condition of a private person, and that it might be of dangerous consequence to the publick, to have the government left again to the management of the people, he resolv'd to keep it in his own hands, whether with the better event or intention is hard to say; which intention of good to the publick he frequently insisted upon in his private conversation, and likewise declared by proclamation in the following words.* So let me have the happiness to settle the common-wealth safe and secure upon its proper basis, and receive the advantage I propose from thence, of being celebrated for introducing the best kind of government amongst you; and at my leaving the world, carry along with me this hope, that the foundations I shall lay for a future settlement, will remain unmoved for ever.

And

And indeed he had the happiness to accomplish his intention, by using his utmost endeavours, that no body should have any reason to be dissatisfied with the new establishment.

29. Urbem neq; pro majestate imperii ornatam, et inundationibus incendiisque obnoxiam, excoluit adeo, ut jure sit gloriatus, marmoream se relinquere, quam lateritiam accepisset. Tutam vero, quantum provideri humana ratione potuit, etiam in posterum præstitit. Publica opera plurima exstruxit: ex quibus vel præcipua, Forum cum æde Martis Ultoris, templum Apollinis in Palatio, ædem Tonantis Jovis in Capitolio. Fori exstruendi causa fuit, hominum et judiciorum multitudo, quæ videbatur, non sufficientibus duobus, etiam tertio indigere. Itaq; festinantius, nec dum perfecta Martis æde, publicatum est, cautumq; ut separatim in eo publica judicia et sortitiones judicum fierent. Ædem Marti bello Phillippensi pro ultione paterna suscepto voverat. Sanxit ergo ut de bellis triumphisque heic consuleretur senatus: provincias cum imperio petituri, hinc deducerentur: quique victores rediissent, huc insignia triumphorum inferrent. Templum Apollinis in ea parte Palatinæ domus excitavit, quam fulmine ictam desiderari a Deo haruspices pronuntiârant. Addita porticus cum bibliotheca Latina Græcaque, quo loco jam senior sæpe etiam senatum habuit, decuriasq; judicum recognovit. Tonanti Jovi ædem consecravit, liberatus periculo, cum expeditione Cantabrica per nocturnum iter lecticam ejus fulgor perstrinxisset, servumq; prælucentem exanimasset. Quædam etiam opera sub nomine alieno, nepotum scilicet et uxoris sororisque,

29. *The city which was not built in a manner suitable to the grandeur of the empire, and was liable to the inundations of the Tiber, and fires, he so much improved, that he had reason indeed to boast, that he left it a city of marble instead of brick. He likewise rendered it secure for the time to come, as far as could be effected by human foresight. He raised a great many publick buildings, the most considerable of which were a Forum with the temple of Mars the Avenger, the temple of Apollo in the Palatium, and the temple of thundering Jove in the capitol. The reason of his building the forum, was the vast number of people and causes, for which the two former forums being not sufficient, it was thought requisite to have a third. For that reason it was opened for publick use, before the temple of Mars was quite finished, and provided by law, that causes should be tried, and judges chosen by lot there too. The temple of Mars he had vowed to build him, in the war of Philippi, undertaken by him for the revenge of his father's death. He ordered that the senate should meet there always to debate about wars and triumphs; and that such as were sent into the provinces to command the armies, should be dispatched from thence; and that such as return'd victorious from the wars, should lodge the ornaments of their triumphs there. He built the temple of Apollo in that part of the Palatine house, which had been struck with thunder, and which for that reason the sooth-sayers did declare the God had a mind to. He added to it piazzas, with a library of Latin and Greek authors; and when he grew elderly, used frequently to hold the senate there, and examine the lists of the judges. He consecrated the temple to thundering Jove, upon account of a delivery he had from a great danger in his Cantabrian expedition; where, as he was travelling in the night, his chair was scorched, and a slave that carried a torch before him killed outright by lightning. He likewise erected some publick buildings*

fecit;

fecit: ut porticum basilicamq; Lucii et Caii: item porticus Liviæ et Octaviæ, theatrumq; Marcelli. Sed et cæteros principes viros sæpe hortatus est ut pro facultate quisq; monumentis vel novis, vel refectis et excultis. urbem adornarent. Multaq; a multis exstructa sunt: sicut a Marcio Philippo, ædes Herculis Musarum: a L. Cornificio, ædes Dianæ: ab Asinio Pollione atrium Libertatis: a Munatio Planco ædes Saturni: a Cornelio Balbo, theatrum: a Statilio Tauro, amphitheatrum: a M. vero Agrippa, complura et egregia.

in the name of others, as his grandsons, lady and sisters. Thus he built a piazza and a court, in the name of Lucius and Caius, and Piazzas in the name of Livia and Octavia, and a theatre in that of Marcellus. He likewise recommended to other persons of eminence and figure, every one to beautify the city, by the raising of new buildings, or the repairing and improving of old ones, according to their ability. And thus many were raised, as the temple of Hercules president of the Muses by Marcius Philippus, a temple of Diana by Lucius Cornificius, the court of Liberty by Asinius Pollio; a temple of Saturn by Munatius Plancus; a theatre by Cornelius Balbus; an amphitheatre by Statilius Taurus; and several other fine edifices by M. Agrippa.

30. Spatium urbis in regiones vicosq; divisit: instituitq; ut illas annui magistratus sorti to tuerentur, hos magistri e plebe cujusque viciniæ electi. Adversus incendia excubias nocturnas, vigilesq; commentus est. Ad coercendas inundationes, alveum Tiberis laxavit, ac repurgavit, completum olim ruderibus, et ædificiorum prolapsionibus coarctatum. Quo autem facilius undiq; urbs adiretur, desumta sibi Flaminia via Arimino tenus munienda, reliquas triumphalibus viris exmanubiali pecunia sternendas distribuit. Ædes sacras vetustate collapsas, aut incendio absumtas, refecit easq; et cæteras opulentissimis donis adornavit: utpote qui in cellam Capitolini Jovis sexdecim millia pondo auri, gemmasq; ac margaritas quingenties H. S. una donatione contulerit.

30. *He divided the city into wards, and other lesser divisions, and ordered that the annual magistrates should by lot take the charge of the former, and masters chosen out of the commonalty of the neighbourhood the latter. He appointed a nightly watch to be kept against the casualties of fire: and to prevent the frequent inundations of the Tiber, widened and scoured the channel thereof, which had in length of time been almost dammed up with rubbish, and much reduced by the falling in of houses. And to render the avenues to the town the more commodious, he took upon himself the charge of making good the Flaminian causey as far as Ariminum; and ordered several gentlemen, who had attained to the honour of a triumph, to do as much by the other roads, out of the money arising from the spoils of war. Temples decayed by time, or burnt down, he repaired or rebuilt; and enriched them and others too with divers noble presents. He at one donation deposited in the sacred apartment of Jupiter Capitolinus, sixteen thousand pound of gold, and jewels, and pearls, to the value of fifty millions of sesterces.*

31. Postquam vero pontificatum maximum, quem nunquam vivo Lipido auferre sustinuerat, mortuo demum susceptit. Quicquid fatidicorum librorum

31. *After the death of Lepidus, he took upon him the office of high-priest, which he would not presume to do, whilst he was living. And then ordered all the books of prophecy both Latin and Greek,*

Greci

Græci Latiniq; generis, nullis vel parum idoneis auctoribus vulgo ferebatur, supra duo millia contracta undiq; cremavit: ac solos retinuit Sibyllinos: hos quoq; delectu habito: condiditque duobus forulis auratis sub Palatini Apollinis basi. Annum a D. Julio ordinatum, sed postea negligentia conturbatum atque confusum, rursus ad pristinam rationem redegit: in cujus ordinatione Sextilem mensem e suo cognomine nuncupavit, magis quam Septembrem, quo erat natus: quia hoc sibi et primus consulatus et insignes victoriæ obtigissent. Sacerdotum et numerum et dignitatem, sed et commoda auxit: præcipue Vestalium virginum. Cumq; in demortuæ locum aliam capi oporteret, ambirentq; multi ne filias in sortem darent; adjuravit, si cujusquam neptium suarum competeret ætas, oblaturum se fuisse eam. Nonnulla etiam ex antiquis cæremoniis paullatim abolita restituit: ut Salutis augurium, Diale flaminium, sacrum Lupercale, ludos Seculares et Compitalitios. Lupercalibus vetuit currere imberbes: item, Secularibus ludis juvenes utriusq; sexus prohibuit ullum nocturnum spectaculum frequentare, nisi cum aliquo majore natu propinquorum. Compitalitiis Lares ornare bis anno instituit, vernis floribus, et æstivis. Proximum a Diis immortalibus honorem memoriæ ducum præstitit, qui imperium populi R. ex minimo maximum reddidissent. Itaq; et opera cujusque, manentibus titulis, restituit: et statuas omnium triumphali effigie in utraque Fori sui porticu dedicavit. Professus est edicto, *commentum id se, ut illorum velut ad exem-*

whose authors were either unknown; or of no great authority, to be brought in, which amounted to above two thousand, and burnt them, saving only those that had been left by the Sibyls; and not these neither, without a severe examination, to distinguish such as were genuine; and laid them up on two gilt shelves, under the base of Apollo Palatinus's statue. He reduced the year, which had been regulated by Julius Cæsar, but through carelessness was got again into disorder and confusion, to it's former regularity, and upon that occasion, called the month of Sextilis by his own name, rather than September, in which he was born; because in it he had obtained his first consulate, and all his most considerable victories. He encreased the number, dignity, and revenue of the priests, but especially of the vestal virgins. And when upon the death of one of them, a new one was to be chosen, and many sollicited hard, that they might not be obliged to give in their daughters names, to take their chance for it, he swore, that if any of his grand daughters had been old enough for it, he would have offered her to fill up the vacancy. He likewise revived some old religious customs, that had by degrees been laid aside, as the augury of health, the office of Flamen Dialis, or the peculiar priest of Jupiter, the religious solemnity of the Lupercalia, the Secular and Compitalitian games. He forbid young boys running in the Lupercalia: likewise in the Secular games, he forbid all young people of either sex, to appear at any publick diversions in the night, unless in company with some elderly person of their relations. He ordered the houshold gods to be trimmed up twice a year with spring and summer flowers, in the Compitalitian festival. Next to the immortal gods, he paid the highest honour to the memory of those generals, that, from the poor condition the Roman state was originally in, had raised it to the highest pitch of grandeur; and accordingly repaired or rebuilt the publick edifices they had raised, and preserved the former inscriptions, and erected the statues of them all in a triumphant dress, in both the

plac

plar et ipſe dum viveret, et inſequentium ætatum principes exigerentur a civibus. Pompeii quoque ſtatuam contra theatri ejus regiam, marmoreo Jano ſuppoſuit, tranſlatam e curia, in qua C. Cæſar fuerit occiſus.

32. Pleraque peſſimi exempli correxit, quæ in perniciem publicam, aut ex conſuetudine licentiaque bellorum civilium duraverant, aut per pacem etiam exſtiterent. Nam et graſſatorum plurimi palam ferebant ſuccincti ferro, quaſi tuendi ſui cauſa: et rapti per agros viatores ſine diſcrimine, liberi, ſervique, ergaſtulis poſſeſſorum ſupprimebantur: et plurimæ factiones, titulo collegii novi, ad nullius non facinoris ſocietatem coibant. Igitur graſſatores diſpoſitis per opportuna loca ſtationibus, inhibuit: ergaſtula recognovit: collegia, præter antiqua et legitima, diſſolvit: tabulas veterum ærarii debitorum, vel præcipuam calumniandi materiam, exuſſit. Loca in urbe publica juris ambigui poſſeſſoribus adjudicavit. Diuturnorum reorum, et ex quorum ſordibus nihil aliud quam voluptas inimicis quæreretur, nomina abolevit: conditione propoſita, ut ſi quem quis repetere vellet, par periculum pœnæ ſubiret. Ne quod autem maleficium negotiumve impunitate vel mora elaberetur, xxx amplius dies, qui honorariis ludis occupabantur, actui rerum accommodavit. Ad tres judicum decurias, quartam addidit ex inferiore cenſu: quæ ducenariorum vocaretur, judicaretque de levioribus ſummis. Ju-

piazzas of his forum. And declared by proclamation, That his deſign in ſo doing was, that the Roman people might require from him, and all ſucceeding princes, a conformity to thoſe noble patterns. *He likewiſe removed the ſtatue of Pompey from the ſenate-houſe, in which C. Cæſar had been ſlain; and placed it under a marble arch, over-againſt the fine houſe adjoining to his theatre.*

32. *He ſuppreſſed a great many ill practices, highly detrimental to the publick, that had been introduced during the confuſion of the late civil wars, or had their riſe from the long peace that enſued. Great numbers of high-waymen appeared openly with ſwords on, under colour of ſelf defence. And travellers, freemen and ſlaves without diſtinction, were up and down the country carried off by violence, and kept concealed in work houſes. And ſeveral parties of men, under the ſpecious title of new companies, caballed together for the commiſſion of all manner of villany. He quelled the banditti, by guards of ſoldiers poſted in proper places for the purpoſe; took a ſtrict account of the work-houſes, and diſſolved all companies, but ſuch as were of antient ſtanding and eſtabliſhed by law. He burnt all the notes of ſuch as had been a long time in arrear with the treaſury, as the principal fund of vexations, ſuits and proſecutions. Places in the city that were claimed by the publick, where the property was dubious, he adjudged to the poſſeſſors. He ſtruck out of the liſt of criminals, the names of ſuch as had laid long under the terror of a proſecution, where nothing further was propoſed by the enemies the proſecutors, than only to gratify their own ill nature, by ſeeing the miſerable appearance they made upon that occaſion: and at the ſame time, threatened thoſe that ſhould go about to renew their proſecution, with the ſame puniſhment, if they did not make good their charge, that the party proſecuted was liable to, if they did. And that crimes might not go unpuniſhed, or buſineſs be neglected for want of diſpatch, he ordered the courts to ſit during the thirty days that were ſpent in celebrating the games, which*

dices a triceſimo ætatis anno allegit: id eſt, quinquennio maturius quam ſolebat. At pleriſque judicandi munus detrectantibus, vix conceſſit ut ſingulis decuriis per vices annua vacatio eſſet: et ut ſoliæ agi Novembri ac Decembri menſe res omitterentur.

the magiſtrates uſed to preſent in gratitude to the people, for their advancement. To the three former claſſes of judges, he added a fourth, conſiſting of perſons of inferior rank, who were called ducenarii, *and decided all diſputes about trifling ſums. He choſe judges from the age of thirty years, that is, five years ſooner than had been uſual before. And a great many declining the office, he was with much-ado prevailed upon, to allow each claſs of judges a year's vacation in its turn, and that the courts might be excuſed from ſitting during the months of November and December.*

33. Ipſe jus dixit aſſidue, et in noctem nonnunquam: ſi parum corpore valeret, lectica pro tribunali collocata, vel etiam domi cubans. Dixit autem jus non diligentia modo ſumma, ſed et lenitate: ſiquidem manifeſti parricidii reum, ne culeo inſueretur, quod non niſi confeſſi afficiuntur hac pœna, ita fertur interrogaſſe: *Certe patrem tuum non occidiſti?* Et cum de falſo teſtamento ageretur, omneſque ſignatores lege Cornelia tenerentur: non tantum duas tabellas, damnatoriam et abſolutoriam, ſimul cognoſcentibus dedit: ſed tertiam quoque, qua ignoſceretur iis, quos fraude ad ſignandum, vel errore inductos conſtitiſſet. Appellationes quotannis urbanorum quidem litigatorum prætori delegavit urbano: at provincialium, conſularibus viris, quos ſingulos cujuſque provinciæ negotiis præpoſuiſſet.

33. He likewiſe gave conſtant attendance himſelf for the trial of cauſes, and would ſometimes continue ſitting within the night, if he was not very well, upon a couch placed upon the bench, or lying a bed at home. And this he did not only with the utmoſt application, but mildneſs too. To ſave a fellow, that evidently appeared guilty of murthering his father from being ſtitched up in a ſack, becauſe none were puniſhed in that manner, but ſuch as confeſſed the fact, they tell you, he interrogated him thus, Surely you did not kill your father, did you? *And when in the trial of a cauſe about a forged will, all thoſe that had ſigned it were liable to the penalty of the Cornelian law, he ordered to be diſtributed to the gentlemen that ſat with him upon the trial, not only the two uſual tablets for condemnation or acquittal, but a third too, for the pardon of all thoſe that ſhould appear to be drawn in to ſign by any trick or miſtake. All appeals in cauſes betwixt the town's people be aſſigned every year to the prætor; and where the provincials were concerned, to conſular gentlemen, who had each his province for that purpoſe.*

34. Leges retractavit, et quaſdam ex integro ſanxit; ut ſumptuariam, et de adulteriis, et de pudicitia, de ambitu, de maritandis ordinibus. Hanc cum aliquanto quam cæteras ſeverius emendaſſet, præ tumultu recuſantium perferre non potuit: niſi adempta demum lenitave parte pœnarum: et vacatione triennii data, auctiſque præmiis.

34. Some laws he reviſed, and ſome entirely new ones, he enacted himſelf, as the ſumptuary law, that relating to adultery and chaſtity, the law againſt bribery in elections, as alſo that for the encouragement of matrimony. And having been ſomewhat more ſevere in his reform of this law than the reſt, he found it impracticable to have it paſs with the people, by reaſon of the clamour and diſturbance raiſed by ſuch as were againſt it, without taking off or mi-

præmiis. Sic quoque abolitionem ejus, publico ſpectaculo pertinaciter poſtulante equite, accitos Germanici liberos, receptoſque partim ad ſe, partim in patris gremium oſtentavit: manu vultuque ſignificans, ne gravarentur imitari juvenis exemplum. Cumque etiam immaturitate ſponſarum, et matrimoniorum crebra mutatione vim legis eludi ſentiret, tempus ſponſas habendi coarctavit: divortiis modum impoſuit.

tigating the penalties; and by the allowance of a three years reſpite, after the death of a wife, and augmenting the advantages of a married ſtate. And notwithſtanding all, the equeſtrian order at a publick diverſion in the theatre, were ſtill very importunate for the repeal of it, inſomuch that he ſent for the children of Germanicus, and ſhewed them partly ſitting upon his own lap, partly on their father's; ſignifying by his geſtures and looks his requeſt to them, that they would not think much to imitate the example of that young gentleman. But finding that the force of the law was eluded, by the marrying of mere girls, much too young for huſbands, and the frequent change of wives, he limited the time for conſummation after the marriage contract, and reſtrained the great licence uſed in the practice of divorce.

35. Senatorum affluentem numerum deformi et incondita turba (erant enim ſuper mille, et quidem indigniſſimi, et poſt necem Cæſaris per gratiam et præmium allecti, quos Orcinos vulgus vocabat) ad modum priſtinum et ſplendorem redegit, duabus lectionibus: prima, ipſorum arbitratu, quo vir virum legit: ſecunda, ſuo et Agrippæ. Quo tempore exiſtimatur lorica ſub veſte munitus, ferroq; cinctus præſediſſe, decem valentiſſimis ſenatorii ordinis amicis ſellam ſuam circumſtantibus. Cordus Cremutius ſcribit, ne admiſſum quidem tunc quemquam ſenatorum, niſi ſolum, et prætentato ſinu: Quoſdam ad excuſandi ſe verecundiam compulit: ſervavitq; etiam excuſantibus inſigne veſtis, et ſpectandi in orcheſtra epulandiq; publice jus. Quo autem lecti probatiq; et religioſius et minore moleſtia ſenatoria munera fungerentur, ſanxit ut prius quam conſideret quiſque, thure ac mero ſupplicaret apud aram ejus dei in cujus templo coiretur: et ne plus quam bis in menſe legitimus

35. *He reduced by two ſeveral nominations to their former number and ſplendor, the ſenate, which had been filled up, and overcharged with a rabble of people, much below the dignity of that houſe, (for they were now above a thouſand, and ſome of them but very ſorry perſons, that after the death of Cæſar had been choſen by the dint of intereſt and bribery together; and were commonly called by the people Orcini) the firſt of theſe elections was left to their own determination, each man as he was named naming another. But the latter was managed by himſelf and Agrippa together, at which time it is believed he preſided in the election, with a coat of mail and a ſword under his coat, and with ten of the moſt able bodied ſenators his friends attending about him. Cordus Cremutius writes, that none of the ſenators were ſuffered to approach him but alone, and after he had been ſearched, whether he had any ſword about him. Some he obliged to the modeſty of excuſing themſelves from the acceptance of that honour, and to ſuch he allowed the privilege of uſing the Senatorian tunick, of ſeeing the publick diverſions in the ſeats aſſigned the ſenatorian order, and feaſting publickly amongſt the ſenators. And to the end that ſuch as were choſen and approved of, might diſcharge their duty the more religiouſly, and with leſs trouble, he ordered that every man, before he took*

senatus ageretur, Kalendis et Idibus: neve Septembri Octobrive mense ullos adesse alios necesse esset, quam sorte ductos, per quorum numerum decreta confici possent: sibiq; instituit consilia sortiri semestria, cum quibus de negotiis, ad frequentem senatum referendis antè tractaret. Sententias de majore negotio, non more atque ordine, sed prout libuisset, perrogabat: ut perinde quisque animum intenderet, ac si consendum magis quam assentiendum esset.

his seat in the house, should pay his devotions, with an offering of frankincense and wine, at the altar of that God, in whose temple the senate should assemble; and that their stated meetings should be only twice a month, i. e. upon the Kalends and Ides. And that in the months of September and October, a certain number only chosen by lot, such as the law required to give a resolution of the house the force of a decree, should be obliged to give their attendance. He resolved upon the choice of a new privy council every six months, in order to consider beforehand with them, upon such things as he had a mind at any time to lay before the house. He likewise ask'd the opinions of the senators upon a matter of importance, not according to custom, or in order, but as he had a mind, that every one might give the same attention to the business before them, as if he was to deliver his sentiments at large upon it, in order to influence the rest, rather than assent to what was advanced by others.

36. Auctor et aliarum rerum fuit: in queis, ne acta senatus publicarentur: ne magistratus depositio honore statim in provincias mitterentur: ut proconsulibus ad mulos, et tabernacula, quæ publice locari solebant, certa pecunia constitueretur: ut cura ærarii a quæstoribus urbanis ad prætorios prætoresve transiret: ut centumviralem hastam quam quæstura functi consueverant cogere, decemviri cogerent.

36. *He likewise introduced several other alterations in the publick management; as that the acts of the senate should not be published, nor the magistrates sent into the provinces immediately after the time of their office expired; and that the proconsuls should have a certain sum assigned them out of the treasury for mules and tents, which used before to be contracted for by the government with private persons: that the management of the treasury should be transferred from the city quæstors to prætorian gentlemen, or the prætors. And that ten commissioners should call the centumviral court, which had formerly been used to be called by gentlemen that had born the office of quæstors.*

37. Quoque plures partem administrandæ reip. caperent, nova officia excogitavit: curam operum publicorum, viarum, aquarum, alvei Tiberis, frumenti populo dividendi, præfecturam urbis, Triumviratum legendi senatus, et alterum recognoscendi turmas equitum, quotiescunq; opus esset. Censores creari desitos longo intervallo creavit, numerum prætorum auxit. Exegit etiam, ut quoties consulatus sibi daretur, binos pro singulis col-

37. *And in order to employ more hands in the management of the publick affairs, he invented several new offices, as for the superintendency of the publick buildings, roads, waters, the channel of the Tiber, for the distributing of corn to the people; the præfecture of the city, a triumvirate for the choice of the senators, and another for taking an account of the several troops of the equestrian order obliged to serve the state in the wars on horseback. He revived too the office of the censors, which had been a long time laid aside, and encreased the number of the prætors. He likewise insisted, that as oft as the consulship was*

legas

legas haberet : nec obtinuit, reclamantibus cunctis satis majestatem ejus imminui, quod honorem eum non solus sed cum altero gereret.

38. Nec parcior in bellica virtute honoranda, super xxx ducibus justos triumphos, et aliquanto pluribus triumphalia ornamenta decernenda curavit. Liberis senatorum, quo celerius reip. adsuescerent, protinus virilem togam, latum clavum induere, et curæ interesse permisit : militiamque auspicantibus, non tribunatum modo legionum, sed et præfecturas alarum dedit : ac ne quis expers castrorum esset, binos plerumque laticlavios præposuit singulis alis. Equitum turmas frequenter recognovit, post longam intercapedinem reducto more *transvectionis*. Sed neque detrahi quemquam in transvehendo ab accusatore passus est : quod fieri solebat : et senio vel aliqua corporis labe insignibus permisit, præmisso in ordine equo ad respondendum, quoties citarentur, pedibus venire ; mox reddendi equi gratiam fecit eis qui majores annorum quinque et triginta retinere eum nollent.

39. Impetratisq; a senatu decem adjutoribus, unumquemq; equitum rationem vitæ reddere coegit : atque ex improbatis alios pœna, alios ignominia notavit : plures admonitione, sed varia. Lenissimum genus admonitionis fuit traditio coram pugillarium, quos taciti, et ibidem statim legerent, No-

conferred upon him, he should have two colleagues instead of but one, but could not prevail as to that point, all unanimously crying out upon the occasion, that he stooped below his grandeur sufficiently, in holding the office not alone, but in conjunction with another.

38. *Nor was he less careful to reward military merit ; he granted to above thirty generals the honour of the great triumph, and took care to have triumphal ornaments voted by the senate for more than that number. And in order to bring the senators sons sooner acquainted with affairs of state, he permitted them, at the same time they took upon them the manly habit, to assume the senatorian tunick too, and to be present at the debates of the house. And when they entered the service of their country in the wars, he gave them not only tribunes commissions, but likewise the command of the auxiliary horse of a legion. And that none might want an opportunity of attaining to a sufficient experience in military affairs, he commonly put two senators sons in commission together for the command of the said horse. He frequently reviewed the troops of horse belonging to the state, reviving the antient custom of* transvection, *after it had been long laid a side ; but did not suffer any one to be obliged by his accuser to dismount, whilst he pass'd in review, as had been usual before : and for such as were infirm with age, or any ways deformed, he suffered them to send their horse before them, and to come on foot and answer only to their names, when called upon : and in a little time allowed the favour of giving up their horse, to such as being above five and thirty years of age, had no mind to keep him any longer.*

39. *And having obtained ten assistants from the senate, he obliged every one of the horsemen to give an account of his life ; and of such as he disapproved of, some he set a mark of infamy upon, and others he punished other ways. The most part he only reprimanded, some one way, and some another ; but the most gentle manner of reproof was, by delivering them wax-tablets, which they were obliged to read to them-*

tavitq;

tavitq; aliquos, quod pecunias levioribus usuris mutuati, graviore fœnore collocassent.

40. Comitiis tribunitiis si deessent candidati senatores, ex equitibus Romanis creavit: ita ut potestate transacta, in utro vellent ordine, manerent. Cum autem plerique equitum attrito bellis civilibus patrimonio, spectare ludos e quatuordecim non auderent, metu pœnæ theatralis; pronuntiavit, non teneri ea quibus ipsis parentibusve equester census unquam fuisset. Populi recensum vacatim egit: ac ne plebs frumentationem causa, frequentius a negotiis avocaretur, ter in annum, quaternum mensium tesseras dare destinavit: sed desideranti consuetudinem veterem concessit rursus, ut sui cujusq; mensis acciperet. Comitiorum, quoq; pristinum jus reduxit: ac multiplici pœna coercito ambitu, Fabianis et Scaptiensibus tribulibus suis die comitiorum, ne quid a quoquam candidato desiderarent, singula millia nummum a se dividebat. Magni præterea existimans, sincerum, atq; ab omni colluvione peregrini ac servilis sanguinis incorruptum servare populum: et civitatem Romanam parcissime dedit, et manumittendi modum terminavit. Tiberio pro cliente Græco petenti rescripsit, *Non aliter se daturum quam si præsens sibi persuasisset quam justas petendi causas haberet.* Et Liviæ pro quodam tributario Gallo roganti, civitatem negavit, immunitatem obtulit; affirmans, *Se facilius passurum fisco detrahi aliquid, quam civitatis Romanæ vulgari honorem.* Servos non contentus multis difficultatibus a libertate, et

selves immediately upon the spot. Some he disgraced for taking up money at a low interest, and letting it out again upon a much higher consideration.

40. *In the election of tribunes, if there were not candidates enough of the senatorian order, he supplied the want of them out of the equestrian; granting them the liberty, after the expiration of their office, to continue in which of the two orders they pleased. And because most of the knights had been much reduced in their estates by the late civil wars, and for that reason durst not sit to see the publick diversions in the theatre, in the seats assigned to their order, for fear of the punishment provided by law in that case, he publickly declared, that none were liable to the lash of that law, who had either themselves or their parents, ever had a knight's estate. He took the survey of the Roman people street by street and that the commonalty might not be too frequently taken from their business, to attend the publick distribution of corn, he intended to deliver out tickets for four months, in order to their receiving so much at once, and so but three times a year: but at their request, he allowed them it monthly as before. He revived the former usage in elections, and endeavoured to prevent bribery by the enacting of various penalties against it. And therefore upon the day of election, he distributed to the freemen of the Fabian and Scaptian tribes, in which he himself was enrolled, a thousand sesterces each, that they might not expect any thing from any of the candidates. Being too very much concerned to preserve the Roman people pure and untainted with a mixture of foreign or servile blood, he both gave the freedom of the city very sparingly, and put some restraint upon the practice of manumising slaves. And when Tiberius interceded with him for the freedom of Rome in behalf of a Greek client of his, he writ him for answer,* That he should not grant it unless he came himself, and gave him good satisfaction, as to the reasons he had to make that request. *And he denied Livia too, upon her desiring the same privilege for a tributary Gaul, but offered him*

multo

multo pluribus a libertate juſta, removiſſe: cum et de numero et de conditione ac differentia eorum qui manumitterentur, curioſe caviſſet, hoc quoq; adjecit, ne vinctus unquam tortuſve quis, ullo libertatis genere civitatem adipiſceretur. Etiam habitum veſtitumq; priſtinum reducere ſtuduit. Ac viſa quondam pro concione pullatorum turba, indignabundus et clamitans: En, ait,

an immunity from taxes, declaring, That he would much ſooner ſuffer the revenue of his exchequer to be leſſen'd, than the honour of the freedom of Rome to be rendered too common. *Not ſatisfied with debarring ſlaves from the benefit of a compleat freedom, by various legal difficulties, relating to the number, condition, and diſtinction of ſuch as ſhould be manumiſed, he moreover enacted, that none who had ever been bound in chains, or put to the rack, ſhould in any degree obtain the freedom of the city. He endeavoured to reſtore the old habit and dreſs of the Romans; and upon ſeeing once an aſſembly of the people in black cloaths, he cryed out with indignation, Behold.*

Romanos rerum dominos, gentemque togatam.

The Maſters of the World, a Nation clad
In Latian Dreſs.

Negotium ædilibus dedit ne quem poſthac paterentur in Foro Circove, niſi poſitis lacernis, togatum conſiſtere.

He gave order to the ædiles not to ſuffer any Roman to ſtand in the Forum or Circus with cloaks on.

41. Liberalitatem omnibus ordinibus per occaſiones frequenter exhibuit. Nam et invecta urbi Alexandrino triumpho regia gaza, tantam copiam nummariæ rei effecit, ut fœnore diminuto, plurimum agrorum pretiis acceſſerit. Et poſtea quoties ex damnatorum bonis pecunia ſuperflueret, uſum ejus gratuitum iis qui cavere in duplum poſſent, ad certum tempus indulſit. Senatorum cenſum ampliavit: ac pro octingentorum millium ſumma duodecies HS. taxavit, ſupplevitq; non habentibus. Congiaria populo frequenter dedit, ſed diverſæ fere ſummæ: modo quadragenos, modo tricenos: nonnunquam ducenos quinquagenoſq; nummos, ac ne minores quidem pueros præteriit, quamvis nonniſi ab undecimo ætatis anno accipere conſueſſent. Frumentum quoq; in annonæ difficultatibus ſæpe leviſſimo, interdum nullo pretio, viritim admenſus eſt, teſſeraſq; nummarias duplicavit.

41. *He ſhew'd his generoſity to all ranks of people upon ſeveral occaſions: for upon bringing the treaſure belonging to the kings of Egypt into the city, in his Alexandrian triumph, he made money ſo very plentiful, that intereſt fell, and land roſe conſiderably upon it. And afterwards, as oft as money came in faſt upon him by confiſcations, he would lend it out gratis to ſuch as could give ſecurity for double the ſum lent. The eſtate neceſſary to qualify a perſon for being choſen into the ſenate, inſtead of eight hundred thouſand ſeſterces, he ordered ſhould be twelve hundred thouſand for the future; and he made it up to thoſe in the houſe, that had not ſo much. He gave frequent donatives to the people, but of different ſums commonly, as ſometimes four hundred, ſometimes three hundred, or two hundred and fifty ſeſterces, upon which occaſions he extended his bounty even to little boys; whereas they were not uſed before to receive any thing 'till after they were eleven years of age. And in a ſcarcity of corn, would oftentimes let them have it at a very low price, or none at all; and doubled the number of the money tickets.*

42. Sed

42. Sed ut salubrem magis quam ambitiosum principem scires, querentem de inopia et caritate vini populum, severissima coercuit voce: *Satis provisum a genero suo Agrippa, perductis pluribus aquis, ne homines sitirent.* Eidem populo promissum quidem congiarium reposcenti, *Bonæ se fidei esse respondit*: non promissum autem flagitanti, turpitudinem et impudentiam edicto exprobravit: affirmavitque, *non daturum se quamvis dare destinarat.* Nec minore gravitate atq; constantia, cum proposito congiario multos manumissos, insertosq; civium numero, comperisset, negavit accepturos quibus promissum non esset: cæterisq; minus quam promiserat, dedit, ut destinata summa sufficeret. Magna vero quondam sterilitate, ac difficili remedio, cum venalitias et lanistarum familias, peregrinosq; omnes, exceptis medicis et præceptoribus, partemq; servitiorum, urbe expulisset: ut tandem annona convaluit, *impetum se cepisse* scribit, *frumentationes publicas in perpetuum abolendi quod earum fiducia cultura agrorum cessaret*; *neque tamen perseverasse, quia certum haberet, posse per ambitionem quandoque restitui.* Atq; ita post hanc rem temperavit, ut non minorem aratorum ac negotiantium quam populi rationem deduceret.

42. *But to let the world see that he was a prince, who more regarded the good of his people than their favour, he reprimanded them, upon their complaining of the scarcity and dearness of wine, very severely, in the following words*; that his son in law Agrippa had sufficiently provided for the quenching of their thirst, by the great plenty of water he had supplied the town with. *And upon their demanding a donative he had promised them, he told them* he was a man of his word. *But upon their importuning him for one he had not promised them, he upbraided them with their scandalous impudence by proclamation*; *and declared*, he would give them nothing, tho' he had before designed it. *And with the like firmness and steadiness, when upon a promise he had made them of a donative he found many slaves had been manumised, and enrolled amongst the citizens, he declared none should receive any thing, to whom the promise had not been made*; *and he gave the rest less than he had promised them, that the sum he designed them might hold out. Once too in a barren season, when it was really no easy matter to find out a proper expedient for the relief of the publick want, he ordered out of town all the companies of slaves brought thither for sale, the gladiators belonging to the masters of defence, and all foreigners, excepting physicians, and the teachers of the liberal sciences*; *and also a part of the slaves in every family. And when at last plenty was restor'd, he writes,* That he had a mind to have abolish'd for ever the practice of allowing the people corn at the publick expence; because they trusted so much to it, that they really neglected their tillage; but did not continue in that mind, because he was pretty sure, it would some time or other be revived again to please the people. *And he so managed that affair ever after that he had no less regard to the husbandmen and traders abroad, than the people of the city.*

43. Spectaculorum et assiduitate et varietate, atq; magnificentia, omnes antecessit. Fecisse ludos se ait suo nomine quater; pro aliis magistratibus, qui aut abessent, aut non sufficerent,

43. *He exceeded all that went before him, in the number, variety, and magnificence of his publick diversions. Four and twenty times, he says, he presented the people with games, upon his own account*; *and three and twenty times for such ma-*

cerent, ter et vicies. Fecitq; nonnunquam vicatim, ac pluribus scenis per omnium linguarum histriones: non in Foro modo, nec Amphitheatro, sed in Circo et in Septis, et aliquando nihil præter venationem edidit: athletas exstructis in campo Martio sedilibus ligneis: item navale prælium circa Tiberim cavato solo: in quo nunc Cæsarum nemus est. Quibus diebus custodes in urbe disposuit, ne raritate remanentium grassatoribus obnoxia esset. In Circo aurigas cursoresq; et confectores ferarum, et nonnunquam ex nobilissima juventute, produxit. Sed et Trojæ ludum edidit frequentissime, majorum minorumve puerorum delectu: prisci decoriq; moris existimans, claræ stirpis indolem sic notescere. In hoc ludicro C. Nonium Asprenatem lapsu debilitatum, aureo torq; donavit: passusq; est ipsum posteros; Torquati ferre cognomen. Mox finem fecit talia edendi, Asinio Pollione oratore graviter invidioseq; in curia questo Æsernini nepotis sui casum, qui et ipse crus effregerat. Ad scenicas quoq; et gladiatorias operas, etiam equitibus Romanis aliquando usus est: verum prius quam senatusconsulto interdiceretur. Postea nihil sane, præterquam adolescentulum Lucium honeste natum, exhibuit: tantum ut ostenderet, quod erat bipedali minor, librarum septemdecim, ac vocis immensæ. Quodam autem muneris die, Parthorum obsides tunc primos missos, per arenam mediam ad spectaculum induxit: superq; se subsellio secundo collocavit. Solebat etiam citra spectaculorum dies, si quando quid inusitatum dig-

gistrates, as were either absent, or not able to bear the expence: and this he did sometimes up and down the streets of the city and upon several stages, by players in all languages. The same he did not only in the Forum, and Amphitheatre, but in the Circus too, and in the Septa; and sometimes he only presented a hunting of wild beasts. He entertained the people with wrestlers in the field of Mars, where wooden seats were erected for the purpose; as also with a sea fight, lowering the ground nigh the Tiber for it, where now the grove of the Cæsars is. And during the time of these two publick entertainments, he placed guards in the city; that it might not be exposed, by reason of the small number of people that was left in it, to robbers. In the Circus he produced charioteers, foot racers, and killers of wild-beasts, and those often of prime quality. He frequently exhibited the Trojan game, with a select number of greater or lesser boys: thinking it both handsome in itself, and suitable to the usage of the antients, to have the genius of the young nobility thus displayed. He presented C. Nonius Asprenas, that got lamed by a fall in this diversion, with a golden chain, and allowed him and his posterity to wear the sirname of Torquatus. But soon after he gave over this sport, upon occasion of a severe speech of Asinius Pollio the orator to the senate, wherein he complained heavily of the misfortune of his grandson Æserninus, who had broke his leg too in it. He sometimes made use of Roman knights to act upon the stage, or to fight as gladiators; but that was only before the practice was forbid, by a decree of the senate. He went no further after that, than only to present to the view of the people a young man named Lucius, of a good family, that was not quite two feet high, and weigh'd only seventeen pounds but had a prodigious voice. In one of his publick diversions, he brought the hostages of the Parthians, the first that had appeared at Rome from that nation, through the middle of the theatre, and placed them in the second gallery above him. He used too, at times when no publick entertainments were

numq; cognitu advectum esset, id extra ordinem quolibet loco publicare; ut rhinocerotem, apud Septa: tigrim, in scena: anguem quinquaginta cubitorum, pro Comitio. Accidit votivis Circensibus, ut correptus valetudine, lectica cubans, Thensas deduceret: rursus commissione ludorum, quibus theatrum Marcelli dedicabat, evenit ut laxatis sellæ curulis compagibus caderat supinus. Nepotum quoq; suorum munere, cum consternatum ruinæ metu populum retinere, et confirmare nullo modo posset, transiit e loco suo, atq; in ea parte consedit quæ suspecta maxime erat.

44. Spectandi confusissimum ac solutissimum morem correxit ordinavitque: motus injuria senatoris, quem Puteolis perceleberrimos ludos confessu frequenti nemo receperat. Facto igitur decreto patrum, ut quoties quid spectandum usquam publice ederetur, primus subselliorum ordo vacaret senatoribus: Romæ legatos liberarum sociarumq; gentium vetuit in orchestra considere: cum quosdam etiam libertini generis mitti deprehendisset. Militem secrevit a populo. Maritis e plebe proprios ordines assignavit: prætextatis cuneum suum, et proximum pædagogis: sanxitq; ne quis pullatorum media cavea sederet. Fœminis ne gladiatores quidem, quos promiscue spectari solenne olim erat, nisi ex superiore loco spectare concessit. Solis virginibus Vestalibus locum in theatro separatim, et contra prætoris tribunal, dedit. Athletarum vero spectaculo muliebrem sexum omnem adeo submovit, ut Pontificalibus ludis pugilum par pestulatum distu-

going forward, if any thing was brought to town, uncommon and worth the seeing, to expose it to publick view, in any place whatever: as he did a rhinoceros in the Septa, a tiger upon a stage, a snake fifty cubits long in the Comitium. It happened in the Circensian games, which he performed upon a vow, that he was taken ill, and obliged to attend the Thensæ, lying upon a couch. Again, in the games celebrated for the opening of Marcellus's theatre, the joints of his ivory seat happening to come loose, he fell upon his back. And in the publick diversion exhibited by his grandsons, the people being sorely frighted with the apprehension of the theatre's falling, when he found he could not stop or encourage them by any means to stay, he removed from his place, and sat down in the part that was most suspected.

44. *The confused disorderly manner of sitting to see the publick diversions, he rectified, upon occasion of an affront put upon a senator at Puteoli, whom, in a full assembly at the publick games, no body would make room for. He thereupon procured a decree of the senate, that in all publick diversions, and in all places, the first row of seats should be left empty for the senators. He would not suffer the ambassadors of free nations, and such as were allies of Rome, to sit in that part of the theatre assigned the senate, having discovered that some manumised slaves had been sent under that character. He separated the soldiery from the rest of the people, and assigned to married men amongst the commonalty their proper seats. To the boys he assigned his own Cuneus, and the next to it to such as had the charge of them; and ordered that none cloathed in black should sit in the middle part of the Cavea. Nor would he so much as allow the women to see the gladiators perform, but from the upper part thereof, who were used before to take their places promiscuously with the rest of the company upon that occasion. Only to the Vestal virgins he granted a place in the theatre by themselves, opposite to the prætor's bench. But entirely excluded the whole sex from seeing the wrestlers perform their parts; so that in the games he exhibited upon his*

lerit

lerit in sequentis diei matutinum tempus: edixeritq; *Mulieres ante horam quintam venire in theatrum, non placere.*

45. Ipse Circenses ex amicorum fere libertorumque cœnaculis spectabat interdum e pulvinari, et quidem cum conjuge ac liberis sedens. Spectaculo plurimas horas, aliquando totos dies aberat: petita venia, commendatisq; qui suam vicem præsidendo fungerentur. Verum quoties adesset, nihil præterea agebat: seu vitandi rumoris causa quo patrem Cæsarem vulgo reprehensum commemorabat, quod inter spectandum, epistolis, libellisq; legendis, ac rescribendis vacaret: seu studio spectandi, ac voluptate, qua teneri se neq; dissimulavit unquam, et sæpe ingenue professus est. Itaq; corollaria et præmia alienis quoq; muneribus ac ludis et crebra et grandia de suo offerebat: nulliq; Græco certamini interfuit, quo non pro merito certantium quemq; honoraverit. Spectavit autem studiosissime pugiles et maxime Latinos: non legitimos atq; ordinarios modo, quos etiam committere cum Græcis solebat: sed et catervarios oppidanos inter angustias vicorum pugnantes temere ac sine arte. Universum deniq; genus operas aliquas publico spectaculo præbentium, etiam cura sua dignatus est. Athletis et conservavit privilegia, et ampliavit. Gladiatores sine missione edi prohibuit. Coercitionem in histriones, magistratibus, in omni tempore et loco, lege vetere, permissam, ademit: præterquam ludis et scena.

taking the office of high-priest, he deferred the producing a pair of combatants the people called for, 'till the next morning, and signified by proclamation, his pleasure that no woman should appear in the theatre before five o'clock.

45. *He generally view'd the Circensian games from apartments of his friends or freed-men, sometimes from the place appointed for the statues of the gods, and sitting too together with his wife and children. He would absent himself from these publick fights for several hours, and sometimes whole days; but not without begging pardon first, and recommending some to preside at them in his room. But as oft as he was present, he minded nothing else; either to avoid the reflection that he used to say was commonly made upon his father Cæsar, for perusing letters and memoirs, and answering them in writing, whilst he was present at the publick diversions, or out of a real fancy he had for the sport, and the pleasure he took in it; which he was so far from concealing, that he oftentimes ingenuously own'd it. Wherefore he used frequently to make considerable gratifications to the best performers in the diversions exhibited by others. Nor was he ever present at any publick performance of Greeks, without rewarding the most deserving, according to merit. He loved mightily to see the boxers perform, and especially the Latine, not only such as had been trained up to it by rules of art, which he used often to match with the Greek champions, but the very townsmen that would fight in the streets without any art at all. Finally he vouchsafed to take under his care all such as acted any part in these publick entertainments of the people. He preserved to the wrestlers their privileges, and enlarged them too. He would not suffer the gladiators to fight without the allowance of life to the party worsted. He took away from the magistrates the power of correcting the stage-players, which by an antient law, was allowed them at all times and in all places, and allow'd it only during the plays, and upon the stage; yet he would not abate the wrestlers or gladiators any thing at all of*

Nec tamen eo minus aut xysticorum certationes, aut gladiatorum pugnas severissime semper exegit. Nam histrionum licentiam adeo compescuit, ut Stephanionem togatarium, cui in puerilem habitum circumtonsam matronam ministrasse compererat, per trina theatra virgis cæsum relegaverit: Hylam pantomimum, querente prætore, in atrio domus suæ, nemine excluso, flagellis verberaverit: et Pyladem urbe atq; Italia submoverit, quod spectatorem, a quo exsibilabatur, demonstrasset digito, conspicuumq; fecisset.

their service, and confined them strictly to the rules of discipline. He went so far in restraining the licentiousness of stage-players, that upon discovering that Stephanio, an actor of latin plays, kept a married woman with her hair cut short, and dressed in boy's cloaths, to wait upon him at table, he ordered him to be whipp'd through all the three theatres, and banish'd him. And Hylas the pantomimick, upon a complaint against him by the prætor, he commanded to be soundly scourged with a whip, in the court of his own house, and admitted all that would to see the execution. And Pylades he banished the city and Italy too, for pointing with his finger at, and turning the eyes of the company upon, a spectator by whom he was hissed.

46. Ad hunc modum urbe urbanisq; rebus administratis, ITALIAM duodetriginta coloniarum numero deductarum ab se frequentavit, operibusq; ac vectigalibus publicis plurifariam instruxit: etiam jure ac dignatione urbi quodam modo pro parte aliqua adæquavit: excogitato genere suffragiorum, quæ de magistratibus urbicis decuriones colonici, in sua quisq; colonia ferrent, et sub diem comitiorum obsignata Romam mitterent. Ac necubi aut honestorum deficeret copia, aut multitudinis soboles, equestrem militiam petenteis etiam ex commendatione publica cujusq; oppidi ordinabat: at iis qui e plebe regiones sibi revisenti filios filiasve approbarent, singula nummorum millia pro singulis dividebat.

46. *Having thus regulated the city and the affairs thereof, he replenished Italy by the planting of eight and twenty colonies in it, and very much improved it by publick works, and a revenue in taxes settled upon the several colonies, and equalled it in some measure in privileges and dignity to the city itself, by inventing a new sort of suffrages, which the members of the governing council in every colony, should give at home in the election of the magistrates in Rome, and send under seal to the city, about the time of the election. And in order to augment the number of persons of condition, and encourage propagation amongst the inferior people, he allowed the petitions of all such who requested the honour of serving in the wars on horseback, provided they were recommended by the town where they lived: and to such of the commonalty as upon his viewing the several quarters of Italy, presented him with sons or daughters lawfully begot, he distributed a thousand sesterces a head.*

47. Provincias validiores, et quas annuis magistratuum imperiis regi nec facile nec tutum erat, ipse suscepit: cæteras proconsulibus sortito permisit: et tamen nonnullas commutavit interdum: atq; ex utroq; genere pleraſq; sæpius adiit. Urbium quasdam fœderatas, sed ad exi-

47. *The more able provinces, and such as could not with ease or safety be entrusted to the government of the annual magistrates, he reserved to his own management; the rest he disposed of by lot to the proconsuls: yet he made an exchange sometimes, and frequently visited most of both kinds in person. Some cities that were confederate indeed with Rome, but by their extravagant*

tium

tium licentia præcipites, libertate privavit: alias, aut ære alieno laborantes, levavit; aut terræmotu subversas denuo condidit: aut merita ergo pop. Roman. allegantes, Latinitate, vel civitate, donavit. Non est, ut opinor, provincia, excepta duntaxat Africa et Sardinia, quam non adierit. In has, fugato Sexto Pompejo, trajicere ex Sicilia apparentem, continuæ et immodicæ tempestates inhibuerunt, nec mox occasio aut causa trajiciendi fuit.

48. Regna, quibus belli jure potitus est, præter pauca, aut iisdem, quibus ademerat, reddidit, aut alienigenis contribuit. Reges socios etiam inter semetipsos necessitudinibus mutuis junxit: promptissimus affinitatis cujusq; atq; amicitiæ conciliator et fautor: nec aliter universos, quam membra partesq; imperii, curæ habuit. Rectorem quoq; solitus est apponere ætate parvis, ac mente lapsis donec adolescerent aut resipiscerent: ac plurimorum liberos et educavit simul cum suis et instituit.

49. Ex militaribus copiis legiones et auxilia provinciatim distribuit: classem Miseni, et alteram Ravennæ, ad tutelam superi et inferi maris, collocavit. Certum numerum partim in urbis, partim in sui custodiam allegit: dimissa Calaguritanorum manu, quam usque ad devictum Antonium: item Germanorum, quam usque ad cladem Varianam, inter armigeros circa se habuerat. Neq; tamen unquam plures quam tres cohortes in urbe esse passus est: easq; sine castris, reliquas in hiberna et æstiva, circa finitima oppida dimittere assuerat. Quidquid autem ubiq; militum

behaviour seem'd ripe for destruction, he deprived of their liberty. Others that were very much in debt he reliev'd, and rebuilt such as had been overthrown by earthquakes: and such as could produce any instance of their having deserved well of the Roman people, he presented with the privilege of Latinum, or the freedom of the city. There is not a province, I think, except Africa and Sardinia, which he did not visit. After he had driven Sextus Pompeius into those provinces, he was preparing indeed to pass over, but was prevented by violent storms, that continued for some time without intermission. And soon after the occasion ceased.

48. *Kingdoms, which he had made himself master of by right of conquest, excepting a few, he either restored to such as he had taken them from, or gave them to strangers. Kings his allies he linked together in all the mutual bonds of union, being always ready to promote or favour any proposal of marriage or friendship amongst them, and indeed treated them all with the same regard, as if they were members and parts of the empire. For such of them as were minors or lunaticks he appointed guardians, till such time as they came at age, or recovered their senses; and the sons of a great many he was pleased should be educated and instructed with his own.*

48. *Of the military forces, he disposed of the legions and auxiliary troops throughout the several provinces. He posted a fleet at Misene, and another at Ravenna, for the security of the uper and lower sea. He selected a certain number of their forces for the guard partly of the city, and partly of his own person; and dismissed the body of the Calaguritanians, which he kept about him, till the overthrow of Anthony. He did the same too by the Germans, whom he had amongst his guards, till the disaster of Varus. And yet he never suffered more than three battalians in the city, and that without any camp. The rest he used to dispose of in the neighbouring towns about the city, in winter and summer quarters. All the troops throughout the empire he reduced to one certain model, with respect to*

esset,

esset, ad certam stipendiorum præmiorumq; formulam adstrinxit: definitis pro gradu cujusq; et temporibus militiæ, et commodis missionum: ne aut ætate aut inopia post missionem solicitari ad res novas possent. Utq; perpetuo ac sine difficultate sumptus ad tuendos eos prosequendosq; suppeteret, ærarium militare cum vectigalibus novis instituit. Et quo celerius, ac sub manum annuntiari cognosciq; posset quid in provincia quaq; gereretur, juvenes primo, modicis intervallis per militares vias, dehinc vehicula, disposuit. Commodius id visum est, ut, qui a loco eidem perferrent litteras, interrogari quoq; si quid res exigerent, possent.

50. In diplomatibus libellisque et epistolis signandis, initio Sphinge usus est: mox imagine Magni Alexandri: novissime sua, Dioscoridis manu sculpta, qua siquare insecuti quoq; principes perseveraverunt. Ad epistolas omnes, horarum quoq; momenta, nec diei modo, sed et noctis, quibus datæ significarentur, addebat.

51. Clementiæ civilitatisq; ejus multa et magna documenta sunt. Ne enumerarem quot et quos diversarum partium venia et incolumitate donatos, principem etiam in civitate locum tenere passus sit: Junium Novatum et Cassium Patavinum, e plebe homines, alterum pecunia, alterum levi exsilio punire satis habuit: cum ille Agrippæ juvenis nomine, asperrimam de se epistolam in vulgus edidisset: hic convivio pleno proclamasset, *Neq; votum sibi neq; animum deesse confodiendi eum*, Quadam vero cognitione, cum Æmilio Æliano

their pay, and the rewards to be conferred upon their being honourably discharged the service, determining according to every one's station in the troops, both the time he was to serve, and the advantages he was to have, upon a fair discharge, that they might not be tempted by their age and necessities to raise disturbances. And in order to establish a perpetual and easy fund, for the maintenance and rewards, he appointed a military exchequer, with new taxes for the supply of it. And to have the speedier intelligence of what passed in the provinces, he at first posted, at moderate distances, young men all along the great roads for the troops, and afterwards running chairs; which appeared the more commodious, because the persons that brought him the letters, might be questioned about the business, if there was any occasion.

50. *In the sealing of patents, instructions, or letters, he at first made use of the figure of a Sphinx, afterwards the head of Alexander the great, and at last his own, engraved by the hand of Dioscorides, which the following princes likewise continued to make use of. He was very particular in the dating of his letters, putting down exactly the time of the day, or night, in which they were dispatched.*

51. *The instances of his clemency and moderation are both many and considerable. For not to reckon up how many, and who they were of the opposite party, that he pardoned, and suffered to rise to the highest eminence in the city; he thought it sufficient to punish Junius Novatus, and Cassius Patavinus, both commoners, the one with a fine laid upon him, and the other with an easy banishment, tho' the former had published in the name of young Agrippa, a very scurrilous letter against him, and the other declared openly at an entertainment, where there was a great deal of company,* that he neither wanted inclination or courage to stab him. *And in the tryal of Æmilius Ælianus of Corduba, when amongst other crimes charged upon him, this may*

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Cordubensi inter cætera crimina vel maxime objiceretur, quod male opinari de Cæsare soleret: conversus ad accusatorem, commotoque simili: *Velim*, inquit, *hoc mihi probes: faciam, sciat Ælianus et me linguam habere: plura enim de eo loquar.* Nec quidquam ultra aut statim aut postea inquisivit. Tiberio quoq; de eadem re sedulo violentius apud se per epistolam conquerenti, ita rescripsit. *Ætati tuæ, mi Tiberi, noli in hac re indulgere, et nimium indignari quemquam esse qui de me male loquatur. Satis est enim, si hoc habemus ne quis nobis male facere possit.*

52. Templa quamvis sciret etiam proconsulibus decerni solere: in nulla tamen provincia, nisi communi suo Romæq; nomine recepit; nam in urbe quidem pertinacissime abstinuit hoc honore. Atque etiam argenteas statuas olim sibi positas conflavit omnes: exq; iis aureas cortinas Apollini Palatino dedicavit. Dictaturam, magna vi offerente populo, genu nixus, dejecta ab humeris toga nudo pectore deprecatus est.

53. Domini appellationem, ut maledictum et opprobrium semper exhorruit. Cum spectante eo ludos, pronuntiatum esset in mimo, *O dominum æquum et bonum:* et universi quasi de ipso dictum exsultantes comprobassent: et statim manu vultuq; indecoras adulationes repressit, et insequenti die gravissimo corripuit edicto, *dominumque* se posthac appellari, ne a liberis quidem aut nepotibus suis, vel serio vel joco, passus est: atq; hujusmodi blanditias etiam inter ipsos prohibuit. Non temere urbe

particularly insisted upon, that he was used to reflect upon Cæsar; turning in a seeming passion to his accuser. I wish, *said he,* you could make that appear; I shall let Ælianus know that I have a tongue too, and return him more ill language than ever he gave me. *Nor did he either then or at any time after make any further enquiry into the matter. And when Tiberius in a letter to him complained heavily about it, he returned him an answer in the following words.* Do not, *my dear Tiberius,* give way to the heat of youth in this affair, or be in such a mighty chafe, that any one should reflect upon me. It's sufficient, that we have it in our power, to prevent any one's doing us a mischief.

52. *Tho' he knew it had been customary to decree temples for the proconsuls, yet he would not, in the provinces, allow of any to be erected, but to the honour of himself and the city Rome in conjunction. But in the city itself, he absolutely refused any honour of that kind. He melted down all the silver statues that had been erected for him, and purchased therewith golden tripoffes which he consecrated to Apollo Palatinus. And when the common people importuned him to accept the dictatorship, he fell upon one knee, and with his toga thrown from his shoulders, and his breast exposed, begg'd to be excused.*

53. *He always abhorred the title of lord, as a scandalous affront. And when in a mimick piece presented in the theatre, the following words came up,* O just and gracious Lord, *and the whole company with joy signified their approbation of them, as being applied to himself; he both immediately put a stop to their indecent flattery, by the waving of his hand, and the severity of his looks, and the next day gave them a sharp reprimand for it by a proclamation. And would never after suffer himself to be called Lord, so much as by his own children or grand-children, either in jest or earnest; and forbid them the use of all such kind of complaisance to one another. He scarce ever went out of, or entered any*

oppidove

oppidove ullo egressus, aut quoquam ingressus est, nisi vespere aut noctu, ne quem officii causa inquietaret. In consulatu pedibus fere, extra consulatum, sæpe adoperta sella per publicum incessit. Promiscuis salutationibus admittebat et plebem: tanta comitate adeuntium desideria excipiens, ut quendam joco corripuerit, *quod sic sibi libellum porrigere dubitaret, quasi elephanto stipem.* Die senatus nunquam patres nisi in curia salutavit, et quidem sedentes ac nominatim singulos, nullo submonente: et discedens eo modo sedentibus singulis, valedicebat. Officia cum multis mutuo exercuit: nec prius dies cujusq; solemnes frequentare desiit, quam grandior jam natu, et in turba quondam sponsaliorum die vexatus. Gallum Terrinium senatorem, minus sibi familiarem, sed captum repente oculis, et ob id inedia mori destinantem præsens consolando revocavit ad vitam.

54. In senatu verba facienti dictum est, *Non intellexit:* et ab alio, *Contradicerem tibi si locum haberem.* Interdum ob immodicas altercationes disceptantium e curia per iram se proripienti, quidam ingesserunt, *Licere oportere senatoribus de republ. loqui.* Antistius Labeo senatus, lectione, cum vir virum legeret, M. Lepidum, hostem olim ejus, et tunc exulantem, legit: interrogatusque ab eo, *an essent alii digniores, suum quemque judicium habere* respondit. Nec ideo libertas, aut contumacia fraudi cuiquam fuit.

city or great town, but in the evening or the night, that he might give no body the trouble of attending him. In his consulships he commonly walked the streets on foot, but at other times was carried in a close chair. He admitted the commonalty, promiscuously with people of better fashion, to pay their respects to him, receiving the petitions of such as came to wait upon him, with so much complaisance, that he merrily chid one man, by telling him, That he presented his memoir with as much hesitation, as if he was offering money to an elephant. *Upon the days that the senate assembled, he used to pay his respects to the members only in the house, as they sat, addressing them singly by name, without a prompter; and at his leaving the house, he in like manner bid them every one farewell. He had with many a constant intercourse of mutual civilities, and used to give them his company upon any solemn occasion of joy in their families, till he was now grown elderly, and was incommoded by the crowd at a wedding. He went to see Gallus Terrinius a senator he had but a very slight acquaintance with, that was suddenly taken blind, and for that reason had resolved to starve himself to death, and by the consolation he gave him, brought him to another mind.*

54. *As he was speaking in the senate, one said,* I did not understand you; *and another,* I would contradict you, could I do it with safety. *And sometimes upon his being so much offended at the heat with which the debates were managed in the senate, as to quit the house in anger, some of the members would cry out over and over again,* Surely the senators ought to have the liberty of speech with respect to matters of government. *Antistius Labeo in the election of a new senate, wherein every man as he was named chose another; pitched upon M. Lepidus, that had formerly been his enemy, and was then in banishment; and being ask'd by him,* if there were not others more deserving, *he reply'd,* every man had his fancy. *Nor was any one ever molested for this freedom and contradiction of him.*

55. Etiam

55. Etiam ſparſos de ſe in curia famoſos libellos, nec expavit, nec magna cura redarguit. Ac ne requiſitis quidem auctoribus, id modo cenſuit, cognoſcendum poſthac de iis qui libellos aut carmina ad infamiam cujuſpiam ſub alieno nomine edant.

56. Jocis quoq; quorundam invidioſis aut petulantibus laceſſitus, contradixit edicto. Et tamen de inhibenda teſtamentorum licentia, ne ſenatus quidquam conſtitueret, interceſſit. Quoties magiſtratuum comitiis intereſſet, tribus cum candidatis ſuis circuibat: ſupplicabatq; more ſolemni. Ferebat et ipſe ſuffragium in tribu, ut unus e populo. Teſtem ſe in judiciis et interrogari et refelli æquiſſimo anno patiebatur. Forum anguſtius fecit, non auſus extorquere poſſeſſoribus proximas domos. Nunquam filios ſuos populo commendavit, ut non adjiceret, *Si merebuntur*. Eiſdem prætextatis adhuc aſſurrectum ab univerſis in theatro, et a ſtantibus plauſum, graviſſime queſtus eſt. Amicos ita magnos et potentes in civitate eſſe voluit ut tamen pari jure eſſent quo cetæri, ligibuſq; judiciariis æque teneretur. Cum Aſprenas Nonius arctius ei junctus, cauſam veneficii, accuſante Caſſio Severo, diceret: conſuluit ſenatum quid officii ſui putaret: *Cunctari enim ſe ne, ſi ſupereſſet, eriperet legibus reum: ſin deeſſet, diſſitere ac predamnare amicum exiſtimaretur.* Et conſentientibus univerſis, ſedit in ſubſellis per aliquot horas: verum tacitus ac ne laudatione quidem judiciali data. Affuit et clientibus ſicut Scutario cuidam, evocato quondam ſuo,

55. *When ſome infamous libels againſt him were ſcattered in the ſenate-houſe, he was neither diſturbed at them, nor gave himſelf much trouble to confute them. Nay he would not ſo much as order any enquiry to be made after the authors; only gave it as his opinion to the houſe, that for the future, thoſe perſons ſhould be called to an account, that publiſh'd libels or lampoons againſt any one under a borrowed name.*

56. *Being provok'd by ſome ſawcy jeſts that were deſign'd to render him odious, he anſwered them by proclamation: And yet he prevented the ſenate's paſſing an act, to reſtrain the licentious freedom, that was taken in wills. As oft as he attended at the election of magiſtrates, he went round the tribes, with the candidates of his nomination, and begged the votes of the people in the uſual manner. He likewiſe gave his vote in his tribe, like one of the people. He very contentedly ſuffered himſelf to be ſummoned as a witneſs upon trials, and to be queſtioned and confuted too. He made his forum leſs than he could have wiſhed it, not preſuming to force the neighbouring houſes from the owners. He never recommended his ſons to the people, without the addition of theſe words,* if they deſerve it. *And upon their riſing up to them in the theatre, whilſt they were as yet under age, and clapping them ſtanding, he made moſt heavy complaint. He was for having his friends great and powerful in the city, but not above the law, any more than other men. When Aſprenas Nonius an intimate friend of his was tried for the crime of poiſoning, at the proſecution of Caſſius Severus, he conſulted the ſenate for their opinion, what was his duty upon that occaſion:* For he was fearful, *he ſaid,* leſt if he ſhould ſtand by him in the cauſe, he ſhould be thought to ſcreen him in defiance of the law; and if he did not, to deſert him, and in his own opinion condemn him before his tryal. *And by the unanimous conſent of the houſe, he ſat amongſt the pleaders of his cauſe for ſeveral hours, but without ſaying ſo much as any thing in his commendation, according to cuſtom upon thoſe occaſions. He likewiſe*

qui postulabatur injuriarum. Unum omnino e reorum numero, ac ne eum quidem, nisi precibus eripuit, exorato coram judicibus accusatore, Castricium, per quem de conjuratione Murenæ cognoverat.

57. Pro quibus meritis quantopere dilectus sit, facile est æstimare. Omitto senatusconsulta, quæ possunt videri vel necessitate expressa, vel verecundia. Equites Romani natalem ejus sponte atq; consensu, biduo semper celebrarunt. Omnes ordines in lacum Curtii quotannis ex voto pro salute ejus stipem jaciebant: item Kalendis Januariis strenam in Capitolio, etiam absenti: ex qua summa pretiosissima deorum simulacra mercatus, vicatim dedicabat: ut Apollinem Sandaliarum, et Jovem Tragædum, aliaque. In restitutionem Palatinæ domus incendio absumtæ, veterani, decuriæ, tribus, atq; etiam sigillatim e cætero genere hominum, libentes ac pro facultate quisq; pecunias contulerunt: delibante tantummodo eo summarum acervos, neq; ex quoquam plus denario auferente. Revertentem ex provincia, non solum faustis ominibus, sed et modulatis carminibus prosequebantur. Observatum etiam est, ne quoties introiret urbem, supplicium dequoquam sumeretur.

58. Patris patriæ cognomen universi repentino maximoque consensu detulerunt ei. Prima plebs legatione Antium missa: dein quia non recipiebat, ineunti Romæ spectacula frequens, et laureata: mox in curia senatus: neque decreto, neque acclamatione, sed per Valerium Messalam id mandantibus cunctis: *Quod bonum,*

appeared for his clients, as for Scutarius an old soldier of his, in an action of slander. He never exempted any from prosecution, but one by whom he had been inform'd of the conspiracy of Muræna, and that he did too only, by prevailing with his accuser in open court to drop his prosecution.

57. *For which good behaviour how much he was beloved, is easy to imagine. I say nothing of the decrees of the senate in his favour, which may seem to have been the effects of necessity or modesty. The Roman knights did voluntarily, and by consent, celebrate the remembrance of his birth always for two days together. And all the several orders of the people did every year, in consequence of a vow they had made for that purpose, throw a piece of money into the Curtian lake, for his health: and likewise upon the first of January, presented him with new years gifts in the capitol, tho' he was not there himself, with which sum he bought some very costly images of the Gods, which he erected in several streets of the city: as that of Apollo Sandaliarius, and Jupiter Tragædus, and others. When his house in the Palatium was burnt down, the veteran soldiers, the judges, and all the people, jointly and separately, contributed each man according to his ability for the rebuilding it, tho' he would accept only of some small portion out of the several sums raised, and would take no more from any single heap, than a single denarius. Upon his return home from any of the provinces, they not only attended him with joyful acclamations, but songs too. And when ever he entered the city, they constantly forbore that day the punishment of malefactors.*

58. *The whole body of the people upon a sudden motion, and with unanimous consent, offered him the title of* father of his country. *And first the common people by a deputation sent to him at Antium; and upon his refusal, they did it a second time, in a full theatre, with laurel crowns on their heads: and soon after the senate in their house, not in the way of acclamation or decree, but by commission to M. Messala, whereby he was ordered to compliment him*

inquit,

inquit, *fauſtumque ſit tibi, domuique tuæ, Cæſar Auguſte: (ſic enim nos perpetuam felicitatem reipubl. et læta huic precari exiſtimamus) Sen. te conſentiens cum pop. Rom. conſalutat* PATRIÆ PATREM. Cui lacrymans reſpondit Auguſtus his verbis (ipſa enim ſicut Meſſalæ, poſui:) *Compos factus votorum meorum, Patres C. quid habeo aliud deos immortales precari, quam ut hunc conſenſum veſtrum ad ultimum vitæ finem mihi perferre liceat.*

59. Medico Antonio Muſæ, cujus opera ex ancipiti morbo, convaluerat, ſtatuam, ære collato, juxta ſignum Æſculapii ſtatuerunt. Nonnulli patrumfamiliarum, teſtamento caverunt ut ab hæredibus ſuis, prælato victimæ titulo, in capitolium ducerentur, votumq; pro ſe ſolveretur, QUOD SUPERSTITEM AUGUSTUM RELIQUISSENT. Quædam Italiæ civitates diem, quo primum ad ſe veniſſet, initium anni fecerunt. Provinciarum pleræq; ſuper templa et aras, ludos quoq; quinquennales pæne oppidatim conſtituerunt.

60. Reges amici atq; ſocii, et ſinguli in ſuo quiſq; regno, Cæſareas urbes condiderunt: et cuncti ſimul, ædem Jovis Olympici, Athenis antiquitus inchoatam, perficere communi ſumptu deſtinaverunt, Genioq; ejus dedicare: ac ſæpe regnis relictis, non Romæ modo, ſed provincias peragranti quotidiana officia togati, ac ſine regio inſigni, more clientium præſtiterunt.

therewith, as he accordingly did in the following words. With hearty wiſhes for the happineſs of your ſelf and your family, Cæſar Auguſtus, (for ſo we think we moſt effectually pray for the welfare of the publick) the ſenate, in conjunction with the people, ſalute you by the title of FATHER OF YOUR COUNTRY. *To which compliment Auguſtus, with tears in his eyes replyed, in the following words, (for I put down the words, as I have done thoſe of Meſſala.)* Having now obtained the utmoſt of my wiſhes, O fathers of the ſenate, what elſe have I left to beg at the hands of the immortal Gods, but the continuance of this your affection for me, to the laſt moments of my life!

59. *They raiſed by common contribution a ſtatue nigh that of Æſculapius, for the phyſician Antonius Muſa, who had cured him of a dangerous diſtemper. Some perſons ordered in their wills, that their heirs ſhould carry victims into the capitol, with a ſcroll before them, to ſignify the occaſion, that they were to be offered for the ſatisfaction of a vow,* SINCE THEY HAD LEFT AUGUSTUS BEHIND THEM IN THE WORLD. *Some cities of Italy appointed the day upon which he firſt came there, to be for ever after the firſt day of their year: and moſt of the provinces beſides temples and altars, erected to his honour inſtituted games, to be celebrated in almoſt every great town, for the ſame purpoſe every five years.*

60. *The kings his friends and allies, each of them in their ſeveral kingdoms, built cities under the name of Cæſarea. And all by conſent reſolved at their common charge to finiſh a temple of Jupiter Olympius, which had been begun at Athens a long time before, and conſecrate it to his Genius. And they would often leave their kingdoms, and in a Roman dreſs, and laying aſide the badges of their royal dignity, attend and compliment him daily, as clients do their patrons, not only when he was at Rome, but as he was travelling through the provinces.*

61. Quoniam qualis in imperiis ac magistratibus regendaq; per terrarum orbem pace belloq; rep. fuerit, expositi: referam nunc interiorem ac familiarem ejus vitam: quibusq; moribus atq; fortuna domi et inter suos egerit, a juventa usq; ad supremum vitæ diem. Matrem amisit in primo consulatu: sororem Octaviam, quinquagesimum et quartum agens ætatis annum. Utrique cum præcipua officia vivæ præstitisset, etiam defunctæ honores maximos tribuit.

61. *Having thus given an account of his behaviour in his offices both civil and military, and his management in the government of the empire, both in peace and war; I shall in the next place present the reader with an account of his private and domestick life, the manner of his behaviour at home, amongst his relations and dependents, and the fortune attending him in that way of life, from his youth, to the day of his death. He lost his mother in his first consulship, and his sister Octavia, when he was going upon the fifty fourth year of his age. He had carried with the utmost kindness to them both whilst living, and paid them the highest honours upon their decease.*

62. Sponsam habuerat adolescens P. Servilj Isaurici filiam: sed reconciliatus post primam discordiam Antonio, et postulantibus utriusq; militibus, ut et necessitudine aliqui jungerentur, privignam ejus Claudiam, Fulviæ ex P. Clodio filiam, duxit uxorem, vixdum nubilem. Ac simultate cum Fulvia socru exorta, dimisit intactam adhuc, et virginem. Mox Scriboniam in matrimonium accepit, nuptam ante duobus consularibus, et ex altero etiam matrem. Cum hac etiam divortium fecit, pertæsus, ut scribit, morum perversitatem ejus: ac statim Liviam Drusillam matrimonio Tiberij Neronis, et quidem prægnantem, abduxit, dilexitq; et probavit unice ac perseveranter.

62. *He was contracted very young to the daughter of Publius Servilius Isauricus; but after his reconciliation with Anthony, the armies on both sides insisting upon a further alliance by marriage betwixt them, he married his step-daughter Claudia, the daughter of Fulvia by Publius Claudius, tho' she was scarce marriageable; and upon a difference arising with his mother-in law Fulvia, divorced her untouched, and a pure virgin. Soon after he took to wife Scribonia, who had before been married to two consular gentlemen, and was a mother by one of them. But parted with her too, being quite tired out, as he writes himself, with the perverseness of her humour; and immediately took Livia Drusilla, tho' big with child from her husband Tiberius Nero, whom he continued extremely fond of ever after.*

63. Ex Scribonia Juliam, ex Livia nihil liberorum tulit, cum maxime cuperet. Infans, qui conceptus erat, immaturus est editus. Juliam primum Marcello Octaviæ sororis suæ filio, tantum quod pueritiam egresso: deinde ut is obiit, M. Agrippæ nuptum dedit: exorata sorore ut sibi genero cederet. Nam tunc Agrippa alteram

63. *He had his daughter Julia by Scribonia, but no children by Livia, tho' he very much desired it. She did once indeed conceive, but miscarried upon it. He disposed of his daughter Julia first to Marcellus his sister's son, but just at age, and after his death to Mark Agrippa, having prevailed with his sister to resign up her son in-law to him: for at that time Agrippa had one of the Marcellas, and children by her too. And upon his death after he had for*

Marcel-

Marcellarum habebat, et ex ea liberos. Hoc quoq; defuncto, multis, ac diu, etiam ex equestri ordine, circumspectis conditionibus, Tiberium privignum suum elegit: coegitq; prægnantem uxorem, et ex qua jam pater erat, demittere. M. Antonius scribit, *Primum eum Antonio filio suo despondisse Juliam: dein Cotisoni Getarum regi: quo tempore sibi quoq; invicem filiam regis in matrimonium petiisse.*

64 Nepotes ex Agrippa et Julia tres habuit, Cajum, Lucium, et Agrippam: neptes duas, Juliam et Agrippinam. Juliam L. Paullo Censoris filio, Agrippinam Germanico fororis suæ nepoti collocavit. Cajum et Lucium adoptavit domi per assem et libram emptos a patre Agrippa: teneroſq; adhuc ad curam reip. admovit: et consules designatos circum provincias exercituſq; dimisit. Filiam et neptes ita instituit, ut etiam lanificio assuefaceret: vetaretq; loqui, aut agere quidquam, nisi propalam, et quod in diurnos commentarios referretur. Extraneorum quidem cœtu adeo prohibuit, ut L. Vinicio, claro decoroque juveni, scripserit quondam. *Parum modeste fecisse eum, quod filiam suam Bajas salutatum venisset.* Nepotes et literas et natare aliaq; rudimenta per se plerumque docuit; ac nihil æque laboravit quam ut imitarentur chirographum suum. Neque cœnavit una, nisi ut in imo lecto assiderent: neque iter fecit, nisi ut vehiculo anteirent aut circa adequitarent.

65. Sed lætum eum atq; fidentem et sobole et disciplina domus, fortuna destituit. Julias, filiam et neptem, omnibus probris contaminatas relegavit.

a long time considered of several matches for her in the equestrian order, he pitched upon Tiberius his step son for her, and obliged him to part with his wife at that time pregnant, and by whom he was already a father. M. Anthony writes, That he first contracted Julia to his son, afterwards to Cotiso king of the Getæ, demanding at the same time the king's daughter in marriage for himself.

64. *He had three grand-sons by Agrippa and Julia, Caius, Lucius and Agrippa: and two grand daughters, Julia and Agrippina. Julia he married to Lucius Paullus the censor's son, and Agrippina to Germanicus his sister's grand-son. Caius and Lucius he adopted at home, by the ceremony of purchase from their father, and advanced them whilst yet but very young, to posts in the government, and after he had procured them to be chosen consuls, sent them to take a tour through the provinces of the empire, and the several armies. In the breeding of his daughter and grand-daughters, he kept them close to their work, and obliged them to speak and act every thing openly before the family, that it might be put down in the domestick diary; and so strickly forbid them all converse with strangers that he once writ a letter to Lucius Vinicius a handsome young gentleman of good family, wherein he told him,* He had not behaved himself very modestly, in pretending to make his daughter a visit at Baiæ. *He usually instructed his grand-sons himself in reading, swimming, and other rudiments of literature, and he laboured nothing more than to bring them to an imitation of his hand-writing. And he never supped but he had them sitting at the feet of the bed: nor ever travelled but with them in a chariot before him, or riding beside him.*

65. *But in the midst of all his joy and expectations of happiness in his children, from the care he took of their education, his fortune failed him. The two Julias his daughter and grand daughter proceeded*

Ca-

Cajum et Lucium in duodeviginti menſium ſpatio amiſit ambos: Cajo, in Lycia, Lucio, Maſſiliæ, defunctis. Tertium nepotem Agrippam, ſimulque privignum Tiberium adoptavit in foro, lege Curiata. Ex quibus Agrippam, brevi, ob ingenium ſordidum ac ferox, abdicavit, ſepoſuitq; Surrentum. Aliquanto autem patientius mortem quam dedecora ſuorum tulit. Nam Caji Luciiq; caſu non adeo fractus, de filia abſens, ac libello perquæſtorem recitato, notum ſenatui fecit: abſtinuitq; congreſſu hominum diu, præ pudore; etiam de necanda deliberavit. Certe cum ſub idem tempus una ex conſciis liberta, Phœbe nomine, ſuſpendio vitam finiſſet: *Maluiſſe ſe*, ait, *Phœbes patrem fuiſſe*. Relegatæ, uſum vini, omnemq; delicatiorem cultum ademit: neq; adiri a quopiam libero, ſervove niſi ſe conſulto, permiſit: et ita ut certior fieret, qua is ætate, qua ſtatura, quo colore eſſet, etiam quibus corporis notis vel cicatricibus. Poſt quinquennium demum ex inſula in continentem, lenioribuſq; paullo conditionibus, tranſtulit eam: nam ut omnino revocaret, exorari nullo modo potuit: deprecanti ſæpe populo Romano et pertinacius inſtanti *tales filias taleſq; conjuges* pro concione imprecatus. Ex nepte Julia, poſt damnationem, editum infantem agnoſci aliq; vetuit. Agrippam nihilo tractabiliorem, imo in dies amentiorem, in inſulam tranſportavit, ſepſitq; inſuper cuſtodia militum. Cavit etiam ſenatus conſulto ut eodem loci in perpetuum contineretur: atque ad omnem et ejus et Juliarum mentionem ingemiſcens, proclamare etiam ſolebat,

to ſuch a height of lewdneſs and debauchery, that he was obliged to baniſh them both. Caius, and Lucius he loſt within the compaſs of eighteen months; Caius dying in Lycia and Lucius at Marſeilles. His third grand ſon Agrippa, together with his ſtepſon Tiberius, he adopted in the forum, by a law paſſed for the purpoſe by the Curiæ, of which he ſoon after diſcarded Agrippa for his rude and inſolent temper, and confined him at Surrentum. He bore the death of his relations with more patience than their ſcandalous behaviour. For he was not much dejected at the loſs of Caius and Lucius, but his misfortune with reſpect to his daughter, he ſet forth to the ſenate in a narrative read to them by the quæſtor, and was ſo much aſhamed of her infamous behaviour, that he for a long time declined all company, and had thoughts of putting her to death. It's certain that when one Phœbe, a freed woman and confident of hers hanged herſelf about the ſame time, he ſaid upon it, That he could have wiſhed he had been the father of Phœbe rather than Julia. *In her baniſhment he would not allow her the uſe of wine or any thing of finery, nor would he ſuffer her to be waited upon by any one, either freeman or ſlave, without his knowledge and permiſſion, and a particular information of his age, ſtature, complexion, and what marks or ſcars he had about him. At the five years end he removed her out of the iſland of her confinement upon the continent, and allowed her a little better uſage, but could never be prevailed with to take her home again. And upon the Roman people's interpoſing with him in her behalf ſeveral times, and uſing a great deal of importunity, he in a ſpeech to them wiſh'd them all* ſuch daughters and wives as ſhe was. *He likewiſe forbid a child his grand daughter Julia had after ſentence againſt her, to be owned as any relation of his, and brought up. And Agrippa, who was never a whit more manageable, but grew madder every day, he tranſported into an iſland, and placed a guard of ſoldiers upon him. And procured an act of the ſenate for his confinement there during life: and upon any mention of him, and the two Julias, he would with a heavy ſigh ſay,* As

Αἰθ' ὄφελον ἄγαμός τ' ἔμεναι, ἀγονός τ' ἀπολέσθαι!
Would I without a wife or child had died!

nec aliter illos appellare quam *tres vomicas*, aut *tria carcinomata sua*.

66. Amicitias neq; facile admisit, et constantissime retinuit: non tantum virtutes ac merita cujusq; digne prosecutus, sed vitia quoq; et delicta dumtaxat modica perpessus. Neq; enim temere, ex omni numero, in amicitia ejus afflicti reperientur, præter Salvidienum Rufum, quem ad consulatum usq; et Cornelium Gallum, quem ad præfecturam Ægypti, ex infima utrumq; fortuna, provexerat. Quorum alterum res novas molientem, damnandum senatui tradidit: alteri ob ingratum et malevolum animum, domo et provinciis suis interdixit. Sed Gallo quoq; et accusatorum denuntiationibus et senatus consultis ad necem compulso, laudavit quidem pietatem tantopere pro se indignantium: cæterum et illacrymavit, et vicem suam conquestus est, *quod sibi soli non liceret amicis, quatenus vellet, irasci*. Reliqui potentia atque opibus ad finem vitæ sui quisq; ordinis principes floruerunt: quamquam et offensis intervenientibus. Desideravit enim nonnunquam, ne de pluribus referam, et M. Agrippæ patientiam, et Mæcenatis taciturnitatem: cum ille ex levi frigoris suspicione, et quod Marcellus sibi anteferretur, Mitylenas se, relictis omnibus, contulisset: hic, secretum de comperta Murenæ conjuratione uxori Terentiæ prodidisset. Exegit et ipse invicem ab amicis benevolentiam mutuam, tam a defunctis quam a vivis. Nam quamvis minime appeteret hæredi-

nor did he ever use to call them by any other name than that of his three impostumes *or* cancers.

66. *He was not very forward to begin a friendship, but when once he did engage, was very constant in it, not only rewarding very handsomely the virtues and good services of his friends, but bearing likewise with their faults and vices, provided they were small ones: for we shall hardly find any out of all the number of his friends, that fell into disgrace with him, besides Salvidienus Rufus, whom he raised to the consulship, and Cornelius Gallus whom he made governour of Egypt, both of them men of the lowest extraction. One of which being engaged in a design to raise a rebellion, he delivered up to the senate, in order to condemnation; and the other he discharged his family and the provinces under his direction, for his ungrateful malicious temper. But when Gallus was driven by the threats of his accusers, and the votes of the senate against him, to the desperate necessity of killing himself, he commended indeed the loyalty of the senate, that had expressed so much resentment upon his account; but he shed tears, and lamented his unhappy condition,* That he alone could not be permitted to be angry with his friends to such a degree as he thought proper. *The rest of his friends continued during their whole lives to make the greatest figure of their several orders in power and estate; notwithstanding some ruffles that happened. For to say nothing of others, he would sometimes complain of the want of patience in Agrippa, and of taciturnity in Mæcenas. The former from a suspicion of being out of favour, and because Marcellus was preferred before him, having withdrawn himself from all concern in the government, and retired to Mitylene; and the latter having communicated to his lady Terentia the secret of the discovery of Muræna's conspiracy. He likewise expected a mutual benevolence from his friends both living and dying, for tho' he was far from*

tates

tates, ut qui nunquam ex ignoti teſtamento capere quidquam ſuſtinuerit: amicorum tamen ſuprema judicia moroſiſſime penſitavit: neque dolore diſſimulato, ſi parcius aut citra honorem verborum: neq; gaudio, ſi grate pieq; quis ſe proſecutus fuiſſet. Legata, vel partes hæreditatum, a quibuſcumq; parentibus relicta ſibi, aut ſtatim liberis eorum concedere, aut, ſi pupillari ætate eſſent, die virilis togæ, vel nuptiarum, cum incremento reſtituere conſueverat.

67. Patronus dominuſque non minus ſeverus quam facilis et clemens, multos libertorum in honore et uſu maximo habuit: ut Licinium Enceladum, alioſque. Coſmum ſervum graviſſime de ſe opinantem, non ultra quam compedibus coercuit. Diomedem diſpenſatorem, a quo ſimul ambulante, incurrenti repente fero apro per metum objectus eſt, maluit timiditatis arguere quam noxæ: remq; non minimi periculi, quia tamen fraus aberat, in jocum vertit. Idem Proculum ex acceptiſſimis libertis mori coegit, compertum adulterare matronas: Thallo a manu, quod pro epiſtola prodita denarios quingentos accepiſſet, crura effregit. Pædagogum miniſtroſque Caji filii, per occaſionem valetudinis mortiſq; ejus, ſuperbe avareq; in provincia graſſantes, oneratis gravi pondere cervicibus, præcipitavit in flumen.

68. Prima juventa variorum dedecorum infamiam ſubiit. Sextus Pompejus ut effœminatum infectatus eſt. M. Antonius adoptionem avunculi ſtupro meritum. Item Lucius Marci frater, quaſi pudicitiam delibatam a Cæſare. A etiam

coveting their eſtates, (as who never would accept of any legacy left him by a ſtranger) yet he examined their laſt ſentiments of him expreſs'd in their wills with a great deal of niceneſs, not being able to ſmother his concern, if they made but a ſlight, or no very honourable mention of him; nor his joy on the other hand, if they expreſſed a grateful ſenſe of his favour, and a hearty affection for him. And what was left him by ſuch as had children, he uſed to give up again to the children, either immediately, or if they were under age, upon the day of their taking upon them the manly habit, or wedding with intereſt.

67. *He was an eaſy gentle patron and maſter both, but withal ſevere upon juſt occaſion. He employ'd many of his freedmen in conſiderable poſts about him, as Lucinius Enceladus and others. And when his ſlave Coſmus had reflected bitterly upon him, he proceeded no farther againſt him, than only to put him in fetters. And when his ſteward Diomedes, as they were walking together, left him expoſed to a wild boar that ſuddenly came upon them, he choſe rather to charge him with cowardice, than any ill deſign, and turned a matter of no ſmall hazard to his perſon into a jeſt, becauſe there was nothing of treachery in the caſe. Proculus, who was one of the greateſt favourites amongſt all his freed-men he put to death, for being too free with other men's wives. He broke the legs of his ſecretary Thallus, for taking a bribe of five hundred denarii to diſcover the contents of a letter of his. And his ſon Caius's tutor, and other attendants, upon the occaſion of his ſickneſs and death, behaving with great inſolence and avarice in the province, he tied great weights about their necks, and threw them into a river.*

68. *In his youth he lay under the infamy of various aſperſions. Sextus Pompey reviled him as an effeminate fellow. And M. Anthony tells him that he had earned his adoption from his uncle by proſtitution. Lucius too, Mark's brother, twits him with the ſame; and that he had for a gratification of three hundred thouſand ſeſterces,*

Hirtio

Hirtio in Hiſpania CCC millibus nummum ſubſtraverit: ſolituſq; ſit crura ſuburere nuce ardenti, quo mollior pilus ſurgeret. Sed et populus quondam univerſus ludorum die, et accepit in contumelium ejus, et aſſenſu maximo comprobavit verſum in ſcena pronuntiatum de Gallo matris Deum tympazinante,

been humble ſervant to Aulus Hirtius in the ſame way, in Spain; and uſed to ſinge his legs with the flame of nutſhells, to make the hair come ſofter. Nay the body of the people too, upon occaſion of ſome publick diverſions in the theatre, when the following verſe came up, relating to a prieſt of the mother of the Gods beating his drum,

Videſne ut cinædus orbem digito teneret!
See how the catamite his orb commands!

took it as deſign'd to affront him, and ſignified their approbation of it with huge applauſe.

69. Adulteria quidem exercuiſſe, ne amici quidem negant: excuſantes ſane, non libidine, ſed ratione commiſſa, quo facilius conſilia adverſariorum per cujuſque mulieres exquireret. Marcus Antonius ſuper feſtinatas Liviæ nuptias objecit, et fœminam conſularem e triclinio viri coram in cubiculum abductam, rurſus in convivium rubentibus auriculis, incomptiore capillo reductam: et dimiſſam Scriboniam, quia liberius doluiſſet nimiam potentiam pellicis: et conditiones quæſitas per amicos, qui matresfamilias et adultas ætate virgines denudarent, atque perſpicerent, tanquam Thoranio mangone vendente. Scribit etiam ad ipſum hoc familiariter ad huc, nec dum plane inimicus, aut hoſtis. *Quid te mutavit? quod reginam ineo? uxor mea eſt. Nunc cœpi, an abhinc annos novem? tu deinde ſolam Druſillam inis? ita valeas uti tu, hanc epiſtolam cum leges, non inieris Tertullam, aut Terentillam, aut Rufillam, aut Salviam Titiſceniam, aut omnes. Anne refert ubi et in quam aurigas?*

69. *That he was guilty of the practice of adultery, his friends themſelves pretend not to deny, but alledge by way of excuſe for it, that he engaged therein, not out of luſt, but policy, in order to come the more eaſily to a diſcovery of the deſigns of his enemies by their wives. M. Anthony over and above the haſty marriage of Livia, charges him with taking the lady of a conſular gentleman from his table, and in the preſence of her huſband, into a bed chamber, and bringing her again to the entertainment, with her ears very red, and her hair in great diſorder; and that he had put away Scribonia, for reſenting with ſome freedom the exceſſive ſway a miſtreſs of his had with him. And that his friends were employed to pimp for him; and accordingly obliged both matrons and virgins to ſtrip, in order to a fair examination of their perſons, juſt in the ſame manner, as if Thoranius the dealer in ſlaves had had them under ſale. And before they came to an open rupture, he writes to him in a familiar manner thus.* What has altered you! that I lie with the queen? ſhe is my wife. Is this a novel thing with me, or have I not done ſo for theſe nine years? and do you take a freedom with Druſilla only? may health and happineſs attend you, as when you ſhall read this letter, you have had ne'er a bout with Tertulla or Terantilla, Rufilla or Salvia Titiſcenia, or all of them. And what matters it where or whom you employ your vigour upon?

70. Cœna quoq; ejus ſecretior in fabulis fuit, quæ vulgo

70. *A private ſupper of his, which was commonly called the ſupper of the twelve*

δωδεκάθεος vocabatur: in qua deorum dearumq; habitu discubuisse convivas, at ipsum pro Apolline ornatum, non Antonii modo epistolæ singulorum nomina amarissime annumerantis, exprobrant, sed et sine auctore notissimi versus:

gods, gave occasion to abundance of talk, wherein the guests were all dress'd in the habit of Gods and Goddesses, and himself in that of Apollo, which was charged upon him not only by Anthony in his letters, who names too all the parties concern'd, but in the following famous and anonymous verses.

Cum primum istorum conduxit mensa choragum,
Sexque deos vidit Mallia, sexque deas:
Impia dum Phœbi Cæsar mendacia ludit,
Dum nova divorum cænat adulteria:
Omnia se a terris tunc Numina declinarunt:
Fugit et auratos Jupiter ipse thronos.

Like Gods and Goddesses twelve Mortals dreſt,
Mallia beheld of late together feaſt.
Cæſar amidſt the wild gallanting crew,
Aſſumes the honours to Apollo due.
At the foul ſight the Gods avert their eyes,
And from his throne great Jove in fury flies.

Auxit cœnæ rumorem summa tunc in civitate penuria ac fames. Acclamatumq; est postridie, *frumentum omne deos comedisse: et Cæsarem esse plane Apollinem, sed Tortorem,* quo cognomine is Deus quadam in parte urbis colebatur. Notatus est ut pretiosæ supellectilis, Corinthiorumq; præcupidus, et aleæ indulgens. Nam et proscriptionis tempore ad statuam ejus adscriptum est;

What made this supper the more taken notice of, was a great scarcity, and a perfect famine at that time in town. And therefore the day after, there was a great outcry made, That the Gods had eat up all the corn; and that Cæsar was Apollo indeed, but Apollo the Tormentor, *under which title that God was worshipped in the city. He was likewise charged with being excessively fond of fine furniture, and Corinthian vessels, as also with being addicted to gaming. For in the time of the proscription the following line was writ upon his statue:*

Pater argentarius, ego Corinthiarius:
My father dealt in ſilver: I in braſs
Of Corinth;

cum existimaretur, quosdam propter vasa Corinthia inter proscriptos curasse referendos. Et deinde bello Sicilienſi epigramma vulgatum est,

because it was believed he had put some upon the list of the proscribed, only for the sake of the Corinthian vessels in their possession: and afterwards in the war of Sicily, the following epigram was published;

Postquam his classe victus naves perdidit,
Aliquando ut vincat, ludit assidue aleam.

Having twice loſt a fleet in luckleſs fight,
To beat at laſt, he games both day and night.

71. Ex quibus five criminibus five maledictis, infamiam impudicitiæ facillime refutavit, et præsentis et posteræ vitæ castitate. Item lautitiarum invidiam, cum et Alexandria capta, nihil sibi præter unum murrhinum calicem ex instrumento regio, retinuerit, et mox vasa aurea assiduissimi usus conflaverit omnia. Circa libidines hæsit: postea quoque, ut ferunt, ad vitiandas virgines promptior, quæ sibi undique etiam ab uxore conquirerentur. Aleæ rumorem nullo modo expavit: lusitque simpliciter et palam oblectamenti causa etiam senex, ac præterquam Decembri mense, aliis quoque festis profestisq; diebus. Nec id dubium est: autographa quadam epistola, *Cænavi*, ait, *mi Tiberi, cum iisdem. Accesserunt convivæ Vinicius et Silvius pater. Inter cænam lusimus γερονπικῶς & heri & hodie. Talis enim jactatis, ut quisque canem, aut senionem miserat, in singulos talos singulos denarios in medium conferebat, quos tollebat universos qui Venerem jecerat.* Et rursus aliis litteris, *Nos, mi Tiberi, Quinquatriis satis jucunde egimus. Lusimus enim per omnes dies, forumque aleatorium calfecimus. Frater tuus magnis clamoribus rem gessit. Ad summam tamen perdidit non multum: sed ex magnis detrimentis præter spem paullatim retractus est. Ego perdidi viginti millia nummum, meo nomine: sed cum effuse in lusu liberalis fuissem, ut soleo plerumque. Nam si, quos manus remisi cuique, exegissem, aut retinuissem quod cuique donavi, vicissem vel quinquaginta millia. Sed hoc malo. Benignitas enim mea me ad cælestem gloriam efferet.* Scribit ad filiam; *Misi tibi denarios*

71. *Of all which, whether crimes or calumnies, he very easily set aside the infamous charge of prostitution, by the chastity of his life at the very time of the charge, and ever after: as he did also that of a luxurious extravagance in his furniture, when upon the taking of Alexandria, he reserved nothing of all the furniture of the palace there for himself, but a cup of porcelain; and soon after melted down all the gold vessels, even such as were for common use. But he could never get over the imputation of lewdness with women, being, as they say, in the latter part of his life very inclinable to the deflouring of virgins, which was procured for him from all parts by his lady. The report of his gaming he regarded not at all, but play'd frankly and openly for his diversion, even when he was an old man, and not only in the month of December, but at other times, and upon all days, whether festivals or not. And this plainly appears from a letter under his own hand.* I supped, *says he*, my dear Tiberius, with the same company. We had besides Vinicius and Silvius the father. We gamed like old fellows at supper, both yesterday and to day. And as any one threw upon the tali aces or sizes, he put down for every talus a denarius; all which he got that threw a Venus. *And again in another letter.* We had, my dear Tiberius, a pleasant time of it, during the festival of MINERVA: for we play'd every day, and kept the gaming-board warm. Your brother managed his business with terrible outcries, but in the upshot lost not much, recovering himself by degrees, and unexpectedly, from the effects of a desperate run of ill fortune. I lost twenty thousand sesterces for my part; but then I was profusely generous in my play, as I commonly am; for had I insisted upon the stakes I gave up, or kept what I gave away, I should have won above fifty thousand; but this I like better, for my generosity will raise me to celestial glory. *He writes to his daughter in the following terms.* I have sent you two hundred and fifty denarii, which I gave

ducentos quinquaginta, quos singulis convivis dederam, si vellent inter se inter cœnam vel talis vel par impar ludere.

72. In cæteris partibus vitæ continentissimum fuisse constat, ac sine ullius vitii. Habitavit primo juxta Romanum forum supra Scalas annularias, in domo quæ Calvi oratoris fuerat: postea in Palatio: sed nihilo minus ædibus modicis Hortensianis, et neq; laxitate neq; cultu conspicuis: ut in quibus porticus breves essent Albanarum columnarum, et sine marmore ullo aut insigni pavimento conclavia. Ac per annos amplius quadraginta eodem cubiculo hieme et æstate mansit; quamvis parum salubrem valetudini suæ urbem hieme experiretur, assidueq; in urbe hiemaret. Si quando quid secreto aut sine interpellatione agere proposuisset, erat illi locus in edito singularis, quem Syracusas et τεγύριον vocabat: huc transibat, aut in alicujus libertorum suburbanum: æger autem in domo Mæcenatis cubabat. Ex secessibus præcipue frequentavit maritima, insulasq; Campaniæ aut proxima urbi oppida, Lanuvium, Prænestе, Tibur: ubi etiam in porticibus Herculis templi persæpe jus dixit. Ampla et operosa prætoria gravabatur. Et neptis quidem suæ Juliæ, profuse ab ea extructa, etiam diruit ad solum: sua vero quamvis modica, non tam statuarum tabularumq; pictarum ornatu, quam xystis et nemoribus excoluit, rebusq; vetustate ac raritate notabilibus: qualia sunt Capreis immanium belluarum ferarumq; membra prægrandia, quæ dicuntur gigantum ossa, et arma heroum.

to every one of my guests, if they had a mind at supper to divert themselves with the tali, or at the game of even or odd.

72. *In the other parts of his life, it's certain he govern'd himself admirably well, and was free from all suspicion of any vice. He lived at first nigh the Roman forum, above the ring makers stairs, in a house which had been Calvus the orator's, afterwards in the Palatium, but still in a small house of Hortensius's, not at all remarkable either for room or ornament, the piazza's being but small, and the pillars of Alban stone, and the rooms without any thing of marble or fine paving. And he continued to make use of the same bed-chamber, both winter and summer, for above forty-years together: for tho' he found the city did not agree well with his health, yet he constantly wintered in it notwithstanding. If he had at any time a mind to do any thing privately, and without interruption, he had a particular place in the top of his house, which he called Syracuse and τεγύριον, whither he used to retire, or to some seat belonging to his freed men nigh the town. But when he was indisposed, he commonly lodged in Mæcenas's house. Of all the places of retirement from the city, he chiefly frequented those upon the sea-coast, and the islands of Campania, or the towns nigh the city, as Lanuvium, Prænestе, Tibur, where he oftentimes used to sit for the administration of justice, in the porticos of Hercules's temple. He could not endure large and sumptuous palaces: and some that had been raised at a vast expence by his grand daughter Julia, he levelled with the ground. And those of his own, which were far from being spacious, he adorn'd not so much with the furniture of statues and pictures, as with winter walks and groves, and things that were curious for their antiquity or rarity, such as are at Capreæ huge limbs of sea-monsters and wild beasts, which are pretended to be the bones of giants, and also the arms of old heroes.*

73. In-

73. Instrumenti eius et supellectilis parcimonia apparet etiam nunc, residuis lectis atq; mensis, quorum pleraq; vix privatæ elegantiæ sunt. Ne toro quidem cubuisse aiunt, nisi humili et modice instrato. Veste non temere alia quam domestica usus est, ab uxore et sorore et filia neptibusq; confecta, togis, neq; restrictis neq; fusis: clavo, nec lato nec angusto: calceamentis altiusculis, ut procerior quam erat, videretur. Et forensia autem, et calceos nunquam non intra cubiculum habuit, ad subitos repentinosque casus parata.

74. Convivabatur et assidue, nec unquam nisi recta: non sine magno ordinum hominumque delectu. Valerius Messala tradit: neminem unquam libertinorum adhibitum ab eo cœnæ, excepto Mena, sed asserto in ingenuitatem, post proditam Sexti Pompeij classem. Ipse scribit invitasse se quendam, in cujus villa maneret, qui speculator suus olim fuisset. Convivia nonnunquam et serius inibat, et maturius relinquebat: cum convivæ et cœnare inciperent prius quam ille discumberet, et permanerent digresso eo. Cœnam trinis ferculis, aut, cum abundantissime, senis, præbebat ut non nimio sumtu, ita summa comitate. Nam et ad communionem sermonis tacentes vel submissim fabulantes provocabat, et aut acroamata, et histriones, aut etiam triviales ex circo ludos interponebat, ac frequentius aretalogos.

75. Festos et solennes dies profusissime, nonnunquam joculariter tantum, celebrabat. Saturnalibus, et si quando alias libuisset, modo munera dividebat, vestem et aurum, et argentum

73. *His frugality in furniture and houshold stuff appears even to this day, there being some beds and tables of his still left, most of them scarce fit for a private gentleman. They say indeed that he never laid upon a bed, but what was low, and meanly furnished. He seldom wore any cloaths, but in the way of an undress, made by the hands of his lady, sister, daughter and grand-daughters. His togas were neither scanty nor full; and the clavus of his tunick neither broad nor narrow: his shoes were somewhat higher than usual, to make him appear taller than he really was. He had always cloaths and shoes proper to go abroad in, ready by him in his bed-chamber, for any sudden occasion.*

74. *He used constantly to treat company at his table, and always very handsomely, but was very nice in the choice of them. Valerius Messala tells us, that he never admitted any freed man to his table, except Menas, after he had betray'd to him Pompey's fleet, but not till he had promoted him to the privileged state of the free-born. He writes himself that he invited one to his table, in whose country-house he lodged, that had formerly been a scout of his. He would oftentimes come late to table, and withdraw soon, so that the company begun supper before his coming in, and continued at table after his departure. His entertainments consisted of three dishes, or at most but six. But if the expence was not extraordinary, yet the complaisance with which he treated his company was. For such as were silent, or talk'd low, he desired to bear a part in the common conversation, and ordered in musick and stage players, and dancers from the Circus, and very often your swaggering philosophers, to make mirth for the company.*

75. *Festivals and solemn days of joy he usually celebrated in a very expensive manner, but sometimes only in a jocular way. In the Saturnalia, or any other time when the fit took him, he would distribute to his company cloaths, gold and silver: sometimes*

gentum

gentum: modo nummos omnis notæ, etiam veteres regios ac peregrinos: interdum nihil præter cilicia et spongias, et rutabula, et forcipes, atq; alia id genus, titulis obscuris et ambiguis. Solebat et inæqualissimarum rerum sortes, et aversas tabularum picturas in convivio venditare: incertoq; casu spem mercantium vel frustrari vel explere: ita ut per singulos lectos licitatio fieret, et seu jactura seu lucrum communicaretur.

coins of all sorts, even of the antient kings of Rome, and foreign pieces too: sometimes nothing but hair-cloth sponges, peels and pincers, and other things of that kind, with obscure and ambiguous inscriptions upon them. He used also to sell tickets of things of very unequal value, and pictures with the backsides towards the company at table; and so by an uncertain chance baulk or gratify the expectation of the purchasers: and this sort of traffick passed round the whole company, every one being obliged to buy something, and to take his chance for loss or gain with the rest.

76. Cibi (nam ne hoc quidem omiserim) minimi erat, atq; vulgaris fere. Secundarium panem, et piscículos minutos, et caseum bubulum manu pressum, et ficos virides, biferas maxime appetebat: vescebaturq; et ante cœnam quocumq: tempore et loco, quo stomachus desideraſſet. Verba ipsius ex epistolis sunt, *Nos in essedo panem & palmulas gustavimus.* Et iterum: *Dum lectica ex regia domum redeo, panis unciam cum paucis acinis uvæ duracinæ comedi.* Et rursus, *Ne Judæus quidem, mi Tiberi, tam diligenter sabbatis jejunium servat, quam ego hodie servavi: qui in balneo demum post horam primam noctis duas bucceas manducavi prius quam ungi inciperem.* Ex hac inobservantia nonnunquam vel ante initum, vel post dimissum convivium solus cœnitabat, cum pleno convivio nihil tangeret.

76. He was a man of a little stomach (for I must not omit even this article) and commonly lived upon a plain diet. He was a great lover of coarse bread, your little fishes, and cheese made of cow's milk, and green figs of that kind that comes twice a year. He would eat at any time before supper, and in any place, if he had an appetite. The following words relating to this matter, I have transcribed from his epistles. I eat a little bread and some small dates in my chaise. *And again,* Whilst I return home from the palace in my chair, I eat an ounce of bread, and a few raisins. *And again,* No Jew, my dear Tiberius, ever keeps a fast so strictly upon the sabbath, as I have kept one to day; who in the bath, and after the first hour of the night, eat two mouthfuls of bread, before I begun to be anointed. *From this great indifferency about his diet, he sometimes supped by himself, before his company begun, or after they had done; and would not touch a morsel at table with his guests.*

77. Vini quoq; natura parcissimus erat. Non amplius ter bibere eum solitum super cœnam in castris apud Mutinam Cornelius Nepos tradit. Postea, quoties largissime se invitaret, senos sextantes non excessit, aut si excessisset, rejiciebat. Et maxime delectatus est, Rhætico, neq; temere interdiu bibit. Pro potione

77. He was naturally very abstemious: for C. Nepos says, that he used but to drink thrice at supper in the camp at Modena; and when he gave himself the greatest freedom, he never exceeded a pint; or if he did, he threw it up again. Of all wines he liked the Rhætick best, but scarce ever drunk in the day time. Instead of drinking, he used to take a piece of bread steeped in cold water, or a slice of cucum-

potione sumebat perfusum aqua frigida panem, aut cucumeris frustum, vel lactuculæ thyrsum, aut recens acidumve pomum succi vinosioris.

78. Post cibum meridianum ita ut vestitus calceatusq; erat, retectis pedibus paullisper conquiescebat, oppositа ad oculos manu. A cœna lucubratoriam se in lecticulam recipiebat. Ibi donec residua diurni actus, aut omnia, aut ex maxima parte, conficeret, ad multam noctem permanebat. In lectum inde transgressus, non amplius, cum plurimum, quam septem horas dormiebat: ac ne eas quidem continuas, sed ut in illo temporis spatio ter aut quater expergisceretur. Si interruptum somnum recuperare, ut evenit, non posset: lectoribus aut fabulatoribus arcessitis, resumebat, producebatq; ultra primam sæpe lucem. Nec in tenebris vigilavit unquam, nisi assidente aliquo. Matutina vigilia offendebatur: ac si vel officii, vel sacri causa maturius evigilandum esset, ne id contra commodum faceret, in proximo cujuscunq; domesticorum cœnaculo manebat. Sic quoq; sæpe indigens somni, et dum per vicos deportaretur, et deposita lectica inter aliquas moras condormiebat.

79. Forma fuit eximia, et per omnes ætatis gradus venustissima: quamquam et omnis lenocinii negligens, et in capite comendo tam incuriosus, ut raptim compluribus simul tonsoribus operam daret: ac modo tonderet, modo raderet barbam: eoq; ipso tempore aut legeret aliquid, aut etiam scriberet. Vultu erat, vel in sermone vel tacitus, adeo tranquillo serenoq; ut quidam e primoribus Galliarum confessus sit inter suos, eo

ber, or some leaves of lettice, or a green sharp juicy apple.

78. *After a snack at noon, he used to take a nap with his cloaths and shoes on, and his feet covered, and his hand held before his eyes. After supper he withdrew commonly to a couch in his study, where he continued late, 'till he had put down in his diary, all or most of the remaining actions of the day, that he had not before penned. Then he would go to bed, but never sleep above seven hours at most, yet not without interruption, for he would wake three or four times in the while. And if he could not fall asleep again, as it happened sometimes, he would call for somebody to read, or tell stories to him, 'till he fell fast again, and then he would usually sleep it out' till after day-break. He never would lie awake in the dark, without somebody to sit by him. Very early rising was apt to put him out of order. And therefore if good manners, or religion obliged him to be up early, to provide as much as might be against the prejudice thereof, he used to lodge in some apartment of his domesticks, that was nearest the place he was obliged to give his attendance at. And if at any time he had a drousy fit come upon him in his passing the streets, he would order the chair to be set down, 'till he had taken a nap.*

79. *He was a very graceful comely person through all the stages of life; though he was very careless in his dress, and so far from being nice in the management of his hair, that he would set several barbers to work upon it together; and would sometimes clip, and sometimes shave his beard, and at the same time would be reading, or writing. His countenance, either when he spoke, or held his tongue, was so calm and serene, that a Gaul of the first rank confessed amongst his friends, that he was thereby mollified and restrained from throwing him down a precipice in his passage of the Alps, upon*

se

se inhibitum ac remollitum, quo minus, ut destinarat, in transitu Alpium per simulationem colloqui propius admissus, in præcipitium propelleret. Oculos habuit claros ac nitidos: quibus etiam existimari volebat inesse quiddam divini vigoris: gaudebatq; si quis sibi acrius contuenti, quasi ad fulgorem Solis, vultum submitteret: sed in senecta sinistro minus vidit. Dentes raros et exiguos, et scabros: capillum leviter inflexum et subflavum, supercilia conjuncta, mediocres aures: nasum et a summo eminentiorem, et ab imo deductiorem: colorem inter aquilum candidumque: staturam brevem: (quam tamen Julius Marathus libertus etiam in memoriam ejus quinq; pedum et dodrantis fuisse tradit:) sed quæ commoditate et æquitate, membrorum occuleretur: ut nonnisi ex comparatione adstantis alicujus procerioris intelligi posset.

his being admitted to approach him, under pretence of speaking with him. His eyes were clear and bright, and he was willing to have it thought, there was something of a divine vigour in them, and was not a little pleased to see people, upon his looking stedfastly at them, lower their countenances, as if the sun had shone in their eyes. But in his old age, he saw but indifferently with his left eye. His teeth were thin set, small and rough; his hair a little curled, and inclinable to a yellow colour. His eye-brows met; his ears were little, and he had a hawk nose. His complexion was betwixt brown and fair; his stature but low; tho' Julius Marathus his freedman says, he was five feet and nine inches high. This however, was by the due proportion of his limbs so concealed, that it was not perceivable, but by comparison with some lesser person standing by him.

80. Corpore traditur maculoso, dispersis per pectus atque alvum genitivis notis, in modum et ordinem ac numerum stellarum cœlestis Ursæ: sed et callis quibusdam ex prurigine corporis, assiduoq; et vehementi strigilis usu, plurifariam concretis, ad impetiginis formam. Coxendice, et femore, et crure sinistro, non perinde valebat, ut sæpe etiam inde claudicaret: sed remedio harenarum atq; arundinum confirmabatur. Dextræ quoq; manus digitum salutarem, tam imbecillum interdum sentiebat, ut torpentem contractumq; frigore, vix cornei circuli supplemento scripturæ admoveret. Questus est et de vesica, cujus dolore calculis demum per urinam ejectis, levabatur.

80. *His body is said to have been mark'd up and down; and to have had upon the breast and belly several moles, answering to the figure, order and number of stars in the celestial Bear. He had besides several callosities somewhat like tettars, occasioned by an itching in his body, and the constant and violent use of the strigil. He had a weakness in his left hip, thigh, and leg, insomuch that he often halted on that side. But he found much benefit by the use of sand and reeds. He likewise found the fore finger of his right hand so weak sometimes, that when it was benumbed and contracted with cold, in order to use it in writing, he was obliged to make use of a circular piece of horn. He complained of his bladder too; but upon voiding some stones by urine, he was relieved from that pain.*

81. Graves et periculosas valetudines per omnem vitam aliquot expertus est: præcipue

81. *He had several dangerous fits of sickness in the several parts of his life, especially after the conquest of Cantabria,*

Can-

Cantabria domita, cum etiam distillationibus jecinore vitiato, ad desperationem redactus, contrariam et ancipitem rationem medicandi necessario subiit: quia calida fomenta non proderant, frigidis curari coactus: auctore Antonio Musa. Quasdam et anniversarias ac tempore certo recurrentes, experiebatur. Nam sub natalem suum plerumq; languebat: et initio veris præcordiorum inflatione tentabatur: austrinis tamen tempestatibus, gravedine. Quare quassato corpore, neq; frigora neq; æstus facile tolerabat.

when his liver being damaged by a defluxion of rheum upon it, he was reduced to so desperate a condition, that he was obliged to undergo a dubious kind of management, and contrary to the ordinary method of proceeding in such cases; for warm applications having no effect, cold ones were made use of, by the prescription of Antonius Musa. He had too some distempers that used to seize him at stated times every year: for about his birth-day he was commonly a little out of order. And in the beginning of spring he was attacked by an inflation of the midriff; and when the wind was southerly, he was liable to a cold in his head. By all which, his constitution was so shocked, that he could neither bear heat nor cold well.

82. Hyeme quaternis cum pingui toga tunicis et subucula, thorace laneo, et feminalibus, et tibialibus muniebatur: æstate apertis cubiculi foribus; ac sæpe in peristylio saliente aqua, atq; etiam ventilante aliquo cubabat. Solis vero ne hiberni quidem patiens, domi quoq; nonnisi petasatus sub divo spatiabatur. Itinera lectica, et noctibus fere, eaq; lenta ac minuta faciebat, ut Prænestе vel Tibur biduo procederet. Ac si quo pervenire mari posset, potius navigabat. Verum tantam infirmitatem magna cura tuebatur, in primis lavandi raritate. Ungebatur enim sæpius et sudabat ad flammam: deinde perfundebatur egelida aqua, vel sole multo calefacta. At quoties nervorum causa, marinis. Albulisq; calidis utendum esset, contentus hoc ut insidens ligneo solio, quod erat, ipse Hispanico verbo *duretam* vocabat, manus ac pedes alternis jactaret.

82. *In winter he was fortified against the weather with a thick toga, four tunicks, a shirt, a flannel stomacher, and wrappers upon his thighs and legs. In summer he laid with his chamber doors open, and frequently in a piazza with water playing along the place, and somebody standing by to fan him. He could not endure even the winter's sun, and at home never walked in the open air without a hat on. He travelled in a chair commonly, and in the night, and very slowly, so that he would be two days in going to Prænestе or Tibur. And if he could go to any place by sea, he would choose so to do, rather than go by land. He supported however his crazy constitution with great care, and especially by declining pretty much the use of the bath. He was oftentimes rubbed with oil and sweat by a fire, after which he was washed with water warm'd over a fire, or by being exposed some time to a hot sun. And as oft as he was obliged, upon the account of his nerves, to make use of the water of the sea or Albula, he used to place himself upon a wooden seat, which he call'd by a Spanish name* dureta, *and toss about his hands and feet in the water by turns.*

83. Exercitationes campestres equorum et armorum statim post civilia bella omisit: et ad pilam primo solliculumque

83. *Immediately after the civil wars, he forebore the usual exercises of arms, and riding in the field of Mars, and instead thereof took up those of the larger ball at*

transit: mox nihil aliud quam vectabatur et deambulabat: ita ut in extremis spatiis subsultim ducurreret, sestertio vel lodicula involutus. Animi laxandi causa, modo piscabatur hamo: modo talis, aut ocellatis, nucibusq; ludebat cum pueris minutis, quos facie et garrulitate amabiles undiq; conquirebat, præcipue Mauros et Syros. Nam pumilos, atque distortos, et omnes generis ejusdem, ut ludibria naturæ maliq; ominis, abhorrebat.

84. Eloquentiam studiaq; liberalia ab ætate prima et cupide et laboriosissime exercuit. Mutinensi bello in tanta mole rerum, et legisse et scripsisse et declamasse quotidie traditur. Nam deinceps neq; in senatu, neq; apud populum, neq; apud milites locutus est unquam, nisi meditata et composita oratione: quamvis non deficeret ad subita extemporali facultate. Ac ne periculum memoriæ adiret aut in ediscendo tempus absumeret, instituit recitare omnia. Sermones quoq; cum singulis, atq; etiam cum Livia sua graviores, nonnisi in scriptis, et e libello habebat: ne plus minusve loqueretur extempore. Pronunciabat dulci et proprio quodam oris sona: dabatq; assidue phonasco operam: sed nonnunquam infirmitatis faucibus, præconis voce ad populum concionatus est.

85. Multa varii generis prosa oratione composuit, ex quibus nonnulla in cœtu familiarium, velut in auditorio recitavit: sicut *Rescripta Bruto de Catone.* Quæ volumina cum jam senior ex magna parte legisset, fatigatus, Tiberio tradidit perlegenda. Item *Hortationes ad philosophiam*: *et* aliqua *de vita sua*, quam tredicim libris, Can-

first, but soon after used no other exercise but that of going abroad in his chair, or walking; towards the end of his walk he would run jumping, wrapt up in linnen or flannel. For his diversion he would angle sometimes, or play with the tali, checquers or nuts, with pretty prattling little boys, which he used to pick up from several parts, especially Mauritania and Syria. But dwarfs, and such as were crooked, or deform'd in any kind, he abhorred, as the ridiculous productions of nature, and ominous creatures.

84. *He applied himself with great eagerness and vigour to the study of eloquence, and the other liberal arts from his very youth. In the war of Modena, notwithstanding the weighty concerns he had upon his hands, he is said to have both read, writ and declaimed every day. He never spoke to the senate, people, or soldiery, but in a premeditated speech, tho' he had a pretty good talent of talking extempore too. And for fear his memory should fail him, as also to save the time that must otherwise be lost in getting his speeches by heart, he resolved to read them all. And in his conversation with single persons, and his lady Livia too, upon a matter of importance, he had all he would say down in writing, for fear he should, if he spoke extempore, say more or less than was proper. He delivered himself in a sweet and peculiar tone, and was instructed by a master for that purpose. But sometimes upon catching cold, he made use of a cryer for the delivery of his speeches to the people.*

85. *He composed a great many pieces, and upon various subjects, in prose, some of which he read now and then at a meeting of friends, as to an auditory; as* his answers to BRUTUS in relation to CATO. *Which volumes he read almost quite through himself, but being then elderly, and tired with the work, he gave the rest to Tiberius to read for him. He likewise read over to his friends his* Exhortations to PHILOSOPHY, *and the* History of his own Life,

tabrico

tabrico tenus bello, nec ultra expoſuit. Poeticam ſummatim attigit. Unus liber exſtat ſcriptus ab eo hexametris verſibus, cujus et argumentum et titulus eſt, *Sicilia*. Exſtat alter æque modicus *Epigrammatum*, quæ fere tempore balnei meditabatur. Nam tragœdiam magno impetu exorſus, non ſuccedente ſtylo, abolevit: quærentibuſq; amicis *quidnam Ajax ageret*, reſpondit, *Ajacem ſuum in ſpongiam incubuiſſe*.

86. Genus eloquendi ſecutus eſt elegans et temperatum: vitatis ſententiarum ineptiis, atq; inconcinnitate, et *reconditorum verborum*, ut ipſe dicit, *fœtoribus*. Præcipuamq; curam duxit, ſenſum animi quam apertiſſime exprimere. Quod quo facilius efficeret, aut necubi lectorem vel auditorem obturbaret, ac moraretur, neque præpoſitiones verbis addere, neq; conjunctiones ſæpius iterare dubitavit, quæ detractæ afferunt, aliquid obſcuritatis, etſi gratiam augent. Cacozelos et antiquarios, ut diverſo genere vitioſos, pari faſtidio ſprevit. Exagitabat nonnunquam in primis Mæcenatem ſuum, cujus μυρόθηκεῖς ut ait, *cincinnos* uſquequaque perſequitur, et imitando per jocum irridet. Sed nec Tiberio parcit; et exoletas interdum, et reconditas voces aucupanti. M. quidem Antonium, ut inſanum, increpat: quaſi ea ſcribentem quæ mirentur potius homines, quam intelligant. Deinde ludens malum et inconſtans in eligendo genere dicendi, ingenium ejus, addidit hæc, *Tuq; dubitas Cemberne Annius an Veranius Flaccus imitandi ſint tibi? ita ut verbis quæ C. Salluſtius excerpſit ex Origi-*

which he carried on in thirteen books as far as the war of Cantabria, but no farther. He had likewiſe a touch at poetry. There is a ſingle book of his extant writ in hexameter verſe, of which the ſubject and title both is SICILY. *There is another book of epigrams too as ſmall as the former, which he compoſed commonly in the time of bathing; and this is all of that kind; for a tragedy he begun with great eagerneſs, he daſh'd all out again, becauſe the ſtile did not pleaſe him. And his friends asking him* what his AJAX was a doing, *he replyed,* his AJAX was fallen upon a ſponge.

86. *He had a neat clean ſtile, clear of triſling and impertinent clauſes, as alſo of the noiſomneſs, as he calls it, of obſolete words. And his chief concern was to deliver his mind with all poſſible plainneſs. In order to which, and that he might not any where puzzle or ſtop his reader, or hearer, he made no ſcruple to add prepoſitions to his verbs, or to repeat the ſame conjunction ſeveral times, which when omitted, occaſion ſome little obſcurity, but give a grace to the ſtile. The aukward imitators of others, and ſuch as affected old obſolete words, he equally deſpiſed, as faulty in a different way. He ſometimes made merry, eſpecially with his friend Mæcenas, whoſe* perfumed locks, *as he words himſelf, he rallies upon all occaſions, and banters by imitating his manner of expreſſing himſelf. Nor does he ſpare Tiberius, who was fond of obſolete and antiquated words. He runs upon M. Anthony as a mad man, and writing rather to make men ſtare, than to be underſtood. And in fine by way of banter upon this wretched and fickle humour, in the choice of his ſtile, he adds theſe words.* And are you yet in a doubt, whether CIMBER ANNIUS or VERANIUS FLACCUS be more proper for your imitation? ſo as to make uſe of words which CRISPUS SALLUSTIUS has borrowed from the Originies of CATO? or do you think the verboſe empty bombaſt of Aſiatick orators is fit to be transfuſed into our language? *And in a letter where he commends the parts of his grand-*

nibus Catonis, utaris? an potius Asiaticorum oratorum inanibus sententiis, verborum volubilitas in nostrum sermonem transferenda? Et quadam epistola Agrippinæ neptis ingenium collaudans: *Sed opus est,* inquit, *dare te operam ne molestè scribas aut loquaris.*

87. Quotidiano sermone quædam frequentius et notabiliter usurpasse eum, litteræ ipsius autographæ ostentant. In quibus identidem cum aliquos nunquam soluturos significare vult, *Ad Kalendas Græcas soluturos* ait: et cum hortatur ferenda esse præsentia qualiacumque sint, *Contenti simus hoc Catone:* et ad exprimendam festinatæ rei velocitatem, *Velocius quam asparagi coquantur.* Ponit assidue et pro *stulto, baceolum:* et pro pullo, *pullejaceum:* et pro *cerito, vacerrosum:* et *vapide sese habere,* pro *male*: et *betissare,* pro *languere*: quod vulgo *lachanissare* dicitur. Item *simus* pro *sumus*: et *domos* genitivo casu singulari, pro *domus.* Nec unquam aliter hæc duo, ne quis mendam magis quam consuetudinem putet. Notavi et in chirographo ejus illa præcipue: non dividit verba, nec ab extrema parte versuum abundantes literas in alterum transfert: sed ibidem statim subjicit, circumducitque.

18. Orthographiam, id est, formulam rationemq; scribendi a grammaticis institutam, non adeo custodiit: ac videtur eorum sequi potius opinionem, qui perinde scribendum ac loquamur existiment. Nam quod sæpe non litteras modo sed syllabas aut permutat aut præterit, communis hominum error est. Nec ego id notarem, nisi mihi mirum videretur, tradidisse aliquos, legato eum consulari successorem dedisse, ut rudi et indocto, cujus manu *ixi* pro *ipsi*

daughter Agrippina, he says, But you must be sure to have a care of writing or speaking intricately.

87. *He had in his ordinary conversation, some words and expressions peculiar to himself, as appears from several letters in his own hand; in which now and then, when he has a mind to intimate, that some would never pay their debts,* he says, they would pay at the Greek calends. *And when he advises to patience under the then present situation of affairs, such as it was,* he *would say,* let us be content with this Cato. *And to express the expedition with which any thing was done,* he *said,* it was sooner done than asparagus was boiled. *He constantly puts* baceolus *for* stultus, pullejaceus *for* pullus, vacerrosus *for* ceritus, *and* vapide se habere *for* male, *and* betissare *for* languere, *which is commonly called* lachanissare. *Likewise* simus *for* sumus, *and* domos *for* domus *in the genitive singular. And with respect to the two last, least any one should think they were only slips of his pen, and not customary with him, he never varies at all. I have likewise observed this singularity in his hand writing. He never divides his words, so as to carry the letters that cannot be got in at the end of a line to the next, but puts them below the other, enclosed within a semi-circle.*

88. *He did not keep strictly to orthography, or the rule and method of spelling laid down by the grammarians, and he seems to have been of their opinion who think we ought to write as we speak, for as to his changing and omitting not only letters, but whole syllables, it is a vulgar mistake. Nor should I have taken notice of it, but that it appears strange to me, any should have told us, that he sent a successor to a consular lieutenant of a province, as an ignorant illiterate fellow, upon his observing that he had writ* ixi *for* ipsi. *As oft as he had a mind to write in the way of cypher, he did by putting* b *for*

scrip-

ſcriptum animadvertit. Quoties autem per notas ſcribit, *b*, pro *a*, *c*, pro *b*, ac deinceps eadem ratione ſequentes litteras ponit. Pro ꝛ autem duplex *a a*.

89. Ne Græcarum quidem diſciplinarum leviore ſtudio tenebatur: in quibus et ipſis præſtabat largiter, magiſtro dicendi uſus Apollodoro Pergameno, quem jam grandem natu, Apolloniam quoq; ſecum ab urbe juvenis adhuc eduxerat. Deinde etiam eruditione varia repletus Sphæri, Arei philoſophi, filiorumq; ejus Dionyſii et Nicanoris contubernium iniit: non tamen ut aut loqueretur expedite, aut componere aliquid auderet. Nam et ſi quid res exigeret, Latine formabat, vertendumq; alii dabat. Sed plane poematum quoq; non imperitus, delectabatur etiam comœdia veteri, et ſæpe eam exhibuit publicis ſpectaculis. In evolvendis utriuſq; linguæ auctoribus, nihil æque ſectabatur quam præcepta et exempla publice vel privatim ſalubria: eaq; ad verbum excerpta, aut ad domeſticos, aut ad exercituum provinciarumq; rectores, aut ad urbis magiſtratus plerumq; mittebat: prout quiq; monitione indigerent. Etiam libros totos et ſenatui recitavit, et populo notos per edictum ſæpe fecit: ut orationes *Q. Metelli De prole augenda, & Rutilii De modo ædificiorum:* quo magis perſuaderet, utramq; rem non a ſe primo animadverſam, ſed antiquis jam tunc curæ fuiſſe. Ingenia ſeculi ſui omnibus modis fovit. Recitantes et benigne et patienter audivit: nec tantum carmina et hiſtorias, ſed et orationes et dialogos. Componi tamen aliquid de ſe, niſi et ſerio, et a præſtantiſſimis, offendebatur: admonebatq; prætores, ne paterentur nomen ſuum commiſſionibus obſolefieri.

89. *He was no leſs fond of the Grecian learning, wherein he made a very conſiderable proficiency for which purpoſe he made uſe of Apollodorus of Pergamus, as his maſter in rhetorick, whom, though at that time very elderly, he took along with him, when he was very young, from the city to Apollonia. And afterwards being inſtructed in philology by Sphærus, he took into his family Areus the philoſopher, and his ſons Dionyſius and Nicanor; but yet he never ſpoke the Greek tongue readily, nor would he ever venture to compoſe in it at all. For if there was occaſion for him to deliver his mind in that language, he always put what he had to ſay in Latin, and gave it another to tranſlate. He was pretty well acquainted with the Greek poetry, and was much taken with the old comedy, and oftentimes brought it upon the ſtage, in his publick entertainments of the people. In reading the Greek and Latin authors, he minded nothing ſo much as precepts and examples that might be uſeful in publick or private life: thoſe he uſed to tranſcribe verbatim, and ſend either to his domeſticks, or to ſuch as had the command of his armies, or the government of his provinces, or to the magiſtrates of the town; as any of them ſeem'd to ſtand in need of admonition. He likewiſe read whole books to the ſenate, and made them known to the people by proclamation; as the orations of Q. Metellus* for the encouragement of matrimony, *and Rutilius's* about a method of building, *to let the people ſee that he was not the firſt that had fallen upon thoſe matters, but that the ancients too had thought them worthy of their care. He was a great encourager of men of parts and learning. He would hear them read their works with a great deal of patience and good nature, and not only pieces of poetry and hiſtory, but ſpeeches and dialogues too. Yet he did not care to have any thing writ upon himſelf, but in a grave way, and by the moſt excellent hands: and deſired the prætors, nor to ſuffer his name to be made too common, in the conteſts amongſt orators and poets for victory.*

90. Circa religiones talem accepimus. Tonitrua et fulgura paullo infirmius expaveſcebat: ut ſemper et ubiq; pellem vituli marini circumferret, pro remedio: atq; ad omnem majoris tempeſtatis ſuſpicionem, in abditum et concameratum locum ſe reciperet: conſternatus olim per nocturnum iter tranſcurſu fulguris, ut ſupra diximus.

91. Somnia neq; ſua, neq; aliena de ſe, negligebat. Philippenſi acie, quamvis ſtatuiſſet non egredi tabernaculo, propter valetudinem: egreſſus eſt tamen amici ſomnio monitus: ceſſitq; res proſpere, quando captis caſtris lectica ejus, quaſi ibi cubans remanſiſſet, concurſu hoſtium confoſſa atq; lacerata eſt. Ipſe per omne ver, plurima, et formidoloſiſſima, et vana, et irrita videbat: reliquo tempore rariora, et minus vana. Cum dedicatam in Capitolio ædem Tonanti Jovi aſſidue frequentaret, ſomniavit queri Capitolinum Jovem, cultores ſibi abduci: ſeq; reſpondiſſe, tonantem pro janitore ei appoſitum: ideoque mox tintinnabulis faſtigium ædis redimivit, quod ea fere januis dependebant. Ex nocturno viſu etiam ſtipem quotannis die certo emendicabat a populo, cavam manum aſſes porrigentibus præbens.

92. Auſpicia quædam et omina pro certiſſimis obſervabat. Si mane ſibi calceus perperam ac ſiniſter pro dextero, induceretur, ut dirum: ſi terra marive ingrediente ſe longinquam profectionem, forte roraſſet, ut lætum, maturiq; et proſperi reditus. Sed et oſtentis præcipue movebatur. Enatam inter juncturas lapidum ante domum ſuam palmam in compluvium de-

90. *With reſpect to the obſervation o omens or the like, we have the following account of him. He was too much afraid of thunder and lightning, inſomuch that he always and every where carried about him a ſeal's ſkin, by way of preſervation. And upon any ſuſpicion of a ſtorm, he would retire to ſome vault under ground, having formerly been frightened with a flaſh of lightning, as he was travelling by night, which we have above taken notice of.*

91. *He neither ſlighted his own dreams, nor thoſe of other people relating to himſelf. At the battle of Philippi, tho' he had reſolved not to ſtir out of his tent, becauſe of his want of health, yet he did nevertheleſs, upon the occaſion of a dream a friend of his had; and it was fortunate for him he did, for the camp was taken, and his couch, upon a ſuppoſition of his being in it, ſtabbed and tore to pieces. He had a great many idle ſilly dreams during the ſpring, but the reſt of the year his dreams were leſs frequent, and more ſignificative. Upon his frequently viſiting a temple in the capitol he had dedicated to Thundering Jove, he dreamed that Jupiter Capitolinus complained that his worſhippers were taken from him, and that he replied upon it, he had only given him the thunder for his porter; and therefore he preſently hung the top of his temple round with little bells; becauſe ſuch commonly hung at the gates of great houſes. Upon occaſion of a dream too, he always on a certain day of the year begged an alms of the people, making a hollow hand for the reception of the pence offered him.*

92. *He looked upon the following omens as infallible. If in the morning his ſhoe was put on wrong, or the left inſtead of the right, that was with him a diſmal preſage. If upon his entering on a long journey by ſea or land, there chanced to fall, a miſling rain, he looked upon it as a very good ſign, of a ſpeedy and happy return. He was mightily affected too with any thing out of the common courſe of nature. He tranſplanted a palm-tree that grew up in the joining of the pavers before his houſe;*

orum

orum Penatium transtulit: utq; coalescceret, magnopere curavit. Apud insulam Capreas, veterrimæ ilicis demissos jam ad terram languentesq; ramos convaluisse adventu suo, adeo lætatus est, ut eas cum republica Neapolitanorum permutaverit, Ænaria data. Observabat et dies quosdam, ne aut postridie Nundinas quoquam proficiscceretur: aut Nonis quidquam rei seriæ inchoaret: nihil in hoc quidem aliud devitans, ut ad Tiberium scribit, quam δυσφημίαν nominis.

93. Peregrinarum ceremoniarum, sicut veteres ac præceptas reverentissime coluit, ita cæteras contemptui habuit. Namq; Athenis initiatus, cum postea Romæ pro tribunali de privilegio sacerdotum Atticæ Cereris cognoscceret, et quædam secretiora proponerentur, dimisso consilio et corona circumstantium, solus audit disceptantes. At contra non modo in peragranda Ægypto paullum deflectere ad visendum Apin supersedit: sed et Cajum nepotem, quod Judæam prætervehens, apud Hierosolymam non supplicasset collaudavit.

94. Et quoniam ad hoc ventum est, non ab re fuerit subtexere quæ ei, prius quam nascceretur, et ipso natali die, ac deinceps evenerint, quibus futura magnitudo ejus, et perpetua felicitas sperari animadvertiq; posset. Velitris antiquitus tacta de cælo parte muri, responsum est ejus oppidi civem quandoque rerum potiturum: qua fiducia Velitrini, et tunc statim et postea sæpius pæne ad exitium sui cum populo Romano belligeraverant. Sero tandem documentis apparuit, ostentum illud, Augusti potentiam

into a court where the houshold gods were placed, and took all possible care to have it thrive. And when in the isle of Caprea, some decayed boughs of an old oak, that hung drooping to the ground, recovered themselves upon his arrival there, he was so rejoiced at it, that he made an exchange with the government of Naples, of the island of Ænaria, for that of Caprea. He likewise observed certain days, as never to go any whither the day after the Nundinæ, or to begin any thing of serious business upon the Nones, avoiding nothing else therein, as he writes to Tiberius, than the unluckiness of the name.

39. *As to the religious rites of foreign nations, he was a strict observer of such as had been established by ancient custom, but others he paid no regard to at all. For having been initiated at Athens, and being afterwards to hear a cause at Rome, relating to the privileges of the priests of the Attick Ceres, when some of the mysteries of that worship were to be spoke to, he dismissed the gentlemen upon the bench that sat as judges with him, together with the company of by standers, and heard the debate upon those points, by himself. But on the other hand he not only declined in his progress through Egypt, calling to visit Apis, but he likewise commended his grandson Caius, for not paying his devotions at Jerusalem, in his passage by Judea.*

94. *And since we are got upon this subject, it may not be improper to subjoin an account of the omens, before and at his birth, as well as afterwards, that gave hopes of his future grandeur, and the constant good fortune that attended him. A part of the town-wall at Velitræ having in former times been struck with thunder, the sooth sayers gave their opinion upon it, that a native of that place would some time or other be master of the Roman state; upon which encouragement the Velitrini both immediately, and at several times after made war with the Roman people, till they brought themselves upon the brink of destruction. At last it appeared by the event, that that omen had portended the rise of*

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portendiſſe. Auctor eſt Julius Marathus, ante paucos quam naſceretur menſes, prodigium Romæ factum publice, quo denuntiabatur regem populo Romano naturam parturire: ſenatum exterritum cenſuiſſe ne quis illo anno genitus educaretur: eos qui gravidas uxores haberent, quo ad ſe quiſq; ſpem traheret, curaſſe ne ſenatus conſultum ad ærarium deferretur. In Aſclepiadis Mendetis Θεολογουμένων libris lego, Atiam, cum ad ſolemne Apollinis ſacrum media nocte veniſſet, poſita in templo lectica, dum cæteræ matronæ domum irent, obdormiſſe; draconem repente irrepſiſſe ad eam, pauloq; poſt egreſſum: illamq; expergefactam quaſi a concubitu mariti purificaſſe ſe: et ſtatim in corpore ejus extitiſſe maculam, velut depicti draconis: nec potuiſſe unquam eximi: adeo ut mox publicis balneis perpetuo abſtinuerit: Auguſtum natum menſe decimo, et ob hoc Apollinis filium exiſtimatum. Eadem Atia, prius quam pareret, ſomniavit inteſtina ſua ferri ad ſidera, explicariq; per omnem terrarum et cæli ambitum. Somniavit et pater Octavius, utero Atiæ jubar Solis exortum. Quo natus eſt die, cum de Catilinæ conjuratione ageretur in curia, et Octavius ob uxoris puerperium ſerius adfuiſſet, nota ac vulgata res eſt P. Nigidium comperta moræ cauſa, ut horam quoq; partus acceperit, affirmaſſe, dominum terrarum orbi natum. Octavio poſtea, cum per ſecreta Thraciæ exercitum duceret, in Liberi patris luco barbara ceremonia de filio conſulenti, idem affirmatum eſt a ſacerdotibus, quod infuſo ſuper altaria mero, tantum flam-

Auguſtus. Julius Marathus tell us, that a few months before his birth, a prodigy happened at Rome, by which was ſignified that nature was in travail with a king for the Roman people; and that the ſenate being alarmed at it, came to a reſolution that no child born that year ſhould be brought up; but that thoſe amongſt them, whoſe ladies were with child, in order to ſecure to themſelves a proſpect of that dignity, took care that the reſolution of the ſenate ſhould not be regiſtered in the treaſury. I find in the theological volumes of Aſclepiades, the Mendeſian, that Atia attending at midnight upon a religious ſolemnity in honour of Apollo, when the reſt of the matrons retired home, took a nap in her chair in the temple, and that a ſerpent immediately crept to her, and ſoon after withdrew; and that ſhe awaking upon it, purified herſelf as uſual, after the embraces of her huſband; and that immediately a mark appeared upon her body in form of a ſerpent, which ſhe was never after able to get rid of, which obliged her, for the future part of her life, to decline the uſe of the publick baths; that Auguſtus was born in the tenth month after, and for that reaſon was thought to be the ſon of Apollo. The ſame Atia before her delivery dreamed that her bowels were ſtretched up to the ſtars, and expanded throughout the whole compaſs of heaven and earth. His father Octavius too dreamed that a ſun-beam iſſued from his lady's womb. Upon the day he was born, the ſenate being buſy in the conſideration of Cataline's conſpiracy, and Octavius, upon account of his lady's condition, coming late into the houſe, it is a noted and well known ſtory, that P. Nigidius, upon hearing the occaſion of his coming ſo late, and withal the hour of his lady's delivery, declared that the world had got a maſter. And when Octavius upon marching with his army through the waſte of Thrace, according to the uſage of the country, conſulted the oracle of father Bacchus about his ſon, he received from the prieſts an anſwer to the ſame purpoſe; becauſe upon pouring wine on the altar, ſo prodigious a flame burſt out, that it overtoped the temple,

mæ

mæ emicuiſſet, ut ſuperegreſſa faſtigium templi ad cælum uſq; ferretur: uniq; olim omnino Magno Alexandro apud eaſdem aras ſacrificanti, ſimile proveniſſet oſtentum. Atq; etiam ſequenti nocte ſtatim videre viſus eſt filium mortali ſpecie ampliorem, cum fulmine et ſceptro, exuviiſq; Jovis Opt. Max. ac radiata corona ſuper laureatum currum, bis ſenis equis candore eximio trahentibus. Infans adhuc, ut ſcriptum apud C. Druſum exſtat, repoſitus veſpere in cunis a nutricula, loco plano, poſtera luce non comparuit: et diu quæſitus, tandem in altiſſima turri repertus eſt, jacens contra Solis exortum. Cum primum fari cœpiſſet, in avito ſuburbano obſtrepentes forte ranas ſilere juſſit: atq; ex eo negantur ibi ranæ coaxare. Ad quartum lapidem Campanæ viæ, in nemore prandenti, ex improviſo aquila panem ei e manu rapuit: et cum altiſſime volaſſet, rurſus ex improviſo leniter delapſa reddidit. Q. Catulus poſt dedicatum Capitolium, duabus continuis noctibus ſomniavit: prima, Jovem Opt. Max. prætextatis compluribus circum aram ludentibus, unum ſecreviſſe: atq; in ejus ſinum ſignum reip. quod manu geſtaret, repoſuiſſe, at in ſequenti, animadvertiſſe ſe in gremio Capitolini Jovis eundem puerum: quem cum detrahi juſſiſſet, prohibitum monitu Dei, tanquam is ad tutelam reip. educaretur. Ac die proximo obvium ſibi Auguſtum, cum incognitum alias haberet, non ſine admiratione contuitus, ſimillimum dixit puero de quo ſomniaſſet. Quidam prius ſomnium Catuli aliter exponunt, quaſi Jupiter compluribus præ-

and reached up to the heavens, which had never happened to any one but Alexander the Great, upon his ſacrificing at the ſame altars. And the night after he dreamed he ſaw his ſon under a more than human appearance, with thunder and a ſceptre, and the other habiliments of Jupiter and a crown on, ſet off with rays, mounted upon a chariot decked with laurel, drawn by twelve milk white horſes. Whilſt he was an infant, as C. Druſus relates, being laid in his cradle by his nurſe, and in a low place, the next day he was not to be found, and after he had been ſought for a long time, he was at laſt diſcovered upon a very high tower, lying with his face to the eaſt. When he firſt begun to ſpeak, he ordered the frogs that made a troubleſome noiſe, upon an eſtate belonging to the family nigh the town, to be ſilent; and they tell you the frogs never croaked there ſince. As he was dining in a grove about four miles from Rome, in the road to Campania, an eagle ſuddenly ſnatched a piece of bread out of his hand, and flying a prodigious height with it, came unexpectedly down again by an eaſy motion, and returned it him. Q. Catulus for two nights ſucceſſively after his dedication of the capitol, dreamed, the firſt night, that Jupiter out of ſeveral boys that were playing about his altar, picked one of them, into whoſe boſom he put the publick ſeal of the common-wealth, which he had in his hand; and the night after ſaw the ſame boy in the boſom of Jupiter Capitolinus, whom he ordered to be taken down, but was forbid by the God, by reaſon he was educated for the preſervation of the common-wealth. And the next day meeting with Auguſtus, whom 'till that hour he had not the leaſt knowledge of, beholding him with admiration, he ſaid he was very like the boy he had dreamed of. Some give a different account of Catulus's firſt dream, as if Jupiter, upon ſeveral boys petitioning him for a guardian, had pointed to one amongſt them, to whom they were to prefer their requeſts; and putting thereupon his fingers to the boy's mouth to kiſs, he afterwards carried them up to his own. M. Cicero, as he was attending C. Cæſar to the capitol, happen-

textatis tutorem a se poscentibus, unum ex eis demonstrasset, ad quem omnia desideria sua referrent: ejusq; osculum delibatum digitis ad os suum retulisset. M. Cicero C. Cæsarem in Capitolium prosecutus, somnium pristinæ noctis familiaribus forte narrabat: puerum, facie liberali, demissum cælo, catena aurea, ad fores Capitolii constitisse, eiq; Jovem flagellum tradidisse: deinde repente Augusto viso, quem ignotum adhuc plerisq; avunculus Cæsar ad sacrificandum acciverat, affirmavit ipsum esse cujus imago secundum quietem sibi obversata sit. Sumenti virilem togam, tunica lati clavi resuta ex utraq; parte, ad pedes decidit. Fuerunt qui interpretarentur, non aliud significare, quam ut is ordo cujus insigne id esset, quandoq; ei subjiceretur. Apud Mundam D. Julius castris locum capiens, cum silvam cæderet, arborem palmæ repertam conservari, ut omen victoriæ, jussit: ex ea continuo enata soboles, adeo in paucis diebus adolevit, ut non æquipararet modo matricem, verum etiam obtegeret, frequentaretur; columbarum nidis: quamvis id avium genus duram et asperam frondem maxime vitet. Illo et præcipue ostento motum Cæsarem ferunt, ne quem alium sibi succedere quam sororis nepotem vellet. In secessu Apolloniæ Theogenis mathematici pergulam comite Agrippa adscenderat: cum Agrippæ, qui prior consulebat, magna, et pæne incredibilia prædicerentur, reticere ipse genituram suam, nec velle edere, perseverabat, metu ac pudore ne minor inveniretur. Qua tamen post multas adhortationes vix et cunctanter edita, exsilivit Theogenes, adoravitq; eum. Tantam mox fiduciam fati Augustus habuit,

ed to be telling some of his friends a dream, he had had the night before, of a comely youth let down from heaven by a golden chain, that stood at the doors of the capitol, and had a whip delivered him by Jupiter. And immediately upon sight of Augustus, who had been sent for by his uncle Cæsar to the sacrifice, and was as yet perfectly unknown to most of the company, he avowed that was the very boy he had seen in his dream. When he took upon him the manly habit, his senatorian tunick coming loose in the seam on each side, fell at his feet. Some would have this to forbode, that the order, of which that was a mark of distinction, would sometime or other be subject to him. Julius Cæsar in cutting down a wood to make room for his camp near Munda, chanced to light upon a palm-tree, and ordered it to be preserved as an omen of victory; from the root of which a sucker put out immediately, that in a few days grew so big as not only to equal, but overshade it, and afford room enough for a great many nests of wild pigeons, who built in it, tho' that sort of bird naturally avoids a hard and rough leaf. They say too, that Cæsar was chiefly wrought upon by that prodigy, to prefer his sister's grandson before all others for his successor. In his retirement at Apollonia, he went along with his friend Agrippa, to wait upon Theogenes the astrologer. And Agrippa, who first desired to know his fortune, being assured it would be wonderful great, and what was almost beyond belief; he did not care to discover his nativity, and persisted in it some time, from a mixture of shame and fear together, lest it should prove inferior to Agrippa's. However with much ado, and after a great deal of importunity, he did declare it: Upon which Theogenes rose from his seat, and adored him. And not long after, Augustus was so confident of the goodness of his fortune that he published his nativity, and struck a silver coin with the impression of the sign of capricorn upon it, under the influence of which he was born.

habuit, ut thema ſuum vulgaverit, nummumq; argenteum nota ſideris Capricorni, quo natus eſt, percuſſerit.

95. Poſt necem Cæſaris reverſo ab Apollonia, et ingrediente eo urbem, repente liquido ac puro ſereno, circulus ad ſpeciem cæleſtis arcus orbem Solis ambiit: ac ſubinde Juliæ Cæſaris filiæ monumentum fulmine ictum eſt. Primo autem conſulatu ei augurium capienti, duodecim ſe vultures, ut Romulo, oſtenderunt: et immolanti omnium victimarum jocinora replicata intrinſecus ab ima fibra paruerunt: nemine peritorum aliter conjectante, quam læta per hæc et magna portendi.

96. Quin et bellorum omnium eventus ante præſenſit. Contractis ad Bononiam Triumvirorum copiis, aquila tentorio ejus ſuperſedens, duos corvos hinc et inde infeſtantes afflixit, et ad terram dedit: notante omni exercitu, futuram quandoque inter collegas diſcordiam talem, qualis ſecuta eſt, ac exitum præſagiente. In Philippis, Theſſalus quidam de futura victoria nuntiavit, auctore D. Cæſare, cujus ſibi ſpecies itinere avio occurriſſet. Circa Peruſiam ſacrificio non litante, cum augeri hoſtias imperaſſet: ac ſubita eruptione hoſtes omnem rei divinæ apparatum abſtuliſſent: conſtitit inter haruſpices, quæ periculoſa et adverſa ſacrificanti denuntiata eſſent, cuncta in illos recaſura qui exta haberent. Neque aliter evenit. Pridie quam Sicilienſem pugnam claſſe committeret, deambulanti in littore piſcis e mari exſiluit, et ad pedes jacuit. Apud Actium deſcendenti in aciem, aſellus cum aſinario occurrit: Eutychus, homini; beſtiæ Nicon, erat nomen. Utriuſq; ſimulacrum æneum victor poſuit in

95. *After the death of Cæſar, upon his return from Apollonia, as he was entering the city, on a ſudden in a clear and bright ſky, a circle like the rainbow, ſurrounded the body of the ſun; and immediately after, the monument of Julia Cæſar's daughter was ſtruck with thunder. As he was ſitting for the obſervation of omens in his firſt conſulſhip, twelve vultures preſented themſelves, as they had done to Romulus. And when he offered ſacrifice, the livers of all the victims were folded inward in the lower part; which was agreed by all preſent, that had ſkill in things of that nature, to be an undoubted prognoſtick of wonderful fortune.*

96. *He had certainly a fore-ſight of the iſſue of all his wars. When the troops of the Triumviri were drawn together about Bononia, an eagle that ſat on his tent, mawled and knocked down to the ground, two crows that attacked him on each ſide, in the view of the whole army; who gathered from thence that there would be a difference amongſt the three colleagues, and attended with the like event, which accordingly came to paſs. At Philippi he was aſſured of ſucceſs by a Theſſalian, who pretended to have it from Cæſar himſelf, that had appeared to him, as he was travelling in ſome by-road. At Peruſia, the ſacrifice not preſenting any favourable intimations at all, but the contrary, he ordered victim after victim to be cut up; but the enemy by a ſudden ſally ſweeping all, it was agreed amongſt the men of ſkill in that way then attending, that all the danger and misfortune, that appeared in the entrails, would certainly fall upon the heads of thoſe that had got them. And accordingly it fell out. The day before the ſea fight near Sicily, as he was walking upon the ſhore, a fiſh leaped out of the ſea, and laid at his feet. At Actium, as he was going down to his fleet, in order to fight the enemy, an aſs met him with a fellow driving it, the latter of which was called Eutychus, and the former Nicon. After the victory, he erected a brazen ſtatue to each, in a temple*

templo, in quod castrorum suorum locum vertit.

97. Mors quoq; ejus, de qua dehinc dicam, divinitasq; post mortem, evidentissimis ostentis præcognita est. Cum lustrum in campo Martio magna populi frequentia conderet, aquila eum sæpius circumvolavit: transgressaq; in vicinam ædem, super nomen Agrippæ, ad primam literam sedit: quo animadverso, vota quæ in proximum lustrum suscipi mos est, collegam suum Tiberium nuncupare jussit. Nam se quamquam conscriptis paratisq; jam tabulis, negavit suscepturum quæ non esset soluturus. Sub idem tempus ictu fulminis ex inscriptione statuæ ejus prima nominis litera effluxit. Responsum est centum solos dies posthac victorum; quem numerum C. litera notaret: futurumq; ut inter deos referretur, quod *ÆSAR*, id est, reliqua pars e Cæsaris nomine, Etrusca lingua deus vocaretur. Tiberium igitur in Illyricum dimissurus, et Beneventum usq; prosecuturus, cum interpellatores aliis atq; aliis causis in jure dicendo detinerent, exclamavit, (quod et ipsum mox inter omina relatum est) *Non, si omnia morarentur, amplius se posthac Romæ futurum.* Atq; itinere inchoato, Asturam perrexit: et inde, præter consuetudinem, de nocte ad occasionem auræ evectus est.

98. Causam valetudinis contraxit ex profluvio alvi. Tunc Campaniæ ora, proximisq; insulis circuitis, Caprearum quoque secessui quatriduum impendit: remississimo ad otium et ad omnem comitatem animo. Forte Puteolanum sinum prætervehenti, vectores nautæq; de navi Alexandrina, quæ tantum quod

built upon the ground where he had encamped.

97. *His death, of which I shall now speak, and his advancement amongst the Gods after it, were signified by divers manifest prodigies. As he was closing the census amidst a vast crowd of people in the field of Mars, an eagle flew about him several times, and then making off into a neighbouring temple, sat down upon the name of Agrippa, and at the first letter. Upon observing of which, he ordered his colleague Tiberius to put up the vows, which it is customary to make upon those occasions, for the succeeding lustrum. For he declared he would not meddle with what he was never like to go through with though the tables were ready drawn for it. About the same time, the first letter of his name was struck out of an inscription upon a statue of his by thunder, which was construed to signify, that he would live but an hundred days longer; which number the letter C. stands for, and that he would be placed amongst the gods; because ÆSAR, which is the remaining part of the word Cæsar, in the Thuscan language signifies a god. Wherefore being to dispatch Tiberius for Illyricum, and designing to go with him as far as Beneventum, but being detained by several people that applied to him upon account of causes they had depending, he cried out, which was afterwards reckoned amongst the prognosticks of his death,* Let what business would fall out to retain him; he would stay no longer at Rome; *and putting himself upon his journey, he went as far as Astura: and contrary to his custom, put from thence to sea, in the night-time, upon the occasion of a fine breeze.*

98. *His sickness was occasioned by a looseness, but notwithstanding, he went round the coast of Campania, and the adjacent islands, and spent four days in that of Capreæ; where he gave himself up entirely to his ease, carrying at the same time to those about him with the utmost good nature and complaisance. As he happened to sail by the bay of Puteoli, the passengers and mariners on board a ship of Alexandria* appu-

appulerat, candidati, coronatiq; et thura libantes, fausta omina et eximias laudes congesserant: *Per illum se vivere: per illum navigare: libertate atq; fortunis per illum frui.* Qua re admodum exhilaratus, quadragenos aureos comitibus divisit: jusq; jurandum, et cautionem exegit a singulis, non alio datam summam, quam in emptionem Alexandrinarum mercium absumpturos. Sed et cæteros continuos dies, inter varia munuscula, togas insuper ac pallia distribuit: lege proposita ut Romani Græco, Græci Romano habitu et sermone uterentur. Spectavit assidue et exercentes ephebos, quorum aliqua adhuc copia ex vetere instituto Capreis erat. Iisdem etiam epulum in conspectu suo præbuit, permissa, imo exacta jocandi licentis diripiendiq; pomorum et obsonorum, rerumq; missilium. Nullo deniq; genere hilaritatis abstinuit: Vicinam Capreis Ἀπραγόπολιν appellabat, a desidia secedentium illuc e comitatu suo. Sed ex dilectis unum Masgabam nomine, quasi conditorem insulæ, κτίστην vocare consueverat: hujus Masgabæ, ante annum defuncti, tumulum cum ex triclinio animadvertisset magna turba multisque luminibus frequentari, versum compositum ex tempore clare pronuntiavit,

just then arrived, clad all in white, with crowns upon their heads, and burning frankincense to his honour, loaded him with praises and joyful acclamations, crying out, That by him they lived, by him they sailed, by him they enjoyed their liberty and their fortunes. *At which being extremely pleased, he distributed to each of his friends that attended him, forty gold pieces, requiring from them security by oath, not to employ the sum given them any other ways, than in the purchase of Alexandrian goods. And for several days after, amongst divers other presents he distributed togæ and pallia, upon condition that the Romans should use the Græcian, and the Græcians the Roman, dress and language. He constantly attended too, to see the boys perform their exercises, according to an antient establishment at Capreæ. He gave them likewise an entertainment in his presence, and not only allowed, but required from them the utmost freedom in jesting and scrambling for fruit, victuals and other things he threw amongst them. In short, he indulged himself in all the ways of mirth he could think of. He called an island near Capreæ* Ἀπραγόπολις, i. e. the city of the Do-littles, *from the lazy life that several of his company led there. He had been used to call a favourite of his own Masgabas,* κτίστης, *as if he had been the planter of the island. And observing from his parlour the tomb of this Masgabas, who died a year before, frequented by a great company of people with torches, he pronounced upon it this verse extempore.*

Κτίστα δὲ τύμβον εἰσορᾷ σὺν πυρσύμβωμον.

I see the founder's tomb with lights attended.

Conversusque ad Thrasyllum Tiberii comitem, contra accubantem, et ignarum rei, interrogavit cujusnam poetæ putaret esse: quo hæsitante, subjecit alium:

And turning to Thrasyllus a companion of Tiberius's that lay over-against him, and was ignorant of the matter, he asked him, what poet he thought was the author of that verse: who demurring upon it, he brought out another.

Ὀρᾷς

Οἷς φάσι Μασγάβαν πυρφόρον.
Honoured with flambeaux MASGABAS you see.

de hoc quoque consuluit: cum ille nihil aliud responderet, quam cujuscunque essent, optimos esse: cachinnum sustulit, atq; in jocos effusus est. Mox Neapolim trajecit, quamquam et tum infirmis intestinis morbo variante: tamen et quinquennale certamen gymnicum honori suo institutum perspectavit: et cum Tiberio ad destinatum locum contendit. Sed in redeundo, aggravata valetudine, tandem Nolæ succubuit: revocatumq; ex itinere Tiberium, diu secreto sermone detinuit, neq; post ulli majori negotio animum accommodavit.

99. Supremo die identidem exquirens, an jam de se tumultus foris esset, petito speculo, capillum sibi comi, ac malas labentes corrigi præcepit. Et amicos admissos percunctatus, *Ecquid iis videretur mimum vitæ commode transegisse*, adjecit et clausulam.

and put the same question to him about that too. To which he replying, that whosoever was the author, the verses were very good, he set up a great laugh, and fell into an extraordinary vein of jesting upon it. Soon after he went over to Naples, altho' at that time his bowels were in a bad condition, by the frequent returns of his distemper, yet he sat out the fight of some solemn games, that used to be performed every five years to his honour, and came with Tiberius to the place designed; but in his return growing worse, he stopped at Nola, sent for Tiberius back again, and had a long discourse with him in private; after which he no more troubled his head with business of any importance.

99. *Upon the day of his death he now and then enquired, if there was any disturbance in the town about him: and calling for a looking-glass, he ordered his hair to be combed, and his falling cheeks to be rectified; and asked his friends that were admitted into the room,* Whether they thought he had acted his part of life well, *and then added,*

Εἰ δὲ πᾶν ἔχει καλῶς, τῷ παιγνίῳ
Δότε κρότον, καὶ πάντες ὑμεῖς μετὰ χαρᾶς κτυπήσατε,

If all be right, with joy your voices raise,
In loud applauses to the actor's praise.

Omnibus deinde dimissis, dum advenientes ab urbe de Drusi filia ægra interrogabat, repente in osculis Liviæ, et in hac voce defecit: *Livia nostri conjugii memor vive, ac vale:* fortitus exitum facilem, et qualem semper optaverat. Nam fere quoties audisset, cito ac nullo cruciatu defunctum quempiam sibi et suis εὐθανασίαν similem (hoc enim et verbo uti solebat) precabatur. Unum omnino ante efflatam animam signum ali-

After which, having dismissed them all, whilst he was asking some that were just come from Rome, after Drusus's daughter, who was not well; he expired amidst the kisses of his Livia, and with these words, Livia, live mindful of our marriage, and farewel! *dying a very easy death, and such as he himself had always wished for. For as oft as he heard that any one had died quickly, and without pain, he wished for himself and his friends the like* εὐθανασία, *for that was the word he made use of. He gave but one token before his death of his being delirious, which was*

enatæ

enatæ mentis oſtendit, quod ſubito pavefactus, a quadraginta ſe juvenibus abripi queſtus eſt. Id quoq; magis præſagium quam mentis diminutio fuit: ſiquidem totidem milites Prætoriani extulerunt eum in publicum.

100. Obiit in cubiculo eodem quo pater Octavius, duobus Sextis, Pompejo et Apulejo COSS. XIV. Kal. Septembris, hora diei nona, ſeptuageſimo et ſexto ætatis anno diebus quinq; et triginta minus. Corpus Decuriones municipiorum et coloniarum a Nola Bovillas uſque deportarunt, noctibus, propter anni tempus; cum interdiu in baſilica cujuſq; oppidi, vel in ædium ſacrarum maxima reponeretur. A Bovillis equeſter ordo ſuſcepit, urbiq; intulit, atq; in veſtibulo domus collocavit. Senatus et in funere ornando, et in memoria honoranda eo ſtudio certatim progreſſus eſt, ut inter alia complura cenſuerint quidam, funus triumphali porta ducendum, præcedente Victoria, quæ eſt in curia, canentibus næniam principum liberis utriuſq; ſexus. Alii exſequiarum die ponendos annulos aureos, ferreoſq; ſumendos: nonnulli legenda oſſa per ſacerdotes ſummorum collegiorum. Fuit et qui ſuaderet appellationem menſis Auguſti in Septembrem transferendam: quod hoc genitus Auguſtus, illo defunctus eſſet. Alius, ut omne tempus a primo die natali ad exitum ejus, ſeculum Auguſtum appellaretur, et ita in faſtos referretur. Verum adhibito honoribus modo, bifariam laudatus eſt, pro æde D. Julii a Tiberio, et pro roſtris ſub veteribus a Druſo Tiberii filio, ac ſenatorum humeris delatus in

this; he was all on a ſudden much frighted, and complained that he was carried away by forty men. But that was rather a preſage, than any thing of a delirium; for juſt ſo many ſoldiers of his guards brought out his corps.

100. *He died in the ſame room his father Octavius had done, when the two Sextus's Pompey and Apuleius were conſuls, upon the fourteenth of the Kalend of September, in the ninth hour of the day, wanting only five and thirty days of ſeventy-ſix years of age. The ſenators of the municipia and colonies carried the corps from Nola to Bovillæ, and in the night-time, becauſe of the ſeaſon of the year, in the day the body was lodged in ſome court of each town or great temple. The equeſtrian order met it at Bovillæ, and carried it to the city, and depoſited it in the porch of his own houſe. The ſenate proceeded with ſo much zeal in the ordering of his funeral, and the honouring of his memory, that amongſt ſeveral other things, ſome were for having the funeral proceſſion made through the triumphal gate, with the image of victory, that is in the ſenate-houſe, going before, and the children of people of the firſt quality of both ſexes ſinging the funeral ditty. Others moved that on the day of the funeral, they ſhould lay aſide their gold-rings, and wear iron ones; others that his bones ſhould be gathered by the prieſts of the ſuperior orders. Some body adviſed too to transfer the name of Auguſtus to September, becauſe he was born in this, but died in that. Another moved that all the time from his birth to his death ſhould be called the Auguſt age, and be put down in the calendar under that title. But at laſt it was judged proper to come to a medium in the honours to be paid to his memory. Two funeral orations were pronounced in his praiſe, one before the temple of Julius by Tiberius; and the other before the roſtra under the old ſhops, by Druſus Tiberius's ſon. And then he was carried upon the ſhoulders of ſenators, into the field of Mars, and burnt. Upon which a Prætorian gentleman took his oath, that he ſaw his ghoſt aſcend into heaven. The*

Cam-

Campum, crematusque. Nec defuit vir prætorius qui se effigiem cremati euntem in cælum vidisse juraret. Reliquias legerunt primores equestris ordinis, tunicati, et discincti, pedibusq; nudis, ac in Mausoleo condiderunt. Id opus inter Flaminiam viam, ripamq; Tiberis, sexto suo consulatu extruxerat: circumjectasque silvas et ambulationes in usum populi tunc jam publicarat.

most honourable persons of the equestrian order gathered up his relicks in their tunicks loose, and bare foot, and laid them in the Mausoleum, which he had built in his sixth consulship, betwixt the Flaminian way and the bank of the Tiber, at which time too he gave the woods and walks about it for the use of the people.

101. Testamentum L. Planco, C. Silio, COSS. III. Nonas Aprilis, ante annum et quatuor menses quam decederet, factum ab eo, ac duobus codicibus, partim ipsius, partim libertorum Polybii et Hilarionis manu scriptum, depositumq; apud se, virgines Vestales, cum tribus signatis æque voluminibus protulerunt. Quæ omnia in senatu aperta atq; recitata sunt. Hæredes instituit primos, Tiberium ex parte dimidia, et sextante, Liviam ex parte tertia, quos et ferre nomen suum jussit: secundos Drusum Tiberii filium ex triente, et ex partibus reliquis Germanicum, liberosq; ejus tres sexus virilis: tertio gradu, propinquos amicosq; complures. Legavit populo Rom. quadringenties, tribubus tricies quinquies HS. Prætorianis militibus singula millia nummorum, cohortibus urbanis quingenos: legionariis trecentos nummos: quam summam repræsentari jussit; nam et confiscatam semper repositamq; habuerat. Reliqua legata varie dedit; produxitque quædam ad vicena sestertia: quibus solvendis annuum diem finiit, excusata rei familiaris mediocritate: nec plus perventurum ad hæredes suos, quam millies et quingenties, professus: quamvis viginti proximis annis quaterdecies millies ex testamentis amicorum percepisset, quod

101. *He had made a will a year and four months before his death, upon the third of the nones of April, in the consulship of L. Plancus and C. Silius. It consisted of two skins of parchment, writ partly in his own hand, and partly by his freedmen Polybius and Hilarion. It had been committed to the custody of the Vestal virgins, by whom it was now produced, with three other volumes, all sealed up as well as the will, which were every one opened and read in the senate. He appointed for his first heirs, Tiberius for two thirds of his estate, and Livia for the other third, whom he likewise ordered to take his name. The heirs substituted in their room, in case of death, were Drusus Tiberius's son for a third part, and Germanicus and his three sons for the rest. Next to them were his relations and several of his friends. He left in legacies to the Roman people forty millions of sesterces; to the tribes three millions five hundred thousand; to the guards a thousand a piece; to the city battalions five hundred; and to the soldiers in the legions three hundred each; which several sums he ordered to be paid immediately after his death. For the money he had taken care to have already in his exchequer. For the rest he ordered different times of payment; and in some he went as far as twenty thousand sesterces, for the paying of which he allowed a year's time, alledging for his excuse the scantiness of his estate; and declaring that not above an hundred and fifty millions of sesterces would come to his heirs: though in the foregoing twenty years he had left him by his friends fourteen hundred millions: all which almost with his two paternal estates, and other estates he had left him, he expended upon the publick. He left order*

pæne

pæne omne cum duobus paternis patrimoniis, cæterisq; hereditatibus in remp. absumpsisset. Julias, filiam neptemq; si quid his accidisset, vetuit sepulchro suo inferri. De tribus voluminibus, uno mandata de funere suo complexus est? altero indicem rerum a se gestarum, quem vellet incidi in æneis tabulis, quæ ante Mausoleum statuerentur: tertio, breviarium totius imperii, quantum militum sub signis ubiq; esset, quantum pecuniæ in ærario et fiscis, et vectigaliorum residuis. Adjecit et libertorum servorumq; nomina a quibus ratio exigi posset.

that the two Julias, his daughter and grand daughter, should not be buried in his sepulchre. As to the three volumes I mentioned, in one of them he gave orders about his funeral, in another a narrative of the actions performed by him, which he had a mind should be cut in brass plates, and set up before his Mausoleum. In the third he had laid down a brief account of the state of the empire; as the number of soldiers in pay, what money there was in the treasury, exchequer, and arrears of taxes; to which he added the names of the freed-men and slaves, from whom the several accounts might be taken.

C. SUETONII TRANQUILLI

TIBERIUS NERO CÆSAR.

CHAP I.

PATRICIA gens Claudia (fuit enim et alia plebeja, nec potentia minor nec dignitate) orta est ex Regillis, oppido Sabinorum. Inde Romam recens conditam, cum magna clientum manu commigravit, auctore Tito Tatio consorte, Romuli: vel, quod magis constat, Atta Claudio gentis principe, post reges exactos sexto fere anno, a patribus in patricios cooptata. Agrum insuper trans Anienem clientibus, locumq; sibi ad sepulturam sub Capitolio publice accepit. Deinceps procedente tempore, duodetriginta consulatus, dictaturas quinq; censuras septem,

THE Patrician family of the Claudii (for there was a Plebeian family of the same name, no ways inferior to the other in power and dignity) came originally from Regilli, a town of the Sabines. From thence they removed to Rome soon after the building of the city, with a great body of their dependents, under Titus Tatius, who was partner with Romulus in the kingdom, or perhaps (which there appears better authority for) under Atta Claudius head of the family, six years after the expulsion of the Tarquins; at which time they were by the senate chose into the body of the nobility, and received from the government land for their dependants beyond the Anien, and a burying place for themselves nigh the Capitol. After that, in process of time, this family had the honour

triumphos ſeptem, duas ovationes adepta eſt. Cum prænominibus cognominibuſq; variis diſtingueretur. Lucii prænomen conſenſu repudiavit, poſtquam e duobus gentilibus præditis eo, alter latrocinii, cædis alter convictus eſt. Inter cognomina autem, et Neronis aſſumpſit, quo ſignificatur lingua Sabina fortis ac ſtrenuus.

2. Multa multorum Claudiorum egregia merita, multa etiam ſecus admiſſa in rempublicam exſtant. Sed ut præcipua commemorem, Appius Cæcus ſocietatem cum rege Pyrrho, ut parum ſalubrem inire diſſuaſit. Claudius Caudex, primus freto claſſe tranſjecto, Pœnos Sicilia expulit. Claudius Nero advenientem ex Hiſpania cum ingentibus copiis Aſdrubalem, priuſquam Hannibali fratri conjungeretur, oppreſſit. Contra Claudius Appius Regillanus decemvir legibus ſcribendis virginem ingenuam per vim, libidinis gratia, in ſervitutem aſſerere conatus cauſa fuit plebi ſecedendi rurſum a patribus. Claudius Druſus, ſtatua ſibi cum diademate ad Appii Forum poſita, Italiam per clientelas occupare tentavit. Claudius Pulcher apud Siciliam non paſcentibus in auſpicando pullis, ac per contemptum religionis mari dimerſis, quaſi ut biberent, quando eſſe nollent, prælium navale iniit: ſuperatuſq; cum dictatorem dicere a ſenatu juberetur, velut iterum illudens diſcrimini publico, Glyciam viatorem ſuum dixit. Exſtant et fæminarum exempla diverſa æque: ſiquidem gentis ejuſdem utraque Claudia fuit, et quæ navem cum ſacris matris deum Ideæ obhærentem Tiberino

of eight and twenty conſulſhips, five dictatorſhips, ſeven cenſorſhips, ſeven triumphs, and two ovations. The deſcendents of the family were diſtinguiſhed by various prænomina and cognomina, but rejected by conſent the prænomen of Lucius, after two of them with that name were convicted, one of robbery, and the other of murther. Among other cognomina, they aſſumed that of Nero, which in the Sabine tongue ſignifies brave and valiant.

2. There are upon record very eminent ſervices done the publick by many of the Claudii, and ſeveral things of a quite different ſtrain. But to take notice of the moſt remarkable only, Appius Cæcus diſſwaded the ſenate from agreeing to an alliance with Pyrrhus, as prejudicial to the publick. Claudius Caudex firſt paſt the ſtrait of Sicily, with a fleet, and drove the Carthaginians out of the iſland. Claudius Nero cut off Aſdrubal with a vaſt army upon his arrival in Italy from Spain, before he could join his brother Hannibal. On the other hand Claudius Appius Regillanus, one of the ten commiſſioners appointed for the compiling a body of laws for the Roman ſtate, attempting in a violent manner, to have a young gentlewoman declared by a judicial ſentence a ſlave, for the gratifying his luſt, occaſioned a ſecond ſeparation of the commons from the ſenate. Claudius Druſus erected a ſtatue for himſelf at Appii Forum, with a diadem; and endeavoured by the means of his dependents to make himſelf maſter of Italy. Claudius Pulcher, upon the coaſt of Sicily, when the pullets, upon his uſing them in the way of augury, would not eat, in contempt of the ominous preſage, ſunk them in the ſea, as if he was reſolved they ſhould drink however, if they would not eat; and thereupon engaged the enemy, and was defeated; and being ordered by the ſenate to name a dictator, as if he had a mind to make a jeſt of the publick danger, he named his officer Glycias. There are likewiſe inſtances in hiſtory of the good and bad behaviour of the women of the family. For both the Claudias were of the family, ſhe, that when the ſhip with the holy things appertaining to the Idæan mother of the gods

vado

vado extraxit, precata propalam, *ut ita demum se sequeretur, si sibi pudicitia constaret:* et quæ novo more judicium majestatis apud populum mulier subiit, quod in conferta multitudine ægre procedente carpento, palam optaverit, *ut frater suus pulcher reviviscceret, atque iterum classem amitteret, quo minor turba Romæ foret.* Præterea notissimum est, Claudios omnes, excepto duntaxat P. Cladio qui ob expellendum urbe Ciceronem plebejo homini atq; etiam natu minori, in adoptionem se dedit, optimates assertoresq; unicos dignitatis ac potentiæ patriciorum semper fuisse, atque adversus plebem adeo violentos ac contumaces, ut ne capitis quidem quisquam reus apud populum mutare vestem aut deprecari sustinuerit: nonnulli in altercatione et jurgio tribunos plebis pulsaverit. Etiam virgo Vestalis fratrem injussu populi triumphantem, adscenso simul curru, usque in Capitolium prosecuta est, ne vetare aut intercedere fas cuiquam tribunorum esset.

3. Ex hac stirpe Tiberius Cæsar genus trahit, et quidem utrumque; paternum a Tiberio Nerone, maternum, ab Appio Pulchro: qui ambo Appii Cæci filii fuerunt. Insertus est et Liviorum familiæ, adoptato in eam materno avo. Quæ familia, quamquam plebeja, tamen et ipsa admodum floruit, octo consulatibus, censuris duabus triumphis tribus; dictatura etiam ac magisterio equitum honorata: clara et insignibus viris, ac maxime Salinatore Drusisque. Salinator universas tribus in censura notavit, levitatis nomi-

stuck fast upon the sands of the Tiber, brought it off, after she had with a loud voice prayed to the goddess, to follow her if she was chaste *and also she that contrary to the custom of the Romans (who had not been used to proceed in that manner against women) was tryed by the people for treason, because when her chariot had much ado to get through a great crowd in the streets, she had wished aloud,* that her brother Pulcher was alive again, to lose another fleet, that there might be less throng at Rome. *Besides it is notorious in history, that all the Claudii, excepting only P. Claudius, who in order to get Cicero banished, procured a commoner, and one younger than himself too, to adopt him, were always of the noble party, and mighty sticklers for the honour and power of the patricians, and so violent and obstinate in their opposition to the commons, that never an one of them, even in the case of a tryal for life by the people, would ever condescend to put on mourning, according to custom, or make any supplication to them for favour: and some of them in their contests with the commons have beat their Tribunes. A Vestal virgin too of the family, when her brother was resolved to have the honour of a triumph, in spite of the authority of the people to the contrary, mounted his chariot with him, and attended him into the Capitol, to prevent the Tribunes from interposing to forbid it.*

3. *From this family Tiberius Cæsar is descended, and indeed both by father and mother's side; by the father from Tiberius Nero, and by the mother from Appius Pulcher, both which were the sons of Appius Cæcus. He likewise belonged to the family of the Livii, by the adoption of his mother's grandfather into it; which family, tho' plebeian, yet made a very great figure, being honoured with eight consulships, two censorships, three triumphs, one dictatorship, and the office of master of the horse; and was famous for considerable men, and especially Salinator and the Drusi. Salinator in his censorship put a mark of infamy upon all the tribes, for their inconstancy in making him consul a se-*

ne, quod, cum se post priorem consulatum multa irrogata condemnassent, consulem iterum censoremq; fecissent. Drusus hostium duce Drauso cominus trucidato, sibi posterisque suis cognomen invenit. Traditur etiam pro prætore ex provincia Gallia retulisse aurum Senonibus olim in obsidione Capitolii datum, nec, ut fama, extortum a Camillo. Ejus abnepos, ob eximiam adversus Gracchos operam patronus senatus dictus, filium reliquit, quem in simili dissensione multa varie molientem, diversa factio per fraudem interemit.

4. Pater vero Tiberii, quæstor C. Cæsaris, Alexandrino bello classi præpositus, plurimum ad victoriam contulit. Quare et Pontifex in locum P. Scipionis substitutus, et ad deducendas in Galliam colonias, in queis Narbona et Arelate erant missus est. Tamen Cæsare occiso, cunctis turbarum metu abolitionem facti decernentibus, etiam de præmiis tyrannicidarum referendum censuit. Prætura deinde functus, cum exitu anni discordia inter Triumviros exorta esset, retentis ultra justum tempus insignibus, L. Antonium consulem Triumviri fratrem ad Perusiam secutus, deditione a cæteris facta, solus permansit in partibus, ac primo Prænestæ, inde Neapolim evasit, servisq; ad pileum frustra vocatis, in Siciliam profugit. Sed indigne ferens, nec statim se in conspectum Sexti Pompeji admissum, et fascium usu prohibitum, ad M. Antonium trajecit in Achajam. Cum quo brevi reconciliata inter omnes pace, Romam rediit, uxoremq; Liviam Drusill[illegible]n et tunc gravidam,

cond time, and censor, tho' they had condemned and fined him after his first consulship. Drusus procured for himself and his posterity a new firname, by killing in close fight hand to hand one Drausus, a general of the enemy. He is likewise said to have recovered, when proprætor in the province of Gaul, the gold that had been formerly given to the Senones, in the siege of the capitol, and had not, as the report goes, been forced from them again by Camillus. His great great grandson, who for his extraordinary service against the Gracchi, was stiled the patron of the senate, left a son, whom making a mighty bustle with a variety of projects, upon occasion of such another broil, the opposite party treacherously murthered.

4. *But the father of Tiberius being Quæstor to C. Cæsar, and commander of the fleet in the war of Alexandria, contributed mainly to the success it. Wherefore he was made one of the high-priests in the room of P. Scipio; and was sent to settle some colonies in Gaul, and amongst the rest those of Narbon and Arles. Notwithstanding, after the death of Cæsar, when the rest of the senators, for fear of publick disturbances, were for having the fact buried in oblivion, he thought fit to move the house for rewarding those that had killed the tyrant. After he was out of his pretorship, upon occasion of a difference breaking out amongst the Triumviri, in the end of the year, he kept the badges of his office beyond the legal time; and following Lucius Antonius the consul, brother to the Triumvir, to Perusia, tho' the rest submitted, yet he by himself continued firm to the party, and got off first to Prænestæ, and then to Naples; and having in vain invited the slaves to liberty, he fled over to Sicily. But taking it very ill, that he was not immediately admitted into the presence of Sextus Pompeius, and was moreover forbid the use of the fasces, he went over into Achaia to Mark Anthony, with whom, upon a reconciliation soon after brought amongst the several contending parties, he returned to Rome; and at the request of Augustus, gave up to him his wife*

et

et ante jam apud se filium enixam, patenti Augusto concessit. Nec multo post diem obiit, utroq; liberorum superstite, Tiberio Drusoq; Neronibus.

5. Tiberium quidam Fundis natum existimaverunt, secuti levem conjecturam, quod materna ejus avia Fundana fuerit, et quod mox simulachrum Felicitatis ex senatus consulto publicatum ibi sit. Sed ut plures, certioresq; tradunt, natus est Romæ in Palatiis, xvi Kal. Decemb. M. Æmilio Lepido iterum, L. Munatio Planco COSS. post bellum Philippense. Sic enim in fastos actaq; publica relatum est. Nec tamen desunt qui partim antecedente anno, Hirtii ac Pansæ; partim insequente, Servilii Isaurici Antoniique consulatu, genitum eum scribant.

6. Infantiam pueritiamque habuit laboriosam, et exercitam: comes usquequaq; parentum fugæ: quos quidem apud Neapolim sub irruptionem hostis navigium clam petentes, vagitu suo pæne bis prodidit; semel cum a nutricis ubere, item cum a sinu matris raptim auferretur ab iis qui pro necessitate temporis mulierculas levare onere tentabant. Per Siciliam quoque et Achajam circumductus, ac Lacedæmoniis publice, quod in tutela Claudiorum erant, demandatus, degrediens inde itinere nocturno, discrimen vitæ adiit: flamma repente e silvis undiq; exorta, adeoq; omnem comitatum circumplexa ut Liviæ pars vestis et capilli amburerentur. Munera, quibus a Pompeja Sext. Pompeii sorore in Sicilia donatus est, chlamys et fibula, item bullæ aureæ, durant, ostenduntur que adhuc Bajis. Post reditum in

Livia Drusilla, tho' she was then big with child, and had before bore him a son, and died not long after, leaving behind him two sons, Tiberius and Drusus Nero.

5. *Some have fancied that Tiberius was born at Fundi, but upon a very trifling foundation for it, because his mother's grand mother was of Fundi, and because the image of good Fortune was by a decree of the senate erected in a publick place there. But, as the generality of authors and of better credit say, he was born at Rome, in the Palatium, upon the 16th of the calends of December, when M. Æmilius Lepidus was second time consul, with Lucius Munatius Plancus, after the battle of Philippi; for thus it is register'd in the calendar, and the publick acts. And yet there are some who say that he was born the year before in the consulship of Hirtius and Pansa, and others say in the year following, in that of Servilius Isauricus and Anthony.*

6. *His infancy and childhood was attended with a great deal of danger and trouble. He went along with his parents in their flight every where, whom he had like twice to have betray'd by his crying at Naples, as they were privately making down to their ship, upon the enemies breaking into the town; once, when he was taken from his nurse's breast, and again when he was hastily taken from his mother's bosom, by some of the company, who in that necessity of haste, were for easing the poor women of their burthen. Being carried thro' Sicily and Achaia, and entrusted some time to the government of the Lacedæmonians, who were under the protection of the Claudian family, upon his departure thence by night, he run the hazard of his life, by a fire suddenly bursting out of a wood on all hands, that enclosed the whole company, so that part of Livia's cloaths and her hair were burnt. The presents made him by Pompeia, sister to Sextus Pompeius, in Sicily, viz. a cloak, and a clasp, and golden bullæ, are yet in being, and shewn at Baiæ to this day. After his return to town, being adopted by Marcus Gallius, a senator, in*

urbem

urbem a M. Gallio senatore testamento adoptatus, hereditate adita, mox nomine abstinuit: quod Gallius adversarum Augusto partium fuerat. Novem natus annos, defunctum patrem pro rostris laudavit. Dehinc pubescens, Actiaco triumpho currum Augusti comitatus est, sinisteriore funali equo, cum Marcellus Octaviæ filius dexteriore veheretur. Præsedit et Actiacis ludis, et Trojanis Circensibus, ductor turmæ puerorum majorum.

7. Virili toga sumpta, adolescentiam omnem, spatiumq; insequentis ætatis usq; ad principatus initium, per hæc fere transegit: Munus gladiatorium in memoriam patris, et alterum in avi Drusi dedit, diversis temporibus, ac locis: primum in foro, secundum in Amphitheatro: rudiariis quoq; quibusdam revocatis, auctoramento centenum millium. Dedit et ludos, sed absens: cuncta magnifice, impensa matris ac vitrici. Agrippinam M. Agrippa genitam, neptem Cæcilii Attici, equitis Romani, ad quem sunt Ciceronis epistolæ, duxit uxorem: sublatoque ex ea filio Druso, quamquam bene convenientem, rursumq; gravidam, dimittere, ac Juliam Augusti filiam confestim coactus est ducere: non sine magno angore animi, cum et Agrippinæ consuetudine teneretur, et Juliæ mores improbaret; ut quam sensisset, sui quoq; sub priore marito appetentem quod sane vulgo etiam existimabatur. Sed Agrippinam et abegisse post divortium doluit: et semel omnino ex occursu visam adeo contentis et tumentibus oculis prosecutus est, ut custoditum sit ne unquam in

his will, he enter'd upon the estate, but soon after declined the use of his name, because Gallius had been of the party against Augustus. When he was but nine years old, he pronounced a funeral oration in praise of his father upon the rostra; and afterwards, when he was almost at man's estate, he attended the chariot of Augustus, in his triumph for the victory at Actium, riding upon the outside horse of his chariot to the left hand, whilst Marcellus, Octavia's son, rode upon the right. He likewise presided in the games celebrated upon account of that victory, and in the Trojan games intermixed with the Circensian, he was commander of a troop of bigger boys.

7. *After the taking of the manly habit, he spent his youth, and the rest of his life, 'till he came to the government, as follows. He gave the people an entertainment of gladiators, in memory of his father, and another for his grandfather Drusus; at different times and in different places; the first in the Forum, the second in the Amphitheatre, some gladiators that had been honourably discharged, being tempted to engage again by a reward of a hundred thousand sesterces. He likewise presented the people with plays, but was not present himself. All which he did in a very splendid manner, at the charge of his mother and father-in-law. He married Agrippina the daughter of Mark Agrippa, and grand-daughter of Cæcilius Atticus a Roman knight, the same that Cicero's epistles are directed to: And after he had his son Drusus by her, he was obliged to part with her, tho she was perfectly agreeable to him, and was again with child, in order to marry Augustus's daughter Julia. But this he did in the anguish of his soul; for he was exceedingly in love with Agrippina, and did not at all like Julia's behaviour, as who, he perceived, would needs have been kind with him, in her former husband's time; which was too the general opinion of her. After his divorce, he was heartily sorry for parting with her; and once upon meeting her he followed her with his eyes so fixed and prominent, that care was taken, she should never come in his sight*

con-

conſpectum ejus poſthac veniret. Cum Julia primo concorditer et amore mutuo vixit: mox diſſedit, et aliquanto gravius ut etiam perpetuo ſecubaret, intercepto communis filii pignore, qui Aquilejæ natus infans exſtinctus eſt. Druſum fratrem in Germania amiſit, cujus corpus pedibus toto itinere prægrediens, Romam uſq; pervexit.

8. Civilium officiorum rudimentis regem Archelaum, Trallianos et Theſſalos, varia quoſq; de cauſa Auguſto cognoſcente defendit. Pro Laodicenis, Thyatirenis, Chiis terræ motu afflictis, opemq; implorantibus, ſenatum deprecatus eſt. Fannium Cæpionem, qui cum Varrone Muræna in Auguſtum conſpiraverat, reum majeſtatis apud judices fecit, et condemnavit. Interq; hæc duplicem curam adminiſtravit, annonæ quæ arctior inciderat, et repurgandorum tota Italia ergaſtulorum, quorum domini in invidiam venerant: quaſi exceptos ſupprimerent, non ſolum viatores, ſed et quos ſacramenti metus ad hujuſmodi latebras contuliſſet.

9. Stipendia prima expeditione Cantabrica tribunus militum fecit: deinde ducto ad Orientem exercitu, regnum Armeniæ Tigrani reſtituit, ac pro tribunali diadema impoſuit. Recepit et ſigna quæ M. Craſſo ademerant Parthi. Poſt hæc comatam Galliam anno fere rexit, et Barbarorum incurſionibus, et principum diſcordia inquietam. Exhinc Rhæticum Vindelicumq; bellum, inde Pannonicum, inde Germanicum geſſit. Rhætico atq; Vindelico, gentes Alpinas; Pannonico, Breucos et Dalmatas ſubegit. Germanico, quadraginta millia

He lived at firſt pretty quietly and lovingly with Julia, but ſoon came to a breach with her, and ſo wide, that he would never bed more with her, after the loſs of his ſon he had by her, which was born at Aquileia, and died an infant. He loſt his brother Druſus in Germany, whoſe body he brought to Rome, travelling all the way on foot, before it.

8. In his firſt eſſays in the office of civil life, he pleaded the ſeveral cauſes of king Archelaus, the Trallians, and Theſſalians, before Auguſtus, who ſat as judge for the trial of them. He interceded with the ſenate in behalf of the Laodiceans, the Thyatireans, and Chians, that had ſuffered greatly by an earthquake, and begged relief of the Romans. He proſecuted Fannius Cæpio, who had been engaged in a conſpiracy with Varro Muræna againſt Auguſtus, and procured ſentence of condemnation againſt him. And during theſe tranſactions, he had a double charge upon his hands, that of ſupplying the city with corn, which then happened to be very ſcarce, and that of purging the work-houſes throughout Italy, the maſters of which were fallen under an odious ſuſpicion of ſeizing and keeping confined, not only travellers, but thoſe too whom the fear of ſerving in the wars put upon ſeeking ſuch places to hide their heads in.

9. He made his firſt campaign in the war of Cantabria, in quality of a tribune. After that he led an army to the eaſt, where he reſtored the kingdom of Armenia to Tigranes; and being ſeated upon a tribunal, put a diadem upon his head. He likewiſe received from the Parthians the ſtandards they had taken from Craſſus. After that he governed the province of Gallia Comata for near a year, which was then in great diſorder, by reaſon of the incurſions of the barbarians, and the feuds of the grandees. After that he commanded in the ſeveral wars againſt the Rhætians, Vindelicians, Pannonians and Germans. In the Rhætian and Vindelician wars, he ſubdued the nations in the Alps; and in the Pannonian, the Breucians, and the Dalmatians.

dedi-

dedititiorum trajecit in Galliam, juxtaq; ripam Rheni sedibus assignatis collocavit. Quas ob res et ovans, et curru urbem ingressus est; primus, ut quidam putant triumphalibus ornamentis honoratus, novo nec antea cuiquam tributo genere honoris. Magistratus et maturius inchoavit, et pæne junctim percurrit, quæsturam, præturam, consulatum: interpositoq; tempore, consulatum iterum, etiam Tribunitiam potestatem in quinquennium accepit.

10. Tot prosperis confluentibus, integra ætate ac valetudine statuit repente secedere, seq; e medio quam longissime amovere. Dubium uxorisne tædio, quam neq; criminari aut dimittere auderet, neq; ultra perferre posset; an ut vitato assiduitatis fastidio, auctoritatem absentia tueretur, atq; etiam augeret, si quando indiguisset sui respublica. Quidam existimant, adultis jam Augusti liberis, loco et quasi possessione usurpati a se diu secundi gradus, sponte cessisse, exempio M. Agrippæ, qui M. Marcello ad munera publica admoto, Mitylenas abierit: ne aut obstare, aut obtrectare præsens videretur. Quam causam et ipse, sed postea, reddidit. Tunc autem honorum satietatem, ac requiem laborum prætendens, commeatum petit. Neq; aut matri suppliciter precanti, aut vitrico, deseri se etiam in senatu conquerenti, veniam dedit. Quin et pertinacius retinentibus, cibo quatriduum abstinuit. Facta tandem abeundi potestate, relictis Romæ uxore et filio, confestim Ostiam descendit: ne verbo quidem cuiquam prosequentium reddito, paucosq; admodum in digressu osculatus.

In the German war he transplanted forty thousand of the enemy, that submitted, into Gaul, and assigned them lands near the banks of the Rhine. For which actions he entered the city in ovation, but mounted on a chariot, and was the first, as some are of opinion, that was honoured with triumphal ornaments, a mark of distinction that had never been conferred upon any before. He entered upon the publick offices of state very young, and run through the quæstorship, prætorship and consulate almost successively; and after some interval was a second time made consul, and received the Tribunitian authority for five years.

10. *In the midst of all his prosperity, in the prime of his years, and a good state of health, he all on a sudden took up a resolution to withdraw to a great distance from Rome; whether because he was quite weary of his wife, whom he neither durst complain of, nor divorce, but was no longer able to bear with; or to prevent that indifferency for him, which his constant residence in the city might possibly occasion, and in hopes of supporting and improving his authority by his absence, if the publick should have occasion for his service, is uncertain. Some think that because Augustus's sons were now grown men, he voluntarily quitted the possession he had long enjoyed of the second post in the government, as Agrippa had done before him, who, when M. Marcellus was advanced to publick offices, retired to Mitylene, that he might not seem to stand in the way of his rise, or lessen him in any respect by his presence; which reason too Tiberius gave for his retirement afterwards: but then pretending himself quite satiated with honours, and desirous to be relieved from the fatigue of business, he begged leave to withdraw; nor could he be prevailed upon to alter his resolution, either by the passionate entreaty of his mother, or the complaints of his father-in-law in the senate, that he was deserted by him. And upon their persisting in the design of detaining him, he refused to eat any thing for four days together; wherefore leave being at last granted him, he left the city with his wife and son, and went immediately for Ostia, without speaking a word to any that waited upon him thither; and kissed but very few at parting.*

11. Ab

11. Ab Ostia oram Campaniæ legens, imbecillitate Augusti nuntiata, paulum subsistit, sed increbrescente rumore, quasi ad occasionem majoris spei commoraretur, tantum non adversis tempestatibus Rhodum enavigavit, amœnitate et salubritate insulæ jam inde captus, cum ad eam ab Armenia rediens appulisset. Heic modicis contentus ædibus, nec multo laxiore suburbano, genus vitæ civile admodum instituit: sine lictore aut viatore gymnasia interdum obambulans: mutuaq; cum Græculis officia usurpans, prope ex æquo. Forte quodam in disponendo die, mane prædixerat, quicquid ægrorum in civitate esset visitare se velle: id a proximis aliter exceptum est: jussiq; sunt omnes ægri in publicam porticum deferri, ac per valetudinum genera disponi. Perculsus igitur inopinata re, diu quid ageret incertus, tandem singulos circuit: excusans factum etiam tenuissimo cuique, et ignoto. Unum hoc tantummodo, neq; præterea quidquam notatum est, in quo exercuisse jus tribunitiæ potestatis visus sit: Cum circa scholas et auditoria professorum assiduus esset, moto inter antisophistas graviore jurgio, non defuit qui eum intervenientem et quasi studiosiorem partis alterius convitio inceseret. Sensim itaq; regressus domum repente cum apparitoribus prodiit: citatumq; pro tribunali voce præconis convitiatorem rapi jussit in carcerem. Comperit deinde Juliam uxorem ob libidines atq; adulteria damnatam, repudiumq; ei suo nomine, ex autoritate Augusti, remissum: et quamquam lætus animo, tamen officii duxit, quantum in se esset, exorare filiæ pa-

11. *From Ostia coasting along Campania, upon advice of Augustus's being taken ill, he halted a little. But a rumour growing common upon it, as if he stayed with a view to something extraordinary, he sailed away, and with the wind almost full against him, arrived at Rhodes, having been much taken with the pleasantness, and wholsomeness of the island, from the time of his calling there in his return from Armenia. Here contenting himself with a moderate house, and a country seat nigh the town not much larger, he lived almost like any private gentleman, taking his walks sometimes about the Gymnasia, without any serjeant or officer to attend him, and returning the civilities of the Greeks, with as much complaisance almost as if he had been upon a level with them. He chanced one morning, in settling the manner of his passing the day, to say, he would visit all the sick people in town. This being not rightly understood by those about him, the sick people were brought into a publick portico, and placed in order, according to their several distempers. Being strangely abashed at this unexpected accident, he was for a long time uncertain what to do; yet at last he went round them all, and made his excuse even to the meanest among them, and such as were wholly unknown to him. There is one instance taken notice of, and but one, wherein he appeared to exercise his Tribunitian authority. As he was a constant attendant upon the schools and auditories of the professors of the liberal arts, upon occasion of a quarrel amongst the disputing sophisters, wherein he interposed to make peace amongst them, some body took the liberty to abuse him as partial in the affair. Whereupon withdrawing privately home, he suddenly came abroad with his officers attending him, summoned the person that had offered the abuse before him, by the voice of a publick cryer, and ordered him to be carried to prison. After this he received advice that his wife Julia had been condemned for her lewdness and adultery, and a bill of divorce sent her in his name, by the authority of Augustus: and tho' he was glad of the news, yet he thought*

trem frequentibus literis, et vel utcunq; meritæ, quicquid unquam dono dediſſet, concedere. Tranſacto autem tribunitiæ poteſtatis tempore, confeſſus tandem nihil aliud ſeceſſu devitaſſe ſe quam æmulationis cum Cajo Lucioq; ſuſpicionem, petit ut ſibi ſecuro jam ab hac parte, corroboratis his, et ſecundum locum facile tutantibus, permitteretur reviſere neceſſitudines, quarum deſiderio teneretur. Sed neq; impetravit; ultroq; etiam admonitus eſt, dimitteret omnem curam ſuorum, quos tam cupide reliquiſſet.

12. Remanſit ergo Rhodi contra voluntatem: vix per matrem conſecutus ut ad velandam ignominiam, quaſi legatus ab Auguſto abeſſet. Enimvero tunc non privatum modo, ſed etiam obnoxium, et trepidum egit, mediterraneis agris abditus, vitanſq; præternavigantium officia, quibus frequentabatur aſſidue: nemine cum imperio, aut magiſtratu tendente quoquam, quin diverteret Rhodum. Et acceſſerunt majoris ſolicitudinis cauſæ. Namq; privignum Cajum, Orienti præpoſitum, cum viſendi gratia trajeciſſet Samum, alieniorem ſibi ſenſit ex criminationibus M. Lollii comitis et rectoris ejus. Venit etiam in ſuſpicionem per quoſdam beneficii ſui centuriones, a commeatu caſtra repetentes mandata ad complures dediſſe ambigua et quæ tentare ſingulorum animos ad novas res viderentur. De qua ſuſpicione certior ab Auguſto factus, non ceſſavit efflagitare aliquem, cujuſlibet ordinis, cuſtodem factis atq; dictis ſuis.

13. Equi quoq; et armorum ſolitas exercitationes omiſit: re-

it concerned him in point of decency, to interpoſe in her behalf, by frequent letters to Auguſtus, and to allow her the preſents he had made her, how ill ſoever ſhe had deſerved at his hands. When the time of his Tribunitian authority was expired, declaring at laſt that he had aimed at nothing elſe in his retirement, than only to decline all ſuſpicion of a rivalry with Caius and Lucius, he petitioned, that ſince he was now ſecure in that reſpect, by reaſon they were arrived at full manhood, and would eaſily maintain themſelves in the poſſeſſion of the ſecond poſt of the empire, he might be permitted to viſit his friends, whom he was very deſirous to ſee. But he could not prevail, and was bid to lay aſide all concern for his relations, whom he had been ſo paſſionately fond of leaving.

12. *Wherefore he continued at Rhodes much againſt his will, obtaining with much ado by his mother the title of Auguſtus's lieutenant, to conceal his diſgrace. But now he lived not only as a private perſon, but in great danger and perplexity, retiring up into the country, and avoiding the viſits of thoſe that ſailed that way, which were very frequent; for no one paſſed for the command of an army or government of a province in thoſe part, without putting in at Rhodes. But there were ſome other things that ſtill gave him greater diſturbances; for paſſing over into Samos to pay a viſit to his ſtep-ſon Caius, that had been made a governor of the Eaſt, he found his mind had been ſoured againſt him by the ugly inſinuations of M. Lollius his companion and governor. He likewiſe fell under a ſuſpicion of ſending by ſome captains of his own advancing, upon their return to the camp, after a furlow, dark kind of meſſages to ſeveral gentlemen there, as if deſigned to diſcover how they ſtood diſpoſed to a rebellion. With which jealouſy of him being made acquainted by Auguſtus, he begged inceſſantly, that ſomebody of any of the three orders, might be placed as a ſpy upon him in every thing he ſaid or did.*

13. *He laid aſide too his uſual exerciſes of riding and arms; and quitting the*

degitq;

degitq; se, deposito patrio habitu, ad pallium, et crepidas: atq; in tali statu biennio fere permansit, contemptior in dies, et invisior: adeo ut imagines ejus et statuas Nemausenses subverterint: ac familiari quodam convivio mentione ejus orta, exstiterit qui Cajo polliceretur, *Confestim se, si juberet, Rhodum navigaturum, caputque exsulis*, sic enim appellabatur, *relaturum*. Quo præcipue, non jam metu sed discrimine coactus est tam suis quam matris impensissimis precibus reditum expostulare: impetravitque, adjutus aliquantum etiam casu. Destinatum Augusto erat, nihil super ea re, nisi ex voluntate majoris filii, statuere. Is forte tunc M. Lollio offensior, facilis exorabilisq; in vitricum fuit. Permittente ergo Cajo, revocatus est: verum sub conditione, ne quam partem curamve reipublicæ attingeret.

14. Rediit octavo post secessum anno, magna, nec incerta spe futurorum, quam et ostentis, et prædictionibus ab initio ætatis conceperat. Prægnans enim Livia, cum an marem editura esset, variis captaret ominibus, ovum incubanti gallinæ subductum, nunc sua, nunc ministrarum manu, per vices usq; eo fovit, quoad pullus insigniter cristatus exclusus est. Ac de infante Scribonius mathematicus præclara spospondit, *etiam regnaturum quandoque sed sine regio insigni*: ignota scilicet tunc adhuc Cæsarum potestate. Et ingresso primam expeditionem, ac per Macedoniam ducente exercitum in Syriam, accidit, ut apud Philippos sacratæ olim victricium legionum aræ, sponte subitis collucerent ignibus: et mox cum Illyricum

Roman dress, made use of the pallium and crepida; and continued almost two years in this condition, every day more contemptible and odious; insomuch that the Nemausenſians pulled down all the images and statues of him in their town; and upon mention made of him at Caius's table, some of the company offered Caius, To go over to Rhodes, if he pleased, and bring him the exile's head, *for that was the name he went by. Being alarmed upon this no longer with bare surmises and apprehensions, but the visible face of danger, he begged again for leave to return, with the most earnest supplications that he and his mother both could make use of, and prevailed, being somewhat helped in the matter by an accident. Augustus was resolved to determine nothing in the affair, but with the consent of his elder son. He at that time was out of humour with M. Lollius, and for that reason was easily wrought to a compliance in favour of his father-in-law; and accordingly upon his permission, he was recalled, but upon condition that he should not meddle in the administration at all.*

14. *He came home in the 8th year of his retirement, with great and certain hopes of his future rise, which from his youth he had conceived by various prodigies and predictions. For Livia when with child of him, being desirous to discover by various ways of divination, whether she was with a son, amongst the rest, took an egg from a hen that was sitting, and kept it warm with her own hands, and her maids by turns, until a fine cock chicken with a large comb was hatched. And Scribonius the astrologer promised mighty things of him, when he was but a child*; and that he would come in time to be a king too, but without the usual badge of royal dignity; *the dignity of the Cæsars being as yet unknown to the world. And as he was going upon his first expedition, and leading his army through Macedonia for Syria, the altars that had been consecrated at Philippi by the victorious legions blazed out of themselves all on a sudden with fire. And soon after, as he was marching to Illy-*

petens, juxta Patavium adisset Geryonis oraculum, sorte tracta, qua monebatur ut de consultationibus in Aponi fontem talos aureos jaceret: evenit ut summum numerum jacti ab eo ostenderent: hodieq; sub aqua visuntur ii tali. Ante paucos vero quam revocaretur dies, aquila, nunquam antea Rhodi conspecta, in culmine domus ejus assedit: et pridie quam de reditu certior fieret, vestimenta mutanti, tunica ardere visa est. Thrasyllum quoq; mathematicum, quem ut sapientiæ professorum contubernio admoverat, tunc maxime expertus est, affirmantem nave prævisa gaudium afferri, cum quidem illum, durius, et contra prædicta cadentibus rebus, ut falsum et secretorum temere conscium, eo ipso momento dum spatiatur una, præcipitare in mare destinasset.

ricum, he called to consult the oracle of Geryon at Patavium, and having drawn a lot by which he was ordered to throw golden tali into the fountain of Aponus, for the satisfaction of his queries, he did so, and the highest numbers came up; and those very tali are to be seen to this day at the bottom of the spring. A few days before his return, an eagle, a bird never seen before at Rhodes, sat all day long upon his house-top. And the day before he received advice of the liberty given him to come home, as he was changing his cloaths, his tunick appeared to be all on fire. He then had a notable experiment of the art of Thrasylus the astrologer, whom for his skill in philosophy he had taken into his family; for upon sight of the ship that brought the advice, he said good news was coming, whereas all things going wrong before, and quite contrary to his predictions, he had designed that very moment to toss him into the sea, as they were walking together, for a cheat, and one he had too hastily trusted with his secrets.

15. Romam reversus, deducto in forum filio Druso, statim e Carinis ac Pompejana domo, Esquilias in hortos Mæcenatianos transmigravit: totumq; se ad quietem contulit, privata modo officia obiens, ac publicorum munerum expers. Cajo et Lucio intra triennium defunctis, adoptatur ab Augusto simul cum fratre eorum M. Agrippa: coactus prius ipse Germanicum fratris sui filium adoptare. Nec quidquam postea pro patrefamilias egit: aut jus quod adoptione amiserat, ex ulla parte retinuit. Nam neq; donavit, neq; manumisit: nec hereditatem quidem, aut legata percepit ulla aliter, quam ut peculio referret accepta: nihil ex eo tempore prætermissum est ad majestatem ejus augendam, ac multo magis postquam, Agrippa abdicato atq; sepulto, certum erat,

15. *Upon his return to Rome, having introduced his son Drusus into the forum, he immediately removed from Pompey's house in the Carinæ, to the gardens of Mæcenas in the Esquiliæ, and gave himself up entirely to his ease, performing only the common offices of civility in private life, without any preferment in the government at all. But Caius and Lucius being both carried off in three years time, he was adopted by Augustus, together with their brother Agrippa: being obliged in the first place to adopt Germanicus his brother's son. After this he never more pretended to act as master of a family, or retained in the least the rights he had lost by his adoption. For he neither disposed of any thing in the way of gift, nor manumitted a slave, nor so much as received any estate left him by will, or any legacy without reckoning it as part of his peculium, or property allowed him by his father. From that day forward nothing was omitted, that might contribute to the advancement of his grandeur, and much more, when upon the discarding and banishing of*

erat, uni spem successionis incumbere.

16. Data rursus potestas tribunitia in quinquennium: delegatus pacandæ Germaniæ status: Parthorum legati, mandatis Augusto Romæ redditis, eum quoq; adire in provinciam jussi. Sed nuntiata Illyrici defectione, transiit ad curam novi belli: quod gravissimum omnium externorum bellorum post Punica. Per xv legiones, paremq; auxiliorum copiam, triennio gessit, in magnis omnium rerum difficultatibus summaq; frugum inopia. Et quamquam sæpius revocaretur tamen perseveravit; metuens ne vincinus et prævalens hostis instaret ultro cedentibus. Ac perseverantiæ grande pretium tulit: toto Illyrico, quod inter Italiam, regnumq; Noricum, et Thraciam et Macedoniam, interq; Danubium flumen, et sinum maris Adriatici patet, perdomito et in ditionem redacto.

17. Cui gloriæ amplior adhuc ex opportunitate cumulus accessit. Nam sub id fere tempus Quintilius Varus, cum tribus legionibus in Germania periit: nemine dubitante, quin victores Germani juncturi se Pannoniis fuerint, nisi debellatum prius Illyricum esset. Quas ob res triumphus ei decretus est, multiq; et magni honores. Censuerunt etiam quidam, ut *Pannonicus*, alii ut *Invictus*, nonnulli ut *Pius* cognominaretur. Sed de cognomine intercessit Augustus, eo contentum repromittens, quod se defuncto susceptorus esset. Triumphum ipse distulit, mœsta civitate clade Variana. Nihilo minus urbem prætextatus et laurea coronatus intravit: positumq; in Septis tribunal, senatu adstante conscen-

Agrippa, it was visible the hopes of the succession rested upon him alone.

16. *The Tribunitian authority was again conferred upon him for five years, and a commission given him to settle the state of Germany. The embassadors of the Parthians, after they had an audience of Augustus, were ordered to apply to him too in his province. But upon advice of a rising in Illyricum, he went over to look after the management of that new war, which proved the most dangerous of all the foreign wars, since the Carthaginian. This he managed for three years together, with fifteen legions and an equal number of auxiliary forces, under great difficulties, and a vast scarcity of corn. And though he was several times desired to come home, he nevertheless persisted, fearing lest so near and potent an enemy, should fall upon them in their retreat; which resolution was attended with good success, for he at last brought under a thorough subjection all Illyricum, lying betwixt Italy and the kingdom of Noricum, Thrace, Macedonia, the river Danube, and the Adriatick gulf.*

17. *Which glory of his received a great improvement from the juncture of time wherein this success had happened. For then it was that Quintilius Varus was cut off with three legions in Germany; and no body made any question, but the victorious Germans would have joined the Pannonians, had not the war of Illyricum been first brought to an end. Wherefore a triumph was decreed him, with many and great honours besides. For some were for having him called* Pannonicus, *others* Invincible, *others* Dutiful. *But with respect to the name Augustus interposed, engaging for him, that he would be well content with what he was like to leave him at his death. He put off his triumph, because the city was at that time under very great affliction, upon account of the loss of Varus and his army. Nevertheless he entered the city in a triumphal robe, and with a crown of laurel upon his head, and mounted a tribunal in the septa, whilst the senate gave their attendance standing,*

dit,

dit: ac medius inter duos COSS. cum Augusto simul sedit: unde, populo consalutato, circum templa deductus est.

18. Proximo anno repetita Germania, cum animadverteret, Varianam cladem temeritate et negligentia ducis accidisse, nihil non de consilii sententia egit: semper alias sui arbitrii, contentusq; se uno, tunc præter consuetudinem cum pluribus de ratione belli communicavit. Curam quoq; solito exactiorem præstitit. Trajecturus Rhenum, commeatum omnem ad certam formulam adstrictum non ante transmisit, quam consistens apud ripam explorasset vehiculorum onera: ne qua deportarentur, nisi concessa aut necessaria. Trans Rhenum vero eum vitæ ordinem tenuit, ut sedens in cespite nudo cibum caperet: sæpe sine tentorio pernoctaret: præcepta sequentis diei omnia, et si quid subiti muneris injungendum esset, per libellos daret: addita monitione, ut de quo quisq; dubitaret, se, nec alio interprete, quacumq; vel noctis hora uteretur.

19. Disciplinam acerrime exegit; animadversionum et ignominiarum generibus ex antiquitate repetitis: atq; etiam legato legionis, quod paucos milites cum liberto suo trans ripam venatum misisset, ignominia notato. Prælia, quam vis minimum fortunæ casibusq; permitteret, aliquanto constantius inibat quoties lucubrante se, subito ac nullo propellente, decideret lumen, et extingueretur: confidens, ut aiebat ostento, sibi ac majoribus suis in omni ducatu expertissimo. Sed re prospere gesta, non multum abfuit quin a Bructero quodam occideretur: cui inter proximos

and sat together with Augustus betwixt the two consuls; from whence, after he had paid his respects to the people, he was attended by them round the temples.

18. *The next year he went again for Germany, when finding that the unfortunate business of Varus had happened through the rashness and negligence of the commander, he did every thing by the advice of a council of war: whereas at other times he used to go upon his own judgment only, and thought himself alone sufficient for the conduct of his affairs. But then contrary to his custom, he advised with many about the management of the war. He likewise took more care than usual. Being to pass the Rhine, and having given particular order about provisions for the army, he would not suffer the waggons to go over, 'till he had searched them at the water-side, to see they carried nothing but what was allowed or necessary. Beyond the Rhine his way of living was very plain; he would eat sitting on the bare ground, oftentimes lie all night, without a tent; and his constant and daily orders, as well as those upon sudden occasions, he gave all in writing, with this injunction, that in case of doubt as to the meaning of them, they should apply to him for satisfaction, even at any hour of the night.*

19. *He kept the troops to very strict discipline, reviving a great many old customs, relating to the punishing and disgracing of offenders; and setting a mark of infamy upon a lieutenant-general, for sending a few soldiers with a freed-man of his, beyond the river a-hunting. Though he left as little as possible in the power of fortune or chance, yet he was always more inclinable than ordinary to engage the enemy, as oft as upon his reading by night, his lamp fell and went out of itself; confiding, as he said, in an omen that had been sufficiently tried by himself and his ancestors, in the command of armies. But after all his success in the war, he had like to have been slain by a Bructerian, who mixing with those about him, and being discovered by his trembling, was put to the torture, and confessed he had a design upon his life.*

ver-

versanti, et trepidatione detecto, tormentis expressa confessio est cogitati facinoris.

20. A Germania in urbem post biennium regressus, triumphum, quem distulerat, egit, prosequentibus etiam legatis, quibus triumphalia ornamenta impetravit. Ac prius quam in Capitolium flecteret, descendit e curru, seq; præsidenti patri ad genua submisit. Batonem Pannonium ducem ingentibus donatum præmiis, Ravennam transtulit: gratiam referens, quod se quondam cum exercitu iniquitate loci circumclusum, passus esset evadere. Prandium dein populo mille mensis, et congiarium tricenos nummos viritim dedit. Dedicavit et Concordiæ ædem: item Pollucis et Castoris, suo fratrisque nomine de manubiis.

21. Ac non multo post lege per COSS. lata, ut provincias cum Augusto communiter administraret, simulq; censum ageret, condito lustro in Illyricum profectus est. Et statim ex itinere revocatus, jam quidem affectum, sed tamen spirantem adhuc Augustum reperit: fuitq; una secreto per totum diem. Scio vulgo persuasum, quasi egresso post secretum sermonem Tiberio: vox Augusti per cubicularios excepta sit: *Miserum populum Romanum, qui sub tam lentis maxillis erit.* Nec illud quidem ignoro, aliquos tradidisse, Augustum palam nec dissimulanter morum ejus diritatem adeo improbasse, ut nonnunquam remissiores hilariosq; sermones superveniente eo abrumperet: sed expugnatum precibus uxoris adoptionem non abnuisse: vel etiam ambitione tractum ut tali successore desiderabilior ipse quandoq; fieret. Adduci tamen nequeo quin existi-

20. *After two years, he returned from Germany to town again, and celebrated the triumph he had deferred, attended by his lieutenant-generals, for whom he had obtained the honour of triumphal ornaments. And before he turned up to the capitol, alighted from his chariot, and threw himself at his father's feet, who sat by to superintend the solemnity. Bato the Pannonian general he sent loaded with rich presents to Ravenna, in gratitude for his having suffered him and his army to march off, from a place where he had so enclosed them, that they were entirely at his mercy. After this he gave the people a dinner at a thousand tables, and besides that, thirty sesterces a man. He likewise dedicated the temple of concord; as also that of Castor and Pollux, which had been raised out of the spoils of the war, in his own and his brother's name.*

21. *And a law being not long after preferred and passed by the consuls for his being joined with Augustus in the administration of the provinces, as also to take the census with him, upon the conclusion of that affair, he went into Illyricum. But being immediately fetched back, whilst he was yet on his journey, he found Augustus alive indeed, but almost gone, and was with him in private a whole day. I know it is the common belief, that upon Tiberius's quitting the room, after their private conference, Augustus was over-heard, by those in waiting about him, to say,* Ah! unhappy Roman people, that are like to be in the jaws of such a slow-grinding beast. *Nor am I ignorant that some have pretended to say, that Augustus did so openly and undisguisedly disapproved of the sowerness of his temper, that sometimes upon his coming in, he would break off any jocular merry conversation he was engaged in; and that he was only prevailed upon by the importunity of his lady to adopt him; or moved by an ambitious view of recommending his own memory from a comparison with such a successor. Yet I cannot but think that so very circumspect and wise a prince, especially in*

mem,

mem, circumspectissimum et prudentissimum principem, in tanto præsertim negotio, nihil temere fecisse: sed vitiis virtutibusq; Tiberii perpensis, potiores duxisse virtutes: præsertim cum et *reip. causa adoptare se eum* pro concione juraverit: et epistolis aliquot, ut peritissimum rei militaris, utq; unicum populi Romani præsidium prosequatur. Ex quibus in exemplum pauca hinc inde subjeci. *Vale jucundissime Tiberi, et rem gere feliciter, ἐμοὶ καὶ ταῖς Μούσαις στρατηγῶν, Jucundissime, et ita sim felix vir fortissime, et dux νομιμώτατε, Vale. Et ordinem æstivorum tuorum? Ego vero, mi Tiberi, et inter tot rerum difficultates, καὶ τοσαύτην ῥᾳθυμίαν δεῖ στρατιωτῶν non potuisse quemquam prudentius gerere se, quam tu gesseris, existimo. Hi quoq; qui tecum fuerent omnes, confitentur versum illum in te posse dici.*

an affair of such great importance, did nothing rashly; but upon weighing the vices and virtues of Tiberius, judged the latter to over-balance the former, especially since he swore publickly in an assembly of the people, That he adopted him for the publick good. *And in several of his letters extols him as a complete general, and the only security of the Roman people: out of which I have subjoined some few things by way of example.* Farewel, my dear Tiberius, and may success attend you, whilst you command for me and the muses. Farewel my most dear, and (let me prosper according to my sincerity) most gallant man, and accomplished general. *And again,* The disposition of your summer-quarters? Indeed my friend, I do not think that amidst so many difficulties, and with an army so little disposed for action, any one could have behaved more prudently than you have done: All those that were with you confess that verse applicable to you.

Unus homo nobis vigilando restituit rem.
This man by vigilance restored the state.

Sive, inquit, *quid incidit, de quo sit cogitandum diligentius, sive quid stomachor, valde, medius fidius Tiberium meum desidero: succurito; versus ille Homericus,*

Whether, *says he,* any thing happens that requires more than ordinary consideration, or I am out of humour upon any occasion, I still, by Hercules, long for my dear Tiberius. And those lines of Homer frequently occur to my thoughts,

Τάτε δ' ἐπομβρίσαι καὶ ἐκ πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο
Ἄμφω νωλήσαμεν, ἐπεὶ πέρι οἶδε νοῆσαι.
Let but his prudence guard, and I desire
No more, to pass secure the rage of fire.

Attenuatum te esse continuatione laborum, cum audio et lego, Dii me perdant nisi cohorrescit corpus meum, teq; rogo ut parcas tibi: ne si te languere audierimus et ego et mater tua exspieremus, et de summa imperii sui populus Rom. periclitetur. Nihil interest valeam ipse nec ne, si tu non valebis. Deos

When I hear and read that you are much impaired by the continued fatigues you undergo, let me perish, if it does not set my whole body a trembling: and I beg of you to spare yourself, lest, if we should hear of your being ill, the news prove fatal to both me and your mother, and the Roman empire should be endangered. It matters nothing at all

obsecro

obsecro ut te nobis conservent, et valere nunc et semper patiantur, si non populum Romanum perosi sint.

22. Excessum Augusti non prius palam fecit quam Agrippa juvene interempto. Hunc tribunus militum custos appositus occidit, lectis codicillis quibus ut id faceret, jubebatur. Quos codicillos dubium fuit, Augustusne moriens reliquisset, quo matriam tumultus post se subduceret, an nomine Augusti Livia, et ea conscio Tiberio an ignaro, dictasset. Tiberius renuntianti tribuno factum esse quod imperasset, *Neq; imperasse se, et redditurum eum senatui rationem* respondit: invidiam scilicet in præsentia vitans. Nam mox silentio rem obliteravit.

23. Jure autem tribunitiæ potestatis coacto senatu, inchoataq; allocutione, derepente velut impar dolori congemuit: utq; non solum vox, sed et spiritus deficeret, optavit: ac perlegendum librum Druso filio tradidit. Illatum deinde Augusti testamentum, non admissis signatoribus nisi senatorii ordinis, cæteris extra curiam signa agnoscentibus, recitavit per libertum. Testamenti initium fuit, *Quoniam siniſtra fortuna Cajum et Lucium filios mihi eripuit, Tiberius Cæsar mihi ex parte dimidia et ex sextante heres esto.* Quo et ipso aucta est suspicio opinantium, successorem adscitum eum necessitate magis quam judicio: quando ita præfari non abstinuerit.

24. Principatum, quamvis neq; occupare confestim, neq; agere dubitasset: et statione militum, hoc est, vi et specie dominationis assumpta, diu tamen recusavit impudentissimo ani-

whether I be well or no, if you be not well. Pray heaven preserve you for us. and bless you with your health both now and ever, if the Gods have any regard for the Roman people.

22. *He did not make the death of Augustus publick, 'till he had taken off young Agrippa. He was slain by a tribune that commanded the guard about him, upon reading an order in writing for that purpose; which order, it was then a doubt, whether Augustus left behind him at his death, to prevent any occasion of publick disturbance after his decease, or Livia had issued it; and whether with the privity of Tiberius, or no. When the tribune came to acquaint him, that he had executed his command, he replied,* That he had commanded him no such thing, and that he must answer for it to the senate, *declining, as it seems, the odiousness of the fact for that time. For the matter was buried in silence.*

23. *Having summoned the senate to meet, by virtue of this Tribunitian authority, and begun a speech to them in relation to the state of the publick, he fetched a deep sigh, as if unable to support himself under his affliction: and wished that not only his voice but his breath too might fail him; and gave his speech to his son Drusus to read. Upon that Augustus's will was brought into the house, and read by a freedman; none of the witnesses to it being let in, but such as were of the senatorian order, the rest owning their hands without doors. The will begun thus,* Since my ill fortune has deprived me of my two sons Caius and Lucius, let Tiberius Cæsar be heir to two thirds of my estate. *Which words countenanced the suspicion of those that were of opinion, he was appointed his successor, more out of necessity than choice, since he could not forbear to preface his will in that manner.*

24. *Tho' he made no scruple to assume and exercise immediately the imperial authority, by obliging the guards to attend him, which were the security and badge of that authority; yet he pretended, by a most impudent piece of grimace, to refuse it for a*

no: nunc adhortantes amicos increpans, ut ignaros quanta bellua esset imperium: nunc precantem senatum, et procumbentem sibi ad genua, ambiguis responsis et callida cunctatione suspendens: ut quidam patientiam rumperent, atq; unus in tumultu proclamaret, *Aut agat, aut desistat:* alter coram exprobraret, *Cæteros quod polliciti sint, tarde præstare: sed ipsum quod præstet, tarde polliceri.* Tandem quasi coactus, et querens *miseram et onerosam injungi sibi servitutem*, recipit imperium: nec tamen aliter quam ut depositurum se quandoq; spem faceret. Ipsius verba sunt hæc: *Dum veniam ad id tempus quo vobis æquum possit videri, dare vos aliquam senectuti meæ requiem.*

25. Cunctandi causa erat, metus undiq; imminentium discriminum: ut sæpe *lupum se auribus tenere* diceret. Nam et servus Agrippæ, Clemens nomine, non contemnendam manum in ultionem domini compararat: et L. Scribonius Libo vir nobilis res novas clam moliebatur: et duplex seditio militum in illyrico et in Germania exorta est. Flagitabant ambo exercitus multa extra ordinem: ante omnia ut æquarentur stipendio prætorianis. Germaniciani quidem etiam principem detractabant non a se datum: summaq; vi Germanicum, qui tum iis præerat, ad capessendam rempublicam perurgebant, quanquam obfirmare resistentem. Quem maxime casum timens, partes sibi, quas senatui liberet, tuendas in rep. depoposcit: quando universæ sufficere solus nemo posset, nisi cum altero, vel etiam cum plu-

long time, one while sharply reprehending his friends that sollicited him to accept it, as little knowing what a monster the government was: another while keeping in suspence the senate, that requested the same of him, and threw themselves at his feet, by ambiguous answers, and a crafty kind of tergiversation, insomuch that some were out of patience; and one during the confusion of the house upon this occasion cried out, Either let him accept it, or decline it at once; *and another told him to his face,* That others were slow to perform what they promised, but he was slow to promise what he actually performed. *At last, as if he was perfectly forced to it, complaining of that miserable load of slavery, that was laid upon him, he did accept the government, but yet in such a manner, that he gave hopes of his laying it down again some time or other. The words he used upon that occasion were these:* Till the time shall come, that you may think it reasonable to give some rest to my old age.

25. *The occasion of his demurring so much upon the matter, was his fear of the dangers that threatened him on all hands; insomuch that he said* he had a wolf by the ears. *For a slave of Agrippa, by name Clemens, had drawn together a considerable force to revenge his master's death. And L. Scribonius Libo, a person of prime quality, was underhand attempting a rebellion; and besides, the troops both in Illyricum and Germany were all in an uproar. Both armies insisted upon very high demands, but especially that their pay should be made equal to that of the guards at Rome; and those in Germany utterly refused to own a prince that was not of their own chusing, and urged with all possible importunity Germanicus that commanded them, to take the government upon him, tho' he obstinately refused it. And it was his apprehensions from this quarter, that made him beg of the senate to assign him some part only in the administration, such as they should judge proper, since the whole no man can be sufficient for, without one or more to assist him. He pretended too to be much out of order, that Germanicus might the more patiently*

ribus.

ribus. Simulavit et valetudinem, quo æquiore animo Germanicus celerem succeſſionem, vel certe ſocietatem principatus, operiretur. Compoſitis ſeditionibus, Clementem quoq; fraude deceptum, redegit in poteſtatem: Libonem, ne quid in novitate acerbius fieret, ſecundo demum anno in ſenatu coarguit, medio temporis ſpatio tantum cavere contentus. Nam et inter pontifices ſacrificanti ſimul, pro ſeſeſpita plumbeum cultrum ſubjiciendum curavit: et ſecretum petenti nonniſi adhibito Druſo filio dedit: dextramque obambulantis, veluti incumbens, quoad perageretur ſermo, continuit.

26. Verum liberatus metu, civilem admodum inter initia ac paulo minus quam privatum egit. Ex plurimis maximiſq; honoribus, præter paucos et modicos non recepit. Natalem ſuum plebeis incurrentem Circenſibus, vix unius bigæ adjectione honorari paſſus eſt. Templa, flamines, ſacerdotes decerni ſibi prohibuit: etiam ſtatuas, atq; imagines, niſi permittente ſe poni: permiſitque, ea ſola conditione ne inter ſimulacra deorum, ſed inter ornamenta ædium ponerentur. Interceſſit et quo minus in acta ſua juraretur: et ne menſis September, Tiberius, October, Livius, vocarentur. Prænomen quoq; IMPERATORIS, cognomenque PATRIS PATRIÆ, et civicam in veſtibulo coronam recuſavit. Ac ne AUGUSTI quidem nomen, quamquam hereditarium, ullis niſi ad reges ac dynaſtas epiſtolis addidit. Nec amplius quam omnino tres conſulatus, unum paucis diebus, alterum tribus menſibus, tertium

wait in hopes of ſpeedily ſucceeding him, or however being taken into a ſhare of the government with him. After the mutinies in the armies were ſuppreſſed, he got likewiſe by a ſtratagem Clemens into his hands. And that he might not begin his reign by an act of ſeverity, he let Libo reſt 'till his ſecond year, and then called him to an account before the ſenate, being content in the mean while to take only proper precautions for his own ſecurity. For upon his attending a ſacrifice amongſt the high prieſts, inſtead of the uſual knife, he ordered one of lead to be given him: and when he deſired a private conference with him, he would not grant his requeſt, but upon the condition that his ſon Druſus ſhould be by; and he held him faſt by the right hand as they walked together, under pretence of leaning upon him, 'till the converſation was over.

26. *But when he was delivered from his apprehenſions, he behaved himſelf at firſt with a great deal of moderation, and not much above the level of a private gentleman: and of the many and great honours offered him, accepted but of few, and ſuch as were very moderate. His birthday, which happened to fall in the time of the Plebeian Circenſian games, with much ado he ſuffered to be honoured by the addition of a ſingle chariot, drawn with two horſes only. He forbade temples, flamens, or prieſts to be appointed for him, as alſo ſtatues and effigies to be erected for him, without his permiſſion: and that he granted only upon this condition, that they ſhould not be placed amongſt the images of the gods, but only amongſt the ornaments of houſes. He likewiſe interpoſed to prevent the ſenate's ſwearing to maintain his acts; and that the month of September ſhould not be called Tiberius, or October Livy. The prænomen too of imperator, as alſo the cognomen of father of his country, and a civick crown to hang conſtantly at the entrance of his houſe, he would not accept of. And never made uſe of the name of Auguſtus, tho' it was hereditary to him, in any of his letters, but thoſe to kings and princes. Nor had he any more than three conſulſhips, one for a few days,*

tium abſens uſq; in idus Maias geſſit.

27. Adulationes adeo averſatus eſt, ut neminem ſenatorum aut officii aut negotii cauſa ad lecticam ſuam admiſerit: conſularem vero ſatisfacientem ſibi, ac per genua orare conantem, ita ſuffugerit, ut caderet ſupinus: atq; etiam ſi quid in ſermone, vel in continua oratione blandius de ſe diceretur, non dubitaret interpellare, ac reprehendere, et commutare continuo. *Dominus* appellatus a quodam, denuntiavit ne ſe amplius contumeliæ cauſa nominaret. Alium dicentem, *ſacras ejus occupationes*; et rurſus alium, *auctore eo ſenatum ſe adiiſſe*, verba mutare, et pro *auctore ſuaſorem*; pro *ſacris laborioſas* dicere coegit.

28. Sed adverſus convitia maloſque rumores et famoſa de ſe ac ſuis carmina firmus ac patiens, ſubinde jactabat, *In civitate libera linguam mentemq; liberas eſſe debere.* Et quondam ſenatu cognitionem de ejuſmodi criminibus ac reis flagitante: *Non tantum*, inquit, *otii habemus ut implicare nos pluribus negotiis debeamus. Si hanc feneſtram aparueritis, nihil aliud agi ſinetis: omnium inimicitiæ hoc prætextu ad vos deferentur.* Extat et ſermo ejus in ſenatu percivilis: *Siquidem locutus aliter fuerit, dabo operam ut rationem factorum meorum dictorumq; reddam; ſi perſeveraverit, invicem eum odero.*

29. Atq; hæc eo notabiliora erant, quod ipſe in appellandis venerandiſq; ſingulis, et univerſis, prope exceſſerat humanitatis modum. Diſſentiens in curia a Q. Haterio, *Ignoſcas*, inquit, *rogo, ſi quid adverſus te*

another for three months, and a third in his abſence from the city, 'till the ides of May.

27. *He had ſuch an averſion to flattery, that he would never ſuffer any ſenator to approach his chair, as he paſſed the ſtreets in it, either to pay him a civility, or upon buſineſs. And when a conſular gentleman, in begging his pardon for ſome offence he had given, attempted to fall at his knees, he made from him in ſuch a hurry, that he fell flat on his back. And if any complement was made him, either in converſation, or a ſet ſpeech, he would not ſcruple to interrupt and chide the party, and alter what he ſaid. Being once called* Lord *by ſome body, he deſired he would affront him no more in that manner. And when others called* his occupation ſacred, *and another had expreſſed himſelf thus,* that by his authority he had waited upon the ſenate, *he obliged them to alter the words, and the one to uſe inſtead of* authority, perſuaſion, *and the other for* ſacred, laborious.

28. *He remained unmoved at all the aſperſions, ſcandalous reports, and lampoons that were ſpread againſt him or his relations; and would now and then ſay,* that in a free ſtate, both tongue and mind ought to be free. *And upon the ſenate's deſiring ſome notice might be taken of ſuch crimes, and thoſe that were charged with them.* We have not, *ſays he,* ſo much time upon our hands, that we ought to engage in more buſineſs. If you once open a gap for things of this nature you will ſoon have nothing elſe to do. All private quarrels will be brought before you under this pretence. *There goes likewiſe a ſaying of his in the ſenate, very far from being any ways aſſuming.* If, *ſays he,* he talks any other ways of me, I ſhall take care to behave in ſuch a manner, as to be able to give a good account both of my words and actions; and if he goes on, I ſhall hate him in my turn.

29. *And theſe things were ſo much the more remarkable in him, becauſe in the reſpect he paid either to ſingle perſons, or the whole body of the ſenate, he went beyond all bounds. Upon his differing with Q. Haterius in the houſe,* Pardon me, Sir, *ſays he,* I beſeech you, if I ſhall as a ſenator ſpeak

liberius,

liberius, ſicut ſenator, dixero. Et inde omnes alloquens, *Dixi et nunc et ſæpe alias P. C. bonum & ſalutarem principem, quem vos tanta et tam libera poteſtate inſtruxiſtis, ſenatui ſervire debere & univerſis civibus ſæpe, & plerumque etiam ſingulis: neque id dixiſſe me pœnitet, & bonos & æquos & faventes vos habui dominos, & adhuc habeo.*

my mind very freely in oppoſition to you. *And after that addreſſing to the whole houſe, he expreſſed himſelf thus,* I have often ſaid it both now and at other times, O fathers of the ſenate, that a good prince who has a regard to the welfare of the people, whom you have inveſted with ſo large and abſolute a power, ought to be a perfect ſlave to the ſenate, to the whole body of the people, and often to ſingle perſons too: nor am I ſorry, I have ſaid it, I have always found you good, kind, and favourable maſters, and ſtill find you ſo.

30. Quin etiam ſpeciem libertatis quandam induxit, conſervatis ſenatui ac magiſtratibus et majeſtate priſtina et poteſtate: neque tam parvum quidquam, neq; tam magnum publici privatiq; negotii fuit, de quo non ad P. C. referretur. De vectigalibus ac monopoliis, de extruendis reficiendiſve operibus, etiam de legendo vel exauctorando milite, ac legionum et auxiliorum deſcriptione; deniq; quibus imperium prorogari, aut extraordinaria bella mandari, quid et qua forma regum litteris reſcribi placeret. Præfectum alæ, de vi et rapinis reum, cauſam in ſenatu dicere coegit. Nunquam curiam niſi ſolus intravit: lectica quondam introlatus æger, comites a ſe removit.

30. *He likewiſe introduced an appearance of liberty, by preſerving to the ſenate and magiſtrates their former majeſty and power. And all affairs, whether great or ſmall, publick or private, were laid before the ſenate; as the taxes, monopolies, the buſineſs of raiſing or repairing publick buildings, the levying and diſbanding of ſoldiers, the diſpoſal of the legions and auxiliary forces in the provinces, the appointment of generals for the management of extraordinary wars, the anſwering of letters from foreign princes, were all left to the ſenate. He obliged a commander of horſe, charged with rapine and extortion, to anſwer to the ſaid charge before the ſenate. He never entered the houſe but alone; and being once brought thither in a chair, becauſe he was indiſpoſed, he diſmiſſed his attendants at the door.*

31. Quædam adverſus ſententiam ſuam decerni, ne queſtus quidem eſt. Negante eo, deſtinatos magiſtratus abeſſe oportere, ut præſentes honori acquieſcerent, prætor deſignatus liberam legationem impetravit. Iterum cenſente ut Trebianis legatam in opus novi theatri pecuniam ad munitionem viæ transferre concederetur, obtinere non potuit quin rata voluntas legatoris eſſet. Cum ſenatuſconſultam per diſceſſionem forte fieret, tranſeuntem eum in alteram partem, in qua

31. *When ſome things were carried againſt his advice, he did not ſo much as complain of it. And tho' he gave it as his opinion, that no magiſtrates after their election ſhould be ſuffered to abſent from the city, but reſide conſtantly there, to enjoy the honour they had obtained, a pretor elect procured liberty to leave the town, under the honorary title of a free lieutenant. And again when he propoſed to the houſe, that the Trebians might have leave allowed them, to employ ſome money that had been left them by a will, for the raiſing of a new theatre, in the making of a cauſeway, he could not prevail to have the intention of the teſtator ſet aſide. And when upon a diviſion of the*

pau-

pauciores erant, secutus est nemo. Cætera quoq; nonnisi per magistratus et jure ordinario agebantur: tanta COSS. auctoritate, ut legati ex Africa adierint eos, querentes trahi se a Cæsare, ad quem missi forent. Nec mirum, cum palam esset ipsum quoque eisdem assurgere et decedere via.

32. Corripuit consulares exercitibus præpositos, quod non de rebus gestis senatui scriberent: quodq; de tribuendis quibusdam militaribus donis ad se referrent: quasi non omnium tribuendorum ipsi jus haberent. Prætorem collaudavit, quod honore inito, consuetudinem antiquam retulisset de majoribus suis pro concione memorandi. Quorundam illustrium exsequias usque ad rogum frequentavit: Parem moderationem minoribus quoq; et personis et rebus exhibuit. Cum Rhodiorum magistratus, quod literas publicas sine subscriptione ad se dederant, evocasset, ne verbo quidem insectatus, ac tantummodo jussos subscribere, remisit. Diogenes grammaticus disputare sabbatis Rhodi solitus, venientem, ut se extra ordinem audiret non admiserat, ac per servulum suum in septimum diem distulerat. Hunc Romæ salutandi sui causa pro foribus adstantem, nihil amplius quam ut post septimum annum rediret, admonuit. Præsidibus onerandas tributo provincias suadentibus rescripsit, *Boni pastoris esse tondere pecus, non deglubere.*

33. Paulatim principem exercuit, præstitit que: etsi varium diu, commodiorem tamen sæpius, et ad utilitates publicas proniorem. Ac primo eatenus inter veniebat ne quid perperam fieret.

house he went over to the lesser party, no body followed him. All other things too were transacted by the magistrates, and in the usual forms: the authority of the consuls being so great, that some embassadors from Africa waited upon them with a complaint, that they could not have their business dispatched by Cæsar, to whom they had been sent. And no wonder, since it was observed, that he used to rise up to them, and give them the way.

32. *He reprimanded the consular gentlemen at the head of the several armies, for not writing to the senate an account of their transactions, and for consulting him about the conferring of some military presents; as if they had not a right to grant them all themselves. He commended a pretor, that upon entering on his office revived an old custom of celebrating the memory of his ancestors, in a speech to the people. He attended the corpse of some persons of distinction to the funeral pile. He shewed the like moderation too with regard to persons and things of inferior consideration. He sent for the magistrates of Rhodes, who had dispatched a publick letter to him, without subscribing it, as usual, and without giving them so much as one harsh word, ordered them to subscribe it, and dismissed them. Diogenes the grammarian that used to read lectures at Rhodes every Saturday, had once refused him admittance upon his coming to hear him out of course, and ordered him by a servant to come again seven days after. This same person coming to Rome, and waiting at his door for admission to pay his respects to him, he sent him word to come again at the seven years' end. To some governors of provinces, that advised him to load them with taxes, he writ word again,* That it was the part of a good shepherd to shear, and not to flea his sheep.

33. *By degrees he assumed the exercise of the sovereignty, but for a long time, with great variety of conduct, tho' generally with a due regard to the publick good. At first he only interposed to prevent ill management. Accordingly he set aside some establishmen t*

fieret. Itaq; et constitutiones quasdam senatus rescidit: et magistratibus pro tribunali cognoscentibus plerumq; se offerebat consiliarium, assidebatq; mistim, vel ex adverso in parte primori: et si quem reorum elabi gratia rumor esset, subitus aderat: judicesq; aut e plano, aut e quæsitoris tribunali, legum et religionis, et noxæ de qua cognoscerent, admonebat: atque etiam si qua in publicis moribus desidia aut mala consuetudine labarent, corrigenda suscepit.

34. Ludorum ac munerum impensas corripuit: mercedibus scenicorum resciſſis, paribusque gladiatorum ad certum numerum redactis. Corinthiorum vasorum pretia in immensum exarsisse, tresq; mullos xxx millibus nummum venisse, graviter conquestus, adhibendum supellectili modum censuit, annonamq; macelli senatus arbitratu, quotannis temperandam: dato ædilibus negotio, popinas ganeasque usq; eo inhibendi, ut ne opera quidem pistoria proponi venalia sinerent. Et ut parcimoniam publicam exemplo quoq; juvaret, sollennibus ipse cænis pridiana sæpe ac semesa obsonia apposuit, dimidiatumq; aprum, affirmans, *Omnia eadem habere quæ totum.* Quotidiana oscula prohibuit edicto; item strenarum commercium, ne ultra Kalendas Januarias exerceretur. Consueverat et quadruplam strenam et de manu reddere: sed offensus interpellari se toto mense ab iis qui potestatem sui die festo non habuissent, ultra non reddidit.

of the senate; and when the magistrates sat for the administration of justice, he would offer his service as an assessor, and sit among them, or in the opposite part of the court fronting them. And if it was rumoured that any person under prosecution was likely by his interest to come off clear, he would suddenly make his appearance in court, and from the ground-benches, or the pretor's seat, would remind the judges of the laws, their oath, and the nature of the crime brought before them. And he likewise undertook the correction of the publick manners, where any corruption therein had been introduced, by the prevalency of custom, or the magistrates neglect of their duty.

34. *He reduced the expence of the publick sports and diversions for the entertainment of the people, by lessening the allowance to stage players for their service, and abridging the number of gladiators upon those occasions. He made grievous complaint to the senate, that the price of Corinthian vessels was risen to a prodigious height, and that three barbels had been sold for thirty thousand sesterces, and thereupon moved the house for the enacting of a new sumptuary law: and that the shambles should be subjected to such regulations, as to the senate should appear proper; and the ædiles commissioned to restrain taverns and victualling houses, so far as not to suffer even the sale of bisket or cakes of any kind. And in order to encourage frugality in the publick by his own example, he would oftentimes at his entertainments upon solemn occasions have at his table victuals that had been served up the day before, and were half-eaten, and half a boar, affirming,* That it had all the same good bits as the whole had. *He forbade the daily use of the kiss in the way of civility by proclamation; as likewise the practice of presenting new-years gifts, after the first of January. He had been used to make a return of four times as much as he received in that way, and with his own hand; but being offended at the continual disturbance that was given him all the month long, by those that had not the opportunity of attending him upon the festival, he returned none after that day.*

35. Matronas prostratæ pudicitiæ, quibus accusator publi-

35. *He authorised the nearest relations to punish by concert among themselves, ac-*

cus

cus deesset, ut propinqui more majorum de communi sententia coercerent, auctor fuit. Equiti Romano jurisjurandi gratiam fecit, ut uxorem in stupro generi compertam dimitteret, quam se nunquam repudiaturum ante juraverat. Fœminæ famosæ, ut ad evitandas legum pœnas jure ac dignitate matronali exsolverentur, lenocinium profiteri cœperant: et ex juventute utriusq; ordinis profligatissimus quisque, quo minus in opera scenæ arenæq; edenda senatus consulto tenerentur, famosi judicii notam sponte subibant: eos easq; omnes, ne quod refugium in tali fraude cuiquam esset, exsilio affecit. Senatori latum clavum ademit, cum cognovisset sub Kal. Julii demigrasse in hortos, quo vilius post diem ædes in urbe conduceret. Alium et quæstura removit, quod uxorem pridie sortitionem ductam postridie repudiasset.

cording to ancient custom, married women guilty of adultery, where none appeared to prosecute them publickly. He discharged a Roman knight from the obligation of an oath he had taken, never to turn away his wife; and allowed him to divorce her, upon a discovery of her being guilty of adultery with her son-in-law. Scandalous women had now begun a practice, of professing themselves prostitutes; thus divesting themselves of the rights and dignity of matrons, in order to avoid the lash of the law. And the most profligate young fellows of the senatorian and equestrian order, to secure themselves against a decree of the senate, prohibiting their acting upon the stage, or fighting as gladiators in the theatre, voluntarily brought themselves under an infamous sentence, by which they were degraded. All these he banished, that none for the future might by the use of such tricks find any security against the force and design of the law. He took from a senator the laticlavian tunick, upon information, that he had before the Kalends of July removed into his gardens, in order to hire a house cheaper in the city after. He likewise turned another out of the office of quæstor, for divorcing, the day after his province had been assigned him by lot, a wife, whom he had married but the day before.

36. Externas ceremonias, Ægyptios Judaicosq; ritus compescuit: coactis qui superstitione ea tenebantur, religiosas vestes cum instrumento omni comburere. Judæorum juventutem, per speciem sacramenti, in provincias gravioris cæli distribuit: reliquos gentis ejusdem, vel similia sectantes, urbe submovit, sub pœna perpetuæ servitutis, nisi obtemperassent. Expulit et mathematicos: sed deprecantibus, ac se artem desituros promittentibus, veniam dedit.

36. *He suppressed all foreign religions, the Egyptian and Jewish rights of worship, obliging all such as were engaged in that kind of superstition, to burn their holy vestments, and all their religious furniture. The Jews he disposed of, under pretence of their serving in the wars, in provinces of an unhealthful air; and banished from the city all of the rest of that nation, or proselytes to that religion, under a penalty of being condemned to slavery for life, if they did not comply with his orders. He likewise banished the astrologers; but upon their begging pardon, and promising to quit their profession, he forgave them.*

37. In primis tuendæ pacis a grassaturis ac latrociniis seditionumq; licentia curam habuit. Stationes militum per Italiam solito frequentiores disposuit. Romæ castra constituit, quibus Prætorianæ cohortes, vagæ ante

37. *But above all things he was careful to secure the publick quiet against the attempts of cut-throats, robbers, and such as were disaffected to the government; for which purpose he posted up and down Italy more guards of soldiers, than had been usual; and formed a camp at Rome for the preto-*

id

id tempus, et per hospitia dispersæ, continerentur. Populares tumultus exortos gravissime coercuit: et ne orirentur sedulo cavit. Cæde in theatro per discordiam admissa, capita factionum et histriones, propter quos dissidebatur, relegavit: nec ut revocaret, unquam ullis populi precibus potuit evinci. Cum Pollentina plebs funus cujusdam primpilaris non prius ex foro misisset, quam extorta pecunia per vim hæredibus ad gladiatorium munus: cohortem ab urbe, et aliam a Cotii regno, dissimulata itineris causa, detectis repente armis, concinentibusque signis, per diversas portas in oppidum immisit: ac partem majorem plebis ac decurionum in perpetua vincula conjecit. Abolevit et jus moremq; asylorum, quæ usquam erant. Cyzicenis in cives Romanos violentius quædam ausis, publice libertatem ademit, quam Mithridatico bello meruerant. Hostiles motus, nulla postea expeditione susceptа, per legatos compescuit: nec per eos quidem, nisi cunctanter et necessario. Reges infestos suspectosque comminationibus magis et querelis quam vi repressit. Quosdam per blanditias atq; promissa extractos ad se non remisit: ut Maraboduum Germanum, Thrascypolim Thracem, Archelaum Cappadocem, cujus etiam regnum in formam provinciæ redegit.

rian battalions, who 'till then had been disposed of in seperate quarters here and there in the town. He suppressed with great severity all popular tumults in the first rise, and took all possible care to prevent them. And some people being killed in a quarrel that happened in the theatre, he banished the leaders of the parties, and the players, upon whose account the scuffle had happened. Nor could he ever be prevailed upon by any entreaties of the people to recal them. The commonalty of Polentia having refused to let the corpse of a centurion of the first rank stir out of the forum, 'till they had extorted from his heirs a sum of money, for a publick show of gladiators, he sent upon them a battalion from the city, and another from the kingdom of Cotius; who concealing the occasion of their march, entered the town by different gates, with their arms all on a sudden uncovered, and trumpets sounding; by whom the greatest part of the common people and members of the council of state, being seized, he imprisoned them for life. He would not allow of any places of refuge any where. The Cyzicenians for an outrage committed upon some Romans, he deprived of the liberty they had procured by their good services in the Mithridatick war. Disturbances from foreign enemies he quelled by his lieutenants, without ever giving himself the trouble of an expedition upon that score: nor would he even employ his lieutenants, but with a great deal of backwardness, and only when he was forced to it by necessity. Princes that were ill affected towards him, he kept quiet, more by his threats and complaints, than by the force of arms. And some that he wheedled to him by fair words and promises, he would never let go again, as Maraboduus the German, Thrascypolis the Thracian; Archelaus the Cappadocian, whose kingdom too he reduced into the form of a province.

38. Biennio continuo post adeptum imperium, pedem porta non extulit: sequenti tempore, præterquam in propinqua oppida, et cum longissime, Antio tenus, nusquam abfuit: idq; perraro et paucos dies, quamvis provincias quoq; et exercitus re-

38. *He never set foot out of the gates of Rome, for two years together, after he came to be emperor; and after that never went further from the city, than to some neighbouring towns; and when furthest, only as far as Antium, and that but very seldom, and for a few days; altho' he oftentimes gave out, that he would visit the provinces*

visurum se sæpe pronuntiasset: et prope quotannis profectionem præpararet: vehiculis comprehensis, commeatibus per municipia et colonias dispositis. Ad extremum vota pro itu et reditu suo suscipi passus, ut vulgo jam per jocum *Callipides* vocaretur: quem cursitare ac ne cubiti quidem mensuram progredi, proverbio Græco notatum est.

and armies, and made preparations for it almost every year, by taking up carriages, and ordering provisions for it in the municipia and colonies. At last he suffered vows to be put up for his good journey and safe return, insomuch that he was now commonly called in a merry way Callipedes, *who is famous in a Grecian proverb, for being in a great hurry, but without advancing a cubit.*

39. Sed orbatus utroq; filio, quorum Germanicus in Syria, Drusus Romæ obierat, secessum Campaniæ petiit: constanti et opinione et sermone pæne omnium, quasi neq; rediturus unquam, et cito mortem etiam obiturus: quod paulo minus utrumq; evenit. Nam neq; Romam amplius rediit: sed et paucos post dies juxta Terracinam in prætorio, cui speluncæ nomen erat, incœnante eo, complura et ingentia saxa fortuito superne delapsa sunt: multisque convivarum et ministrorum elisis, præter spem evasit.

39. *But after the loss of his two sons, of which Germanicus died in Syria, and Drusus at Rome, he withdrew into Campania; at which time it was the opinion, and talk too, of almost every body, that he would never come again, and would die soon. Both which things had like to have been true. For indeed he never more came to Rome; and a few days after, as he was at supper in a seat of his called the Cave nigh Terracina, a great many huge stones chanced to fall, that knocked several of the guests and attendants on the head; but he unexpectedly escaped.*

40. Peragrata Campania, cum Capuæ Capitolium, Nolæ templum Augusti, quam causam profectionis prætenderat dedicasset, Capreas se contulit: præcipue delectatus insula, quod uno parvoque littore adiretur, septa undiq; præruptis immensæ altitudinis rupibus, et profundo maris. Statimq; revocante assidua obtestatione populo propter cladem, qua apud Fidenas, supra xx hominum millia gladiatorio munere, amphitheatri ruina perierant, transiit in continentem, potestatemq; omnibus adeundi sui fecit: tanto magis quod ab urbe egrediens, ne quis se interpellaret, edixerat, ac toto itinere adeuntes submoverat.

40. *After he had gone round Campania, and dedicated a Capitol at Capua, and a temple to Augustus at Nola, he retired to Capreæ, being wonderfully taken with the island, because it was only accessible by a small shore, being on all sides else surrounded with craggy rocks, of a prodigious height, and a deep sea. But immediately the people of Rome being mighty clamorous for his return, because of a disaster at Fidenæ, where upwards of twenty thousand people, at a publick diversion of gladiators, had been destroyed by the fall of an amphitheatre, he came back upon the continent, and gave all people free access to him; and the rather, because at his departure from the city, he had by proclamation forbid any one to disturb him, and declined all company upon the road.*

41. Regressus in insulam, reip. quidem curam usq; adeo abjecit, ut postea non decurias equitum unquam supplerit: non

41. *Returning to the island, he so far laid aside all care of the government, that he never filled up the decuriæ of the knights, never changed any military tribunes, or*

tribunos

tribunos militum præfectosque, non provinciarum præsides ullos mutaverit: Hispaniam et Syriam per aliquot annos sine consularibus legatis habuerit: Armeniam a Parthis occupari, Mœsiam a Dacis Sarmatisque: Gallias a Germanis vastari neglexerit: magno dedecore imperii, nec minore discrimine.

commanders of horse, or governors of provinces, and kept Spain and Syria for several years without any consular lieutenants; and suffered Armenia to be seised by the Parthians, Mæsia by the Dacians and Sarmatians, and Gaul to be ravaged by the Germans, to the great disgrace and hazard of the empire.

42. Cæterum secreti licentiam nactus et quasi civitatis oculis remotus, cuncta simul vitia male diu dissimulata, tandem profudit: de quibus sigillatim ab exordio referam. In castris tiro etiam tum, propter nimiam vini aviditatem, pro Tiberio, *Biberius*; pro Claudio, *Caldius*; pro Nerone, *Mero* vocabatur. Postea princeps in ipsa publicorum morum correctione cum Pomponio Flacco et L. Pisone noctem continuumque biduum epulando potandoq; consumpsit: quorum alteri Syriam provinciam, alteri præfecturam urbis confestim detulit, codicillis quoq; *jucundissimos & omnium horarum amicos* professus. Sestio Gallo libidinoso ac prodigo seni, olim ab Augusto ignominia notato, et a se ante paucos dies apud senatum increpito, cœnam ea lege condixit, ne quid ex consuetudine immutaret aut demeret: utq; nudis puellis ministrantibus cœnaretur. Ignotissimum quæsturæ candidatum nobilissimis antepositum, ob epotam in convivio propinante se, vini amphoram. Asellio Sabino H. S. ducenta donavit pro dialogo, in quo boleti, et ficedulæ, et ostreæ, et turdi certamen induxerat. Novum deniq; officium instituit a voluptatibus, præposito equite Rom. T. Cæsonio Prisco.

42. But having now the advantage of privacy, and being quite withdrawn from under the eye and observation of the city, he gave a loose to all the vicious inclinations, which he had smothered but very indifferently before: of which I shall here give a particular account in order. Whilst he was a young soldier in the camp, he was for his excessive inclination to wine, for Tiberius, *called* Biberius; *for* Claudius, Caldius; *and for* Nero, Mero. *And after he came to the empire, and had upon him the charge of reforming the publick manners, he spent a whole night and two days together in feasting and drinking with Pomponius Flaccus, and Lucius Piso; to one of which he gave the province of Syria, and to the other the præfectureship of the city immediately upon it; declaring them in his patents,* very pleasant companions, and always agreeable. *He made an appointment to sup with Sestius Gallus a lewd prodigal old fellow, that had been disgraced by Augustus, and reprimanded by himself but a few days before in the senate-house, upon condition that he should not recede at all from his usual method of entertainment, and that they should be attended at table by naked girls. He preferred a very obscure candidate for the quæstorship, before the most noble competitors, only for taking off in pledging him at table, an amphora of wine at a draught. He presented Asellius Sabinus with two hundred thousand sesterces, for writing a dialogue, in the way of dispute, betwixt the mushroom and the fig pecker, the oyster and the thrush. He likewise instituted a new office for the advancement of his pleasures, into which he put Titus Cæsonius Priscus, a Roman knight.*

43. Secessu vero Capreensi, etiam sellarium excogitavit sedem arcanarum libidinum in quam undiq; conquisiti puellarum et exoletorum greges monstrosiq; concubitus repertores, quos *Spintrias* appellabat, triplici serie connexi invicem incestarent se coram ipso, ut adspectu deficientes libidines excitaret. Cubicula plurifariam disposita tabellis ac figillis lasciviss imarum picturarum et figurarum adornavit, libriſq; Elephantidis instruxit: ne cui in opera edenda exemplar impetratæ schemæ deesset. In silvis quoq; ac nemoribus passim Venereos locos commentus est, prostranteſque per antra et cavas rupes ex utriusque sexus pube, Panisorum et vulgato nomine insulæ abutentes, Nympharum habitu: palamq; jam et *Caprinum* dictabant.

43. *In his recess at Capreæ, he contrived an apartment for the practice of abominable lewdness; where he entertained companies of girls and lusty catamites, and the devisers of a monstrous kind of copulation, whom he called* Spintriæ, *that defiled one another in his presence, to inflame the languid appetite by the sight. He had several chambers adorned with pictures and statues in the most lascivious postures, and furnished with the books of elephantis; that none might want a pattern for the execution of any lewd project he was put upon. He likewise contrived in woods and groves conveniences for the like lustful enjoyments; where youth of both sexes prostituted themselves, in caves and hollow rocks in the disguise of Pans and Nymphs. So that he was openly and commonly called, in allusion to the name of the island,* Caprineus.

44. Majore adhuc et turpiore infamia flagravit: vix ut referri audirive, ne dum credi fas sit. Quasi pueros primæ teneritudinis, quos pisciculos vocabat, instituerat, ut natanti sibi inter fœmina versarentur, ac luderent: lingua morsuq; sensim appetentes, atque etiam quasi infantes firmiores, nec dum tamen lacte depulsos, inguini seu papillæ admoveret: pronior sane ad id genus libidinis et naturæ et ætate. Quare Parrhasii quoq; tabulam, in qua Meleagro Atalanta ore morigeratur, legatam sibi sub conditione, ut si argumento offenderetur, decies pro ea H. S. acciperet: non modo prætulit sed et in cubiculo dedicavit. Fertur etiam in sacrificando quondam captus facie ministri acerram præferentis, nequisse abstinere, quin pæne vix dum re divina peracta, ibidem statim seductum constupraret, simulq; fratrem ejus tibicinem: atq; utrique mox, quod mutuo flagitium exprobrabant, crura fregisse.

44. *But he was still more infamous for an abomination not fit to be mentioned, or heard, much less credited; as that he inured little boys, whom he called little fishes, to play between his thighs as he was swimming——and made use of lusty infants, but not yet weaned, for——being perhaps more disposed for that kind of impurity from his natural temper and age together. Wherefore when a picture done by the hand of Parrhasius, wherein Atalanta was represented as acting a most unnatural piece of complaisance to Meleager, was left him for a legacy, with this proviso, that if he did not like the piece, he might receive in lieu of it a million of Sesterces, he not only gave preference to the picture, but hung it up in his bed-chamber. He is reported too once at a sacrifice, to have been so much taken with the face of a youth attending with a censor, that before the service was well over, he took him aside and abused him, as also a brother of his that played at the sacrifice upon the flute; and soon after broke both their legs, for upbraiding one another with their shame.*

45. Fœminarum quoq; et quidem illustrium capitibus quantopere solitus sit illudere, evidentissime apparuit, Malloniæ cujusdam exitu: quam perductam, nec quidquam amplius pati constantissime recusantem, delatoribus objecit: ac ne ream quidem interpellare desiit, *Ecquid pœniteret:* donec ea, relicto judicio, domum se arripuit, ferroq; transegit, obscœnitate oris hirsuto atq; olido seni clare exprobrata. Unde nota in Atellanico exodio proximis ludis assensu maximo excepta, percrebuit: *Hircum vetulum capreis naturam ligurrire.*

46. Pecuniæ parcus ac tenax, comites peregrinationum expeditionumq; nunquam salario, cibariis tantum, sustentavit: una modo liberalitate ex indulgentia vitrici prosecutus, cum tribus classibus factis pro dignitate cujusq; primæ sexcenta sestertia, secundæ quadringenta distribuit, ducenta tertiæ, quam non amicorum sed Græcorum appellabat.

47. Princeps neq; opera ulla magnifica fecit. Nam et quæ sola suscepérat, Augusti templum, restitutionemque Pompejani theatri, imperfecta post tot annos reliquit: neq; spectacula omnino edidit et iis, quæ ab aliquo ederentur, rarissime interfuit, ne quid exposcereretur, utiq; postquam comœdum Actium coactus est manumittere. Paucorum senatorum inopia sustentata, ne pluribus opem ferret, negavit se aliis subventurum, nisi senatui justas necessitatum causas probassent. Quo pacto plerosq; modestia et pudore deterruit: in quibus Hortalum Q. Hortensii oratoris nepotem, qui permodica re familiari, auctore Augusto, quatuor liberos tulerat.

45. *How much he was guilty of abusing in a most unnatural way women, and those of the first quality too, appeared very plainly by the death of one Mallonia, whom being brought to his bed, but resolutely refusing to go further in compliance with his lust, he delivered up to the common practitioners in the business of information; and when she was upon her trial, frequently called out to her, and asked her,* if she repented, *'till she quitting the court went home, and stabbed herself, openly upbraiding the old stinking leacher with his filthy practice. Upon which account a sly touch upon him in a farce that was acted at the next publick sports, was entertained with great applause, and became common in every body's mouth.*

46. *He was of a very tenacious niggardly temper, never allowed to such as attended him in his travels or expeditions any salary, but their diet only. He gave them once indeed, and but once, an instance of generosity, which he was put upon too by his stepfather; when distinguishing them into three several classes, according to their quality, he gave the first six, the second four, and the third two hundred thousand sesterces, which last class he called by the name not of friends, but Greeks.*

47. *He never during the time of his government raised any noble edifices; for what alone of that kind he did undertake, as the temple of Augustus, and the rebuilding of Pompey's theatre, he left at last after many years unfinished. Nor did he ever entertain the people with publick sports and diversions, and was seldom present at those that were given by others, lest any thing of that kind should be requested of him, especially after he was obliged to manumit the comedian Actius. Having relieved the poverty of a few senators, that he might not do the same for many more of them, he declared, he should for the future relieve none, but such as gave the house good satisfaction, as to the cause of their necessity: upon which most of the needy senators, out of modesty and shame, declined troubling him: among which was Hortalus, grandson to the famous orator Hortensius, who at the persuasion of Augustus had brought up four children upon a very small estate.*

48. Pub-

48. Publice munificentiam bis omnino exhibuit; propositio millies H. S. gratuito in triennii tempus: et rursus quibusdam dominis insularum, quæ in monte Cælio deflagrarant, pretio restituto. Quorum alterum magna difficultate nummaria populo auxilium flagitante coactus est tacere, cum per senatus consultum sanxisset, ut fœneratores duas patrimonii partes in solo collocarent, debitores totidem æris alieni statim solverent, nec res expediretur: alterum ad mitigandam temporum atrocitatem. Quod tamen beneficium tanti æstimavit, ut montem Cœlium appellatione mutata vocari Augustum jusserit. Militi post duplicata ex Augusti testamento legata nihil unquam largitus est, præterquam singula millia denariorum prætoriamis, quod Sejano se non accommodassent: et quædam munera Syriacis legionibus, quod solæ nullam Sejani imaginem inter signa coluissent: atq; etiam missiones veteranorum rarissimas fecit, ex senio mortem, ex morte compendium captans. Ne provincias quidem ulla liberalitate sublevavit: excepta Asia, disjectis terræmotu civitatibus.

49. Procedente mox tempore etiam ad rapinas convertit animum. Sat constat Cn. Lentulum augurem, cui census maximus fuerit, metu et angore ad fastidium vitæ ab eo actum, et ut ne quo nisi ipso herede moreretur. Condemnatam et generosissimam fœminam Lepidam in gratiam Quirini consularis prædivitis, et orbi, qui dimissam eam matrimonio post vigesimum annum veneni olim in se comparati arguebat: præterea Galliarum et Hispania-

48. *There are but two instances of his publick bounty; one was an offer to lend gratis for three years a hundred millions of sesterces to such as wanted to borrow; and the other, when he made good the loss of some large houses burnt down in mount Cælius to the owners, the former of which he was obliged to by the clamors of the people, in a great scarcity of money; when an act of the senate passed upon a motion of his to oblige all usurers to lay out two-thirds of their money in land, and the debtors to pay in the like proportion of their debts, was found insufficient to remedy the grievance. The other he did to qualify in some measure the severity of his government. And this kindness he estimated at so high a rate, that he ordered mount Cælius to be called for the future Augustus. To the soldiery he never gave any thing, after his doubling to them the legacy left them by Augustus, except a thousand denarii a man to the guards, for not siding with Sejanus; and some presents to the legions in Syria, because they alone had not worshipped the statues of Sejanus amongst their standards. And he would very seldom discharge the veteran soldiers, in hopes of saving by their dying in the service (which from their age there was a prospect of happening soon) the præmiums that would have been due upon their discharge. Nor did he ever relieve the provinces by an act of generosity, excepting Asia, where some cities had been laid in ruins by an earthquake.*

49. *In a little time he fell to downright rapine. It is certain that Cn. Lentulus the augur, a man of a vast estate, was terrified and teased out of his life by him, and at the same time obliged to leave him his heir: and that Lepida a lady of a very noble family was condemned by him, to gratify Quirinus a consular gentleman, very rich and childless, who had divorced her twenty years before, and then charged her with an old design to poison him. And besides that, several persons of the greatest eminence and figure in Gaul, Spain, Syria and Greece had their estates confiscated, upon such wretchedly trifling, and shameful*

rum,

rum, Syriæq; et Græciæ principes confiscatos ob tam leve ac tam impudens calumniarum genus: ut quibusdam non aliud sit objectum, quam quod partem rei familiaris in pecunia haberent. Plurimis etiam civitatibus et privatis veteres immunitates et jus metallorum ac vectigalium adempta; sed et Vononem regem Parthorum qui pulsus a suis, quasi in fidem pop. Rom. cum ingenti gaza Antiochiam se receperat, spoliatam perfidia, et occisum.

pretences, that the only thing laid to the charge of some of them was, that they had too great a part of their estates in money. Likewise old immunities, and the right of digging mines, and exacting duties was taken from several cities and private persons. And Vonones king of the Parthians, who had been forced out of his dominions by his own subjects, and fled to Antioch with a great deal of treasure, in order to put himself under the protection of the Roman people, was treacherously robbed of all his money, and then murdered.

50. Odium adversus necessitudines in Druso primum fratre detexit: prodita ejus epistola, qua secum de cogendo ad restituendam libertatem Augusto agebat: deinde et in reliquis. Juliæ uxori tantum abfuit, ut relegatæ, quod minimum est, officii aut humanitatis aliquid impertiret, ut ex constitutione patris uno oppido clausam, domo quoq; egredi, et commercio hominum frui vetuerit: sed et peculio concesso a patre præbitisq; annuis fraudavit, per speciem publici juris, quod nihil de his Augustus testamento caviſſet. Matrem Liviam gravatus, velut partes sibi æquas potentiæ vindicantem, et congressum ejus assiduum vitavit: et longiores secretioresq; sermones, ne ejus consiliis, quibus tamen interdum et egere et uti solebat, regi videretur. Tulit etiam per indigne actum a senatu, ut titulis suis quasi Augusti ita et Liviæ filius adjiceretur. Quare non *parentem patriæ* appellari, non ullum insignem honorem recipere publice passus est. Sed et frequenter admonuit, *quod majoribus nec fœminæ convenientibus negotiis abstineret:* præcipue ut animadvertit incendio juxta ædem Vestæ et ipsum interveniſſe: populumq; et milites, quo enixius opem ferrent adhortatam, sicut sub marito solita esset.

50. He first discovered his hatred of his relations in his brother Drusus, by producing a letter of his, wherein he made a proposal to him to oblige Augustus by force to restore the publick liberty. Soon after he discovered it in the rest too. He was so far from shewing any the least civility or kindness to his wife, that had been banished, and by the order of her father confined to one town, that he forbade her to stir out of the house, or to converse with company. Nay, he deprived her of the property allowed her by her father, and of her yearly income, under pretence of law; because Augustus had not secured them to her in his will. Being weary of his mother Livia, as claiming an equal share in the government with him, he declined seeing of her pretty much, as also all long and private conferences with her, lest he should be thought to be governed by her counsels; which yet he sometimes wanted, and made use of too. He likewise took it very heinously of the senate, when they proposed to add to his other titles that of the son of Livia, as well as Augustus. Wherefore he suffered her not to be called the parent of her country, *nor to receive any extraordinary honour from the publick. Nay he frequently admonished her* not to meddle with weighty matters, and such as did not suit her sex; *especially when he found her appear at a fire that broke out nigh the temple of Vesta, and encouraging the people and the soldiers to work hard, as she had been used to do in her husband's time.*

51. De-

51. Dehinc ad ſimultatem uſque proceſſit, hac ut ferunt de cauſa: inſtanti ſæpius, ut civitate donatum in decurias allegeret, negavit alia ſe conditione allecturum, quam ſi pateretur adſcribi albo, *extortum id ſibi a matre*. At illa commota, veteres quoſdam ad ſe Auguſti codicillos de acerbitate et intolerantia morum ejus e ſacrario protulit, atque recitavit. Hos et cuſtoditos tamdiu, et exprobratos tam infeſte, adeo graviter tulit, ut quidam putent inter cauſas ſeceſſus hanc ei vel præcipuam fuiſſe. Toto quidem triennnio, quo vivente matre abfuit, ſemel omnino eam, nec amplius quam uno die, ac pauciſſimis vidit horis: ac mox, neq; ægræ adeſſe curavit, defunctamque, et dum adventus ſui ſpem facit, complurium dierum mora, corrupto demum et tabido corpore funeratam prohibuit conſecrari: quaſi id ipſa mandaſſet. Teſtamentum quoq; ejus pro irrito habuit, omneſq; amicitias et familiaritates, etiam quibus ea funeris curam moriens demandarat, intra breve tempus afflixit: uno ex his equeſtris ordini viro et in antliam condemnato.

52. Filiorum neq; naturalem Druſum, neq; adoptivum Germanicum patria charitate dilexit. Alterius vitiis infenſus: nam Druſus animi fluxioris, remiſſioriſq; vitæ erat. Itaq; ne mortuo quidem perinde affectus eſt: ſed tantum non ſtatim a funere ad negotiorum conſuetudinem rediit, juſtitio longiore inhibito. Quin et Ilicenſium legatis paulo ſerius conſolantibus, quaſi obliterata jam doloris memoria irridens. *Se quoque* reſpondit *vicem eorum dolere, quod egregium civem Hectorem*

51. *After that he proceeded to a downright quarrel with her, upon this occaſion, as is ſaid. Upon her being ſeveral times very urgent with him to chuſe amongſt the judges, one that had been made free of the city, he told her he would not do it, unleſs ſhe would allow this reaſon for it to be put down in the liſt of the judges' names,* That the thing had been extorted from him by his mother. *At which being in a rage, ſhe produced ſome letters of Auguſtus to her, about the ſourneſs and inſolence of his temper, and read them. He took it ſo heavily that theſe ſhould have been kept ſo long, and with ſo much bitterneſs he now produced againſt him, that ſome think this was the principal occaſion of his retiring. During the whole three years ſhe lived after, he ſaw her but once, and that for a few hours only. And when ſhe fell ſick ſoon after, he would not come to her. And when ſhe was dead, he kept thoſe about her ſo long in expectation of his coming, that the body was corrupted before it was buried; and then he forbade her to be enrolled among the Gods, pretending her own order for it. He likewiſe ſet aſide her will, and in a ſhort time ruined all her friends and acquaintance, even thoſe to whom at her deceaſe ſhe had recommended the care of her funeral, condemning one of them that was a gentleman of the equeſtrian order, to the drudgery of drawing water in a crane.*

52. *He had not a fatherly affection either for his own ſon Druſus, or his adopted ſon Germanicus; being offended at the vices of the one, for Druſus led a looſe diſſolute life; for which reaſon he was not much affected at his death, but almoſt immediately after his funeral fell to do buſineſs again, and obliged the publick to do the ſame. And the embaſſadors of the Ilicenſians coming ſomewhat with the lateſt with their compliments of condolance, the remembrance of his loſs being now pretty well worn off, he told them by way of banter,* that he heartily condoled with them the loſs of their excellent countryman Hector. *He ſo much affected to leſſen*

ami-

amisissent. Germanicum usque adeo obtrectavit, ut et præclare facta ejus pro supervacuis elevaret: et glorioſissimas victorias, ceu damnoſas reipubl. increparet. Quod vero Alexandriam, propter immenſam et repentinam famem, inconſulto ſe adiſſet, queſtus eſt in ſenatu. Etiam cauſa mortis fuiſſe ei per Cn. Piſonem legatum Syriæ creditur: quem mox hujus criminis reum putant quidam mandata prolaturum, niſi ea ſecreta obſtarent. Per quæ multifariam inſcriptum, et per noctes creberrime acclamatum eſt, *Redde Germanicum.* Quam ſuſpicionem ac liberis Germanici crudelem in

Germanicus, that he would decry his noble actions as inſignificant, and rail at his moſt glorious victories as ruinous to the publick; and complained of him to the ſenate for going to Alexandria without his knowledge, upon occaſion of a great and ſudden famine at Rome. And it is believed he took care to have him diſpatched by Cn Piſo the lieutenant of Syria, who was afterwards tried for it; and it is ſuppoſed by ſome, would have produced his orders, had he not been therein ordered to the contrary: wherefore the following words were poſted up in many places, and frequently bauled out in the night, Give us Germanicus again; *which ſuſpicion he afterwards confirmed by the barbarous uſage of his wife and children.*

confirmavit ipſe poſtea: conjuge etiam modum afflictis.

53. Nurum Agrippinam, poſt mortem mariti, liberius quiddam queſtam, manu apprehendit: Græcoq; verſu, *Si non dominaris,* inquit, *filiola, injuriam te accipere exiſtimas?* Nec ullo mox ſermone dignatus eſt. Quondam vero inter cœnam porrecta a ſe poma guſtare non auſam, etiam vocare deſiit, ſimulans, ſe veneni crimine arceſſitum: cum præſtructum utrumq; conſulto eſſet, ut et ipſe tentandi gratia offerret, et illa quaſi certiſſimum exitium caveret. Noviſſime calumniatus, modo ad ſtatuam Auguſti, modo ad exercitus confugere velle, Pandatariam relegavit: convitiantiq; oculum per centurionem verberibus excuſſit: rurſus mori inedia deſtinanti, per vim ore diducto, infulciri cibum juſſit. Sed et perſeverantem, atq; ita abſumptam, criminoſiſſime inſectatus eſt, cum diem quoq; natalem ejus inter nefaſtos referendum ſuaſiſſet. Imputavit etiam, quod non laqueo ſtrangulatam in Gemonias abjecerit: proq; tali clementia interponi decretum paſſus eſt, quo

53. *His daughter-in-law Agrippina, after the death of her huſband, complaining upon ſome occaſion, with a great deal of freedom, he took her by the hand, and in a Greek verſe delivered himſelf to this purpoſe,* My dear child, do you think yourſelf injured becauſe you are not lady paramount? *and would never after ſpeak to her. And upon her refuſing once at ſupper to taſte ſome fruit he preſented her, he forbore inviting her to his table; pretending ſhe, in effect, charged him with a deſign to poiſon her; whereas the whole was a contrivance of his own; he was to offer the fruit, and ſhe to be privately cautioned againſt it, as what would infallibly be her death. At laſt charging her, tho' without any foundation for it, with a deſign to fly to the ſtatue of Auguſtus, or the army, he baniſhed her to Pandataria. And upon her reviling him for it, he did by a centurion, beat out one of her eyes: and when ſhe reſolved to faſt to death, he ordered her mouth to be forced open, and meat to be crammed down her throat: but ſhe perſiſting in her deſign, and dying ſoon after, he perſecuted her memory with the viliſt aſperſions, and adviſed the ſenate to put her birth day amongſt the number of unlucky days in the kalendar. He likewiſe reckoned it as a favour, that he had not thrown her body upon the Scalæ Gemoniæ, and ſuffered a vote of*

sibi gratiæ agerentur, et Capitolino Jovi donum ex auro sacraretur.

54. Cum ex Germanico tres nepotes, Neronem et Drusum et Caium, ex Druso unum Tiberium haberet, destitutus morte liberorum, maximos natu de Germanici filiis, Neronem et Drusum P. C. commendavit: diemq; utriusque tirocinii, congiario plebi dato, celebravit. Sed ut comperit, ineunte anno, pro eorum quoq; salute publice vota suscepta, egit cum senatu, *Non debere talia præmia tribui, nisi expertis et ætate provectis:* atq; ex eo, patefacta interiore animi sui nota, omnium criminationibus obnoxios reddidit: variaq; fraude inductos ut concitarentur ad convitia, et concitati perderentur, accusavit per literas, amarissime congestis etiam probris, et judicatos hostes fame necavit: Neronem in insula Pontia: Drusum in ima parte Palatii. Putant Neronem ad voluntariam mortem coactum, cum ei carnifex quasi ex senatus auctoritate missos laqueos et uncos ostentaret. Drusum autem adeo alimenta subducta, ut tomentum e culcita tentaverit mandere: amborum sic reliquiis dispersis, ut vix quandoq; colligi possent.

55. Super veteres amicos ac familiares, viginti sibi e numero principum civitatis depopoſcerat, velut consiliarios in negotiis publicis. Horum omnium vix duos aut tres incolumes præstitit: cæteros, alium alia de causa perculit. Inter quos cum plurimorum clade Ælium Sejanum, quem ad summam potentiam, non tam benevolentia provexerat, quam ut esset cujus ministerio ac fraudi-

the house to pass, to thank him for his clemency, and a present in gold to be made to Jupiter Capitolinus upon it.

54. *He had by Germanicus three grandsons, Nero, Drusus and Caius, and by his son Drusus one named Tiberius: of which, after the loss of his sons, he recommended Nero and Drusus to the senate; and upon the days of their being solemnly introduced into the forum, distributed money among the people. But when he found, that vows had been offered up by the magistrates in the beginning of the year, for their health, he told the senate,* that such honours ought not to be conferred but upon such as had been tried, and were advanced in age. *Having thus betrayed the secret disposition of his soul towards them, he occasioned their being prosecuted with a variety of informations against them; and having used divers arts to provoke them to rail at and abuse him, that he might thereby be furnished with a pretence to destroy them, he charged them with it in a letter to the senate, and at the same time with great bitterness accused them of the most scandalous vices. And upon their being declared enemies by the senate, starved them both to death. Nero in the island of Pontia, and Drusus in the lower part of the Palatium. It is believed by some, that Nero was put upon making away with himself, by the executioner shewing him halters and hooks, as if sent to him by the order of the senate. Drusus, they tell you, was so pined, that he attempted to eat the stuffing of his bed. And the relicks of them both were so dispersed, that it was with much ado they were brought together again.*

55. *Besides his old friends, and intimate acquaintance, he desired twenty of the most eminent persons in the city, to advise with upon the publick affairs. Out of all this number, scarce two or three escaped him; all the rest he destroyed, upon one pretence or another, and among them Ælius Sejanus, whose fall was attended with the ruin of a great many more. He had advanced him to the highest pitch of grandeur, not so much out of any real affection for him, as by his base underhand contrivances, to ruin the children of Germanicus; thereby to secure*

bus

bus liberos Germanici circumveniret: nepotemq; ſuum ex Druſo filium naturalem ad ſucceſſionem imperii confirmaret.

56. Nihilo lenior in convictores Græculos, quibus vel maxime acquieſcebat. Zenonem quendam exquiſitius ſermocinantem, cum interrogaſſet, *quænam illam tam moleſta dialectos eſſet:* et ille reſpondiſſet, *Doridem:* relegavit Cinariam: exiſtimans, exprobratum ſibi veterem feceſſum; quod Dorice Rhodii loquantur. Item cum ſoleret ex lectione quotidiana quæſtiones ſuper cœnam proponere: comperiſſetque, Seleucum grammaticum a miniſtris ſuis perquirere quos quoq; tempore tractaret auctores, atq; ita præparatum venire: primum a contubernio removit, deinde etiam ad mortem compulit.

57. Sæva ac lenta natura ne in puero quidem latuit, quam Theodorus Gadareus rhetoricæ præceptor et perſpexiſſe primus ſagaciter, et aſſimilaſſe aptiſſime viſus eſt: ſubinde in objurgando appellans eum, πηλὸν ἀιμαλὶ πεφυραμμένον. Sed aliquanto magis in principe eluxit, etiam inter initia, cum adhuc favorem hominum moderationis ſimulatione captaret. Scurram, qui prætereunte funere elato mortuo mandarat ut nuntiaret Auguſto, nondum reddi legata, quæ plebi reliquiſſet, attractum ad ſe, recipere debitum duciq; ad ſupplicium imperavit, et patri ſuo verum referre. Nec multo poſt in ſenatu Pompeio cuidam, equiti Romano, quidnam perneganti, dum vincula minatur, affirmavit fore *ut ex Pompeio Pompeianus fieret:* acerba cavillatione ſimul hominis nomen inceſſens, veterumq; partium fortunam.

the ſucceſſion to his own grandſon by Druſus.

56. *He was never a whit better to the Greeks in his family, even thoſe he moſt delighted in. Having aſked one Zeno upon his talking ſomewhat obſcurely,* What troubleſome kind of dialect that was, *and he replying* the Dorick, *he baniſhed him to Cinaria, upon a ſuſpicion that he upbraided him with his former reſidence at Rhodes, where the Dorick dialect is uſed. Likewiſe being uſed to ſtart queſtions at ſupper, ſuch as the authors he had been reading the day before furniſhed him with, and finding that Seleucus the grammarian, uſed to enquire of thoſe that attended him, what authors he read every day, and ſo came prepared for him; he firſt turned him out of his family, and then drove him to the extremity of laying violent hands upon himſelf.*

57. *His cruel relentleſs temper appeared in him when he was a boy; which Theodorus of Gadara his maſter in rhetorick, firſt diſcovered in him, and expreſſing by a very oppoſite ſimile, calling him now and then in chiding of him,* dirt mixed with blood; *but it appeared ſtill more manifeſtly in him when he came to be emperor, and in the beginning of his reign too, whilſt he was as yet endeavouring to gain the affections of the people, by pretending to moderation. A wag, upon the paſſing by of a funeral, called out to the dead man, and deſired him to tell Auguſtus,* That the legacies he had left the common people were not yet paid. *This fellow he ordered to be brought before him, to receive what was due to him, and then to be led to execution, that he might deliver the meſſage to his father himſelf. And not long after, when one Pompey ſtifly denied ſomething or other in oppoſition to him in the ſenate; he threatened to clap him in priſon; and told him, that of a Pompey he would make a Pompeian of him, by a bitter kind of drollery playing upon the man's name, and the ill fortune of the party.*

58. Sub idem tempus, consulente prætore, an judicia majestatis cogi juberet, exercendas esse leges respondit, et atrocissime exercuit. Statuæ quidem Augusti caput dempserat, ut alterius imponeret. Acta res in senatu. Et quia ambigebatur, per tormenta quæsita est. Damnato reo, paulatim hoc genus calumniæ eo processit, ut hæc quoq; capitalia essent: circa Augusti simulacrum servum cecidisse; vestimenta mutasse; nummo vel annulo effigiem impressam, latrinæ aut lupanari intulisse, dictum ullum factum ve ejus existimatione aliqua læsisse. Periit denique et is qui honores in colonia sua eodem die decerni sibi passus est quo decreti et Augusto olim erant.

58. *About the same time when the pretor consulted him, whether he pleased to have the courts sit upon accusations of treason against his person, he replied, that the laws ought to be put in execution, and he did put them in execution with a vengeance. A certain person had taken off the head of Augustus from a statue of his, to put it on another. The matter was brought before the senate; and because the case was not clear, some were executed by torture about it, and the party accused being found guilty and condemned upon it, this kind of process grew to such a height, that it became capital for a man to beat his slave, or change his cloaths, near the statue of Augustus; to carry his head stamped upon the coin, or cut in the stone of a ring, into a necessary house, or the stews; or to reflect upon any thing that had been either said or done by him. At last too a person was condemned to die, for suffering some honours to be decreed to himself in the colony where he lived, upon the same day, on which they had formerly been decreed for Augustus.*

59. Multa præterea, specie gravitatis ac morum corrigendorum, sed et magis naturæ obtemperans, ita sæve et atrociter factitavit: ut nonnulli versiculis quoque et præsentia exprobrarent, et futura denuntiarent mala.

59. *Besides he was guilty of so many barbarous actions, under the pretence of strictness and reformation of manners, but more to gratify his own savage humour, that some lampooned him for the present calamities of his reign, and at the same time gave warning for the future.*

Asper et immitis, breviter vis omnia dicam?
Dispeream si te mater amare potest.
Non es eques, quare? non sunt tibi millia centum:
Omnia si quæras, et Rhodos exsilium est.
Aurea mutasti Saturni sæcula, Cæsar:
Incolumi nam te, ferrea semper erunt.
Fastidit vinum, quia jam sitit iste cruorem:
Tam bibit hunc avide, quam bibit ante merum.
Adspice felicem sibi non tibi Romule Sullam:
Et Marium, si vis, adspice, sed reducem.
Nec non Antoni civilia bella moventis,
Nec semel infectas adspice cæde manus.
Et dic Roma perit: regnabit sanguine multo,
Ad regnum quisquis venit ab exsilio.

Ah! savage Wretch, too fierce, too fell to move
The least kind yearning's of a Mother's love!
No knight thou art, as having no estate,
Long sufferedst thou in Rhodes an exile's fate.

No

No more the happy golden age we ſee;
The iron's come, and ſure to laſt with thee.
Inſtead of wine he thirſted for before,
He wallows now in floods of human gore.
Reflect, ye Romans, on the bloody times,
Made ſuch by Marius, and by Sylla's crimes.
Reflect how Anthony's ambitious rage
Twice drenched in blood a wild diſtracted age.
And ſay, alas! Rome's happy days are o'er,
When baniſhed wretches gain the ſov'reign power.

Quæ primo quaſi ab impatientibus remediorum, ac non tam ex animi ſententia, quam bile et ſtomacho fingerentur, volebat accipi. Dicebatq; identidem, *Oderint dum probent*. Deinde vera plane certaq; eſſe fecit fidem.

60. In paucis diebus quam Capreas attigit, piſcatori, qui ſibi ſecretum agenti grandem mullum inopinanter obtulerat, perfricari eodem piſce faciem juſſit: territus, quod is a tergo inſulæ per aſpera et devia erepſiſſet ad ſe. Gratulanti autem inter pœnam, quod non et locuſtam, quam prægrandem ceperat, obtuliſſet, locuſta quoq; lacerari os imperavit. Militem prætorianum, ob ſurreptum e viridario pavonem capite puniit. In quodam itinere lectica qua vehebatur, vepribus impedita, exploratorem viæ primarum cohortium centurionem ſtratum humi pæne ad necem verberavit.

61. Mox in omne genus crudelitatis erupit, nunquam deficiente materia: cum primo matris, deinde nepotum et nurus, poſtremo Sejani familiares atq; etiam notos perſequeretur. Poſt cujus interitum vel ſæviſſimus exſtitit: quo maxime apparuit, non tam ipſum a Sejano concitari ſolitum, quam Sejanum quærenti occaſiones ſubminiſtraſſe.

Which ſatyrical reflections he would needs at firſt have paſs for the effects of choler and rage, in ſuch as were impatient under the diſcipline of reformation, more than their real ſentiments; and he would now and then ſay, Let them hate me, ſo long as they do but approve my conduct. *But at length he ſhewed by his behaviour, they were but too well grounded.*

60. *A few days after his arrival at Capreæ, a fiſherman coming unexpectedly upon him, as he was by himſelf, and preſenting him with a large barbel, he ordered his face to be ſcrubbed with the fiſh; being affrighted to think he ſhould be able to get up to him over ſuch rugged deſert rocks. And the fellow under his puniſhment, expreſſing his joy, that he had not likewiſe made him a preſent of a huge crab he had taken, he ordered his face to be tore with the crab too. He puniſhed a ſoldier of the guards with death, for ſtealing a peacock out of his garden. His chair being hindered in its paſſage upon the road by ſome buſhes, he ordered the gentleman ſent before to examine the road, who was a centurion of the firſt rank, to be laid on his face upon the ground, and to be whipped almoſt to death.*

61. *Soon after he broke out into all manner of cruelty, never wanting matter of one kind or other to work upon. He firſt fell upon the friends and acquaintance of his mother, then thoſe of his grandſons, and his daughter-in-law; and laſtly thoſe of Sejanus, after whoſe death he became exceſſively cruel; by which it appeared, that he had not been ſo much inſtigated by Sejanus, as ſupplied with occaſions of gratifying his ſavage temper, when he wanted*

trasse. Etsi commentario, quem de vita sua summatim breviterque composuit, ausus est scribere, *Sejanum se punisse, quod comperisset furere adversus Germanici liberos filii sui:* quorum ipse alterum suspecto jam, alterum oppresso demum Sejano interemit. Sigillatim crudeliter facta ejus exequi longum est: generatim velut exemplaria sævitiæ enunciare sat erit. Nullus a pœna hominum cessavit dies: ne religiosus quidem ac sacer. Animadversum in quosdam ineunte anno novo: accusati damnatiq; multi cum liberis atque etiam uxoribus suis. Interdictum, ne capite damnatos propinqui lugerent: decreta accusatoribus præcipua præmia, non nunquam et testibus. Nemini delatorum fides abrogata. Omne crimen pro capitali receptum, etiam paucorum simpliciumq; verborum. Objectum est poetæ, quod in tragœdia Agamemnonem probris lacessisset: objectum et historico, quod *Brutum Cassiumq; ultimos Romanorum* dixisset: animadversum est statim in auctores, scriptaq; abolita, quamvis probarentur aliquot ante annos, etiam Augusto audiente recitata. Quibusdam custodiæ traditis; non modo studendi solatium ademptum, sed etiam sermonis et colloquii usus. Citati ad causam dicendam, partim se domi vulneraverunt, certi damnationis, et ad vexationem ignominiamq; vitandam: partim in media curia venenum hauserunt, et tamen colligatis vulneribus, ac semianimes palpitantesq; in carcerem rapti. Nemo punitorum non et in Gemonias abjectus uncoq; tractus. Viginti uno die abjecti tractiq; sunt: inter eos pueri et fœminæ. Immaturæ

them. Tho' in a short memoir he composed of his own life, he had the impudence to write, That he had punished Sejanus, because he found him bent upon the destruction of the children of his son Germanicus, *of which he put one to death, when he was now become jealous of Sejanus; and another, after he was taken off. It would be too tedious to relate all the particular instances of his cruelty; it may suffice to give samples thereof in its several kinds. Not a day passed without the punishment of some body or other, not excepting holidays, or those designed for the worship of the Gods. Some were punished in the beginning of the new year. Many were accused and condemned together with their wives and children; and the relations forbid to mourn for such as were sentenced to death. Considerable rewards were voted for the prosecutors, and sometimes for the witnesses too. Any one's information was taken without exception; and all crimes were capital, even the speaking of a few words, tho' without any ill intention. A poet was called to an account, for abusing Agamemnon; and an historian for calling* Brutus and Cassius the last of all the Romans. *The authors were immediately put to death, and their writings suppress; tho' they had been well approved of some years before, and read over in the hearing of Augustus. Some that were put in prison, were not only denied the comfort of study, but debarred all company and conversation whatever. When persons were summoned in order to trial, they stabbed themselves at home, to avoid the plague, and ignominy, that would otherwise ensue; for they were sure to be condemned; or else took poison in the senate-house; but however their wounds were bound up, and they were carried half-dead, and panting for life, to prison. All that were put to death, were constantly thrown to the Gemoniæ, and then dragged into the Tiber. Twenty were so served in one day, and amongst them boys and women. And because, according to an antient custom, it was not lawful to strangle virgins, the young girls were first deflowered by the executioner, and then strangled. Such as were desirous to die, were forced to live.*

puellæ

puellæ, quia more tradito nefas eſſet virgines ſtrangulari, vitiatæ prius a carnifice, dein ſtrangulatæ. Mori volentibus vis adhibita vivendi. Nam mortem adeo leve ſupplicium putabat, ut cum audiſſet unum e reis, Carnulium nomine, anticipaſſe eam, exclamaverit, *Carnulius me evaſit.* Et in recognoſcendis cuſtodiis, precanti cuidam pœnæ maturitatem, reſpondit, *Nondum tecum in gratiam redii.* Annalibus ſuis vir conſularis inſeruit, frequenti quondam convivio, cui et ipſe affuerit, interrogatum eum ſubito et clare a quodam nano adſtante menſæ inter copreas, cur Paconius, majeſtatis reus, tam diu viveret: ſtatim quidem petulantiam linguæ objurgaſſe, cæterum poſt paucos dies ſcripſiſſe ſenatui ut de pœna Paconii quam primum ſtatueret.

For he thought death ſo ſlight a puniſhment, that when he heard that one Carnulius, *who was under proſecution had killed himſelf, he cried out,* Carnulius has eſcaped me. *And in calling over his priſoners, one begging for the favour of a ſpeedy death, he replied to him,* I am not friends with you yet. *A conſular gentleman writes in his annals, that at table, where a great deal of company, and he himſelf was preſent, he was on the ſudden and aloud aſked by a dwarf that ſtood by, among the drolls that attended, why Paconius, who was under a proſecution for treaſon, lived ſo long; that he reprimanded him immediately for his ſaucineſs, but a few days after writ to the ſenate, to proceed forthwith to the puniſhment of Paconius.*

62. Auxit intenditq; ſævitiam, exacerbatus judicio de morte filii ſui Druſi: quem cum morbo et intemperantia periiſſe exiſtimaret, ut tandem veneno interemptum fraude Livillæ uxoris atq; Sejani cognovit, neq; tormentis neq; ſupplicio cujuſquam pepercit: ſoli huic cognitioni adeo per totos dies deditus et intentus, ut Rhodienſem hoſpitem, quem familiaribus literis Romam evocarat, adveniſſe ſibi nuntiatum, torqueri ſine mora juſſerit, quaſi aliquis ex neceſſariis quæſtioni adeſſet: deinde errore detecto, et occidi, ne divulgaret injuriam. Carnificinæ ejus oſtenditur locus Capreis, unde damnatos poſt longa et exquiſita tormenta præcipitari coram ſe in mare jubebat: excipiente claſſiariorum manu, et contis atq; remis elidente cadavera: ne cui reſidui ſpiritus quidquam ineſſet. Excogitaverat autem inter genera cruciatus, etiam ut larga meri potione per fallaciam oneratos, repente veretris deligatis, fidicularum

62. *But he carried his cruelty ſtill higher, being ſoured by an information about the death of his ſon Druſus. He thought he had died of a diſtemper occaſioned by his intemperance: but finding he had been poiſoned by the contrivance of his wife Livilla and Sejanus, he ſpared none, but tortured, and put to death without mercy; and was ſo entirely taken up with the examination of this affair, for whole days together, that when he was informed, that a gentleman of Rhodes, in whoſe houſe he had lodged, whom he had by a friendly letter invited to Rome, was come, he ordered him immediately to be put to the torture, as if he had been a party concern'd in that affair; and when he found his miſtake, commanded him to be put to death, that he might not publiſh the injury done him. His place of execution is ſtill ſhewn at Capreæ, where he ordered ſuch as were condemned to die, after long and exquiſite tortures, to be thrown before his eyes, from a precipice into the ſea; where a company of ſoldiers, belonging to the fleet, waited for them; and broke their bones with poles and oars, leſt they ſhould have any life left in them. Amongſt various kinds of torture invented by him, one was to wheedle people to drink a vaſt quantity of wine, and then to tie up*

larum simul urinæq; tormento distenderet. Quod nisi eum et mors prævenisset, et Thrasyllus consulto, ut aiunt, differre quædam, spe longioris compulisset: plures aliquanto necaturus, ac ne reliquis quidem nepotibus parsurus creditur: cum et Caium suspectum haberet, et Tiberium ut ex adulterio conceptum aspernaretur. Nec abhorret a vero: namq; identidem Felicem *Priamum vocabat, quod superstes omnium suorum extitisset.*

63. Quam vero inter hæc non modo invisus ac detestabilis, sed prætrepidus quoq; atq; etiam contumeliis obnoxius vixerit, multa indicia sunt. Haruspices secreto ac sine testibus consuli vetuit. Vicina vero urbi oracula etiam disjicere conatus est: sed majestate Prænestinarum sortium territus, destitit: cum obsignatas devectasq; Romam non reperisset in arca nisi relatas rursus ad templum. Unum et alterum consulares oblatis provinciis, non ausus a se dimittere, usq; adeo detinuit, donec successores post aliquot annos præsentibus daret: quum interim manente officii titulo, etiam delegaret plurima: assidueq; illi per legatos et adjutores suos exsequenda curarent.

64. Nurum ac nepotes nunquam aliter post damnationem, quam catenatos, obsutaq; lectica, loco movit: prohibitis per militem obviis ac viatoribus respicere usquam, vel consistere.

65. Sejanum res novas molientem, quamvis jam et natalem ejus publice celebrari, et imagines aureas coli passim videret; vix tandem et astu magis ac dolo, quam principali auctoritate, subvertit. Nam primo, ut a se per speciem ho-

their members with strings, in order to torment them at once, with the twitching of the string, and the stoppage of their urine. And unless death had prevented him, and Thrasyllus, designedly, as some say, had prevailed with him to defer some of his cruel projects, in hopes of longer life, it is believed, he would have been the destruction of many more; and not have spared even the rest of his grand children; for he was jealous of Caius, and hated Tiberius as conceived by adultery. And it is likely enough, indeed; for he, now and then, would pronounce Priam happy who survived his whole family.

63. *Amidst these transactions, how odious and detestable, under what terrible apprehensions and alarms he lived, is many ways apparent. He forbid the sooth-sayers to be consulted in private, and without witnesses by. He attempted to suppress the oracles nigh the city: but being terrified by the manifest appearance of a divine authority in that of Prænestæ, he gave over the design. For tho' the lots were sealed up in a box, and carried to Rome, yet they were not to be found in it, till it was returned to the temple. Two consular gentlemen, whom he made governors of provinces, he never durst dispatch thither; but kept them so long, till several years after he assigned them successors, being then present upon the spot with him: In the mean time, they had the respective titles of their office; and he frequently gave them orders, which they took care to have executed by their deputies and assistants.*

64. *He never removed his daughter-in-law and grandson, after their condemnation, any whither but in chains and a close chair, with a guard to hinder all that met them on the road, from standing to gaze at them.*

65. *After Sejanus had form'd his design against him, tho' he saw his birth day was solemnly kept by the publick, and golden images of him worshipped every where, yet it was with difficulty at last, and more by cunning and sly management, than his imperial authority, that he took him off. For in the first place, in order to remove him*

noris

noris dimitteret, collegam sibi assumpsit in quinto consulatu, quem longo intervallo absens ob id ipsum susceperat. Deinde spe affinitatis ac tribunitiæ potestatis deceptum, inopinantem criminatus est pudenda miserandaque oratione: cum inter alia P. C. precaretur, *mitterent alterum e consulibus, qui senem se, et solum in conspectum eorum cum aliquo militari præsidio perduceret.* Sic quoque diffidens, tumultumque metuens, Drusum nepotem, quem vinculis adhuc Romæ continebat, solvi, si res posceret, ducemque constitui præceperat. Aptatis etiam navibus ad quascumque legiones meditabatur fugam, speculabundus ex altissima rupe identidem signa, quæ, ne nuntii morarentur, tolli procul, ut quidque foret factum, mandaverat. Verum et oppressa conjuratione Sejani, nihilo securior aut constantior, per novem proximos menses non egressus est villa quæ vocatur Jovis.

66. Urebant insuper anxiam mentem varia undique convitia, nullo non damnatorum omne probri genus coram, vel per libellos in orchestra positos, ingerente. Quibus quidem diversissime afficiebatur: modo, ut præ pudore ignota et celata cuncta cuperet, nonnunquam eadem contemneret, et proferret ultro atque vulgaret. Quin et Artabani Parthorum regis laceratus est literis, parricidia et cædes et ignaviam et luxuriam objicientis, monentisque ut voluntaria morte, maximo justissimoq; civium odio quam primum satisfaceret.

from about his person, under a pretence of doing him honour, he made him his colleague in his fifth consulship; which, tho' he was then absent from the town, he took upon him for that very purpose, a long time after his former consulship; and having gulled him with the hopes of a match with a lady of his own blood, and the tribunitian authority, he all on a sudden, whilst he little expected it, charged him with treason, in an abject miserable address to the senate, wherein amongst other things he begg'd of them to send one of the consuls to fetch him, a poor solitary old man, with a guard of soldiers. *But being still distrustful and apprehensive of a publick rising, he ordered his grandson Drusus, whom he kept confined at Rome, to be set at liberty, if occasion required, in order to head the troops, and such as would appear for him. He had ships likewise in readiness, to transport him to any of the legions he should think proper to apply to. In the mean time he was upon the watch, on the top of a very high rock, for the signals he had ordered to be given, as any thing happened, lest the messengers should be tardy. But tho' he had now quite defeated the design of Sejanus against him, yet he was still as much haunted as ever with fears and apprehensions, insomuch that he stirred not once out of the Villa Jovis for nine months after.*

66. *During this strange perplexity of mind, he was moreover terribly galled with variety of the most abusive language, that came thick upon him from all quarters; such as were condemned to die, every one of them, heaping upon him the vilest reproaches to his face, or by libels scattered in the senators seats in the theatre; with which he was very differently affected. Sometimes he wish'd out of shame, to have all smothered and concealed; at other times, he would slight what was said, and publish it himself. He was moreover severely lash'd in a letter, from Artabanus king of the Parthians, upbraiding him with his parricides, murders, cowardice and luxury, and advising him to satisfy the furious rage of his own people, which he had justly brought upon himself, by putting an end to his life.*

67. Postremo semetipse pertæsus talis epistolæ principio, tantum non summam malorum suorum professus est. *Quid scribam vobis Patres Conscripti, aut quomodo scribam, aut quid omnino non scribam, hoc tempore, Dii me, Deæque pejus perdant, quam quotidie perire sentio, si scio.* Existimant quidam, præsciisse hæc eum peritia futurorum: ac multo ante quanta se quandoque acerbitas et infamia maneret, prospexisse. Ideoq; ut imperium inierit et *PATRIS PATRIÆ* appellationem, et ne in acta sua juraretur obstinatissime recusasse: ne mox majore dedecore impartantis honoribus inveniretur. Quod sane et ex oratione ejus quam de utraque re habuit colligi potest: vel cum ait, *Similem se semper sui futurum: nec unquam mutaturum mores suos, quamdiu mentis sanæ fuisset: sed exempli causa cavendum, ne se senatus in acta cujusquam obligaret, qui aliquo casu mutari posset.* Et rursus: *Si quando autem,* inquit, *de moribus meis, devotoque vobis animo dubitaveritis: quod prius quam eveniat, opto ut me supremus dies huic mutatæ vestræ de me opinioni eripiat, nihil honoris adjiciet mihi PATRIS appellatio: vobis autem exprobrabit, aut temeritatem delati mihi ejus cognominis, aut inconstantiam contrarii de me judicii.*

68. Corpore fuit amplo atq; robusto: statura quæ justam excederet. Latus ab humeris et pectore: cæteris quoq; membris usque ad imos pedes equalis et congruens, sinistra manu agiliore ac validiore, articulis ita firmis, ut recens et integrum malum digito terebraret, caput pueri, vel etiam adolescentis,

67. *At last being quite weary of himself, he signified the extremity of his misery, in a letter to the senate, which begun thus.* What to write to you, venerable fathers, or how to write, or what to write at this time, may all the Deities pour upon my head a more terrible vengeance, than that I perceive myself daily to be sinking under, if I can tell. *Some are of opinion that he had a fore-knowledge of these things, from his skill in future events; and that he saw long before the misery and infamy, that would at last come upon him; and for that reason, at the beginning of his reign, had absolutely refused the title of* father of his country, *and the proposal of the senate to swear to his acts, lest he should afterwards, to his greater shame, be found unequal to such mighty honour; which indeed may be fairly gathered from the speeches he made upon both occasions; as when he says,* That he should ever be the same, and should never change his manners, so long as he kept his wits; but to avoid giving an ill precedent to posterity, the senate ought to have a care of engaging themselves, to maintain the acts of any one that might by some ill accident or other be influenc'd to alter his conduct. *And again,* If you should at any time entertain a jealousy of my conduct and entire affection for you, which heaven prevent by putting a period to my days, rather than I should live to see such an alteration in your opinion of me, the title of *father* will add nothing of honour to me, but be a reproach to you, for your rashness in conferring it upon me, or inconstancy in altering your opinion of me.

68. *He was in his person large and robust, of a stature somewhat above the usual size; broad shouldered and chested, and in his other parts proportionable. He used his left hand better than his right; and his joints were so strong, that he would bore a fresh sound apple through with his finger, and would wound the head of a boy, or even a young man, with a filip. He was of a fair complexion, and had his hair so*

talitro

talitro vulneraret. Colore erat candido, capillo pone occipitium submissiore, ut cervicem etiam obtegeret, quod gentile in illo videbatur. Facie honesta, in qua tamen crebri, et subtiles tumores, cum prægrandibus oculis: et qui, quod mirum esset, noctu etiam et in tenebris viderent, sed ad breve, et cum primum a somno patuissent: demum rursum hebescebant. Incedebat cervice rigida et obstipa: adducto fere vultu, plerumq; tacitus: nullo aut rarissimo etiam cum proximis, sermone, eoq; tardissimo, nec sine molli quadam digitorum gesticulatione. Quæ omnia ingrata, atque arrogantiæ plena, et animadvertit Augustus in eo, et excusare tentavit sæpe apud senatum ac populum, professus, *Naturæ vitia esse, non animi.* Valetudine prosperrima usus est, tempore quidem principatus pæne toto prope illæsa: quamvis a trigesimo ætatis anno arbitratu eam suo rexerit, sine adjumento consiliove medicorum.

long behind, that it covered his neck, which was observed to be a mark of distinction affected by the family. He had a handsome face, but frequently full of pimples, with large eyes, that had a wonderful faculty of seeing in the night-time and in the dark, but for a short time only, and immediately after he awoke out of a sleep; for they soon grew dim again. He walk'd with his neck stiff and unmoved, commonly with a frowning countenance, being for the most part silent; very seldom talking to those about him, and when he did, it was very slowly, and with an effeminate motion of his fingers. All which things being disagreeable and full of arrogance Augustus observed in him, and endeavoured to excuse many a time to the senate and people, assuring them, that they were natural defects, that did not proceed from any viciousness of mind. *He enjoyed a very good state of health, and without any interruption, almost during the whole time of his government; although from the thirtieth year of his age, he managed himself with respect to his health according to his own discretion, without any help or assistance from physicians.*

69. Circa deos ac religiones negligentior; quippe addictus mathematicæ; persuasionisque plenus, cuncta fato agi. Tonitrua tamen præter modum expaveſcebat: et turbatiore cœlo nunquam non coronam lauream capite gestavit, quod fulmine afflari negetur id genus frondis.

69. *He had small regard to the gods or matters of religion, being mightily addicted to astrology, and full of a persuasion that all things were governed by fate. Yet he was exceeding afraid of thunder, and in very cloudy weather always wore a laurel crown on his head, because they pretend to say, that the leaf of that tree is never touched by the thunder.*

70. Artes liberales utriusque generis studiosissime coluit. In oratione Latina secutus est Corvinum Messalam: quem senem adolescens observaverat. Sed affectatione et morositate nimia obscurabat stylum: ut aliquanto ex tempore quam a cura præstantior haberetur. Composuit et carmen lyricum, cujus est titulus, *Conquestio de L. Cæsaris morte.*

70. *He applied himself very diligently to the liberal arts, both Greek and Latin. In his Latin style he affected to imitate Corvinus Messala, an old gentleman that he, when he was a young man, used to attend upon. But he rendered his style obscure by an excess of affectation and niceness, that he was thought to talk better extempore, than upon premeditation. He composed too a Lyrick ode, under the title of* a Lamentation upon the death of L. Cæsar, *as also*

Fecit et Græca poemata, imitatus Euphorionem, et Rhianum, et Parthenium: quibus poetis admodum delectatus, scripta eorum et imagines, publicis bibliothecis inter veteres et præcipuos auctores dedicavit: et ob hoc pleriq; eruditorum certatim ad eum multa de his ediderunt. Maxime tamen curavit notitiam historiæ fabularis, usq; ad ineptias atq; derisum. Nam et Grammaticos, quod genus hominum præcipue ut diximus, appetebat, ejusmodi fere quæstionibus experiebatur: *Quæ mater Hecubæ? Quod Achilli nomen inter virgines fuisset? Quid Sirenes cantare sint solitæ?* Et quo primum die, post excessum Augusti, curiam intravit, quasi pietati simul ac religioni satisfacturus, Minois exemplo, thure quidem ac vino, verum sine tibicine, supplicavit: ut ille olim in morte filii.

71. Sermone Græco, quamquam alias promptus et facilis, non tamen usquequaq; usus est. Abstinuitq; maxime in senatu: adeo quidem ut *Monopolium* nominaturus, prius veniam postularit, quod sibi verbo peregrino utendum esset: atq; etiam in quodam decreto patrum, cum ἔμβλημα recitaretur, commutandam censuerit vocem, et pro peregrina nostratem requirendam: aut si non reperiretur, vel pluribus, et per ambitum verborum rem enuntiandam. Militem quoq; Græce testimonium interrogatum, nisi Latine respondere vetuit.

72. Bis omnino toto secessus tempore, Romam redire conatus, semel triremi usq; ad proximos Naumachiæ hortos subvectus est: dispositа statione per ripas Tiberis, quæ obviam prodeuntes submoveret. Iterum

some Greek poems in imitation of Euphorion, Rhianus and Parthenius, with which poets he was wonderfully taken, and set up their works and statues in the publick libraries amongst the most considerable authors of antiquity: for which reason most of the learned men of this time vied with one another in publishing several things upon them, which they addressed to him. What he chiefly minded was the knowledge of the fabulous history, wherein he was really silly and ridiculous. For he used to try the grammarians, which sort of people he chiefly affected, as I have said, with such kind of questions as these, who was Hecuba's mother? what had been Achilles's name amongst the virgins? what song were the Syrens used to sing? *And the first day he entered the senate house after the death of Augustus, as if he intended at once to pay a respect to the memory of his father and the gods, he did, like as Minos had done formerly upon the death of his son, perform his devoirs with an offering of frankincense and wine, but without musick.*

71. *Though he was ready and quick at the Greek tongue, yet he did not use it every where, but chiefly forbore it in the senate-house; insomuch that having occasion to use the word* monopolium, *he first begged pardon for being obliged to trouble the house with a foreign word. And when in a decree of the senate, the word* emblema *was read, he advised to have it altered, and one of our own sought for in its stead; or if no proper one could be found, to express the thing by several words, or a periphrasis. He would not suffer a soldier too that was examined as witness upon a trial in Greek, to make any answer but in latin,*

72. *He but twice, during the time of his recess at Caprea, attempted to return to Rome; once he came in a trireme as far as the gardens near the Naumachia, but placed guards along the banks of the Tiber, to keep off all that should offer to come to meet him. And a second time he advanced along*

Appia

Appia usq; ad septimum lapidem, sed prospectis modo nec aditis urbis mœnibus rediit. Primo incertum qua de causa, postea ostento territus. Erat ei in oblectamentis serpens draco, quem ex consuetudine manu sua cibaturus, cum consumptum a formicis invenisset, monitus est ut vim multitudinis caveret. Rediens ergo propere Campaniam Asturæ in languorem incidit. Quo paullum levatus, Circeios pertendit. Ac ne quam suspicionem infirmitatis daret, castrensibus ludis non interfuit solum, sed etiam missum in harenam aprum jaculis desuper petiit: statimq; latere convulso, et, ut exæstuarat afflatus aura, in graviorem recidit morbum. Sustentavit tamen aliquamdiu, quamvis Misenum usq; devectus, nihil ex ordine quotidiano prætermitteret, ne convivia quidem ac cæteras voluptates, partim intemperantia, partim dissimulatione. Nam Chariclem medicum, quod commeatu abfuturus e convivio egrediens, manum sibi osculandi causa apprehendisset, existimans tentatas ab eo venas sibi, remanere ac recumbere hortatus est, cœnamq; protraxit. Nec abstinuit consuetudine, quin tunc quoq; instans in medio triclinio, adstante lictore, singulos valere dicentes appellaret.

73. Interim cum in actis legisset, *dimissos ac ne auditos quidem quosdam reos*, de quibus strictim, et nihil aliud quam nominatos ab indice scripserat, pro contempto se habitum fremens, repetere Capreas quoquo modo destinavit non temere quidquam nisi ex tuto ausurus. Sed et tempestatibus et ingravescente vi morbi retentus, paulo post obiit in villa

the Appian way, within seven miles of the town; but taking only a view of the walls at a distance, he returned without coming any nearer. For what reason he came not up to the town the first is uncertain, in the latter excursion he was deterred by a prodigy. He used to divert himself with a snake, whom going to feed with his own hand according to his custom, he found him devoured by ants, and was thereupon advised to have a care of the fury of the mob. Wherefore returning back again in all haste to Campania, he fell ill at Astura, but being something better he went on to Cerceii. And to avoid giving any suspicion of his being out of order, he was not only present at the diversions of the camp, but did himself from an eminence encounter a wild boar, let out for the purpose, with javelins. And immediately being taken with a convulsion in his side, and catching cold too upon his overheating himself in the exercise, he relapsed into a worse condition than he was at first. However he held out for some time; and sailing as far as Misene, omitted nothing in his usual manner of life, not so much as his entertainments and other pleasures, partly from an ungovernable appetite, and partly to conceal his condition. For Charicles a physician, having obtained leave to retire some time from court, at his rising from table, seised his hand to kiss it; upon which he supposing he did it to feel his pulse, desired him to stay and take his place again; and thereupon continued the entertainment longer than usual. And after all, according to his constant practice, he stood up in the middle of the room, with an officer attending, and took leave of every one in the company by name.

73. *In the mean time, finding upon a perusal of the acts of the senate,* that some persons under prosecution had been discharged, without being brought to a hearing, *concerning whom he had writ but very briefly, and no more, than that they had been only named by the informer, complaining in a great chafe that he was treated with contempt, he resolved at any rate to return to Capreæ, not daring to attempt any thing upon the occasion, but in a place of security. But being detained by storms,*

Lu-

Lucullana, octavo et septuagesimo ætatis anno, tertio et vigesimo imperii, decimo septimo Kalend. Aprilis, Cn. Acerronio Proculo C. Pontio Nigro coss. Sunt qui putant venenum ei a Cajo datum lentum atque tabificum. Alii in remissione fortuitæ febris cibum desideranti negatum: nonnulli pulvinum injectum, cum extractum sibi deficienti annulum mox resipiscens requisisset. Seneca eum scribit, *Intellecta defectione, exemptum annulum quasi alicui traditurum paruper tenuisse: dein rursus aptasse digito, & compressa sinistra manu jacuisse diu immobilem: subito vocatis ministris, ac nemine respondente, consurrexisse, nec procul a lectulo deficientibus viribus concidisse.*

and the violence of his distemper that increased upon him, he died soon after, in a country-seat of Lucullus's, in the seventy-eigth year of his age, and twenty third of his reign, upon the seventeenth of the kalends of April, when Cn. Acerronius Proculus and C. Pontius Niger were consuls. Some are of opinion that he had a slow poison given him by Caius. Others say, that upon his calling for meat in the intermission of a fever he happened to be taken with, it was denied him. Others, that he was stifled by a pillow thrown upon him, at his coming out of a swoon, and calling for his ring, that had been taken from him in the fit. Seneca writes, That finding himself a going, he took his ring off his finger, and held it a while, as if he would deliver it to some body; but put it again upon his finger, and lay for some time, with his left hand grasp'd close, and without stirring; when suddenly calling upon his attendants, and no body making answer, he rose; but his strength failing him, he fell down a little way from his bed.

74. Supremo natali suo Apollinem Temenitem et amplitudinis et artis eximiæ advectum Syracusis, ut in bibliotheca novi templi poneretur, viderat per quietem affirmantem sibi, *Non posse se ad ipso dedicari.* Et ante paucos quam obiret dies, turris Phari terræmotu Capreis concidit. Ac Miseni cinis e favilla et carbonibus, ad calefaciendum triclinium illatus, exstinctus, et jam diu frigidus exarsit repente prima vespera, atq; in multam noctem pertinaciter luxit.

74. *He had upon his last birth-day brought a large beautiful statue of Apollo at Temenus from Syracuse, in order to set it up in the library of the new temple, that had been built for that god; but dreamt that he appeared to him, and assured him,* that his statue could not be erected by him. *And a few days before he died, the watch tower of Capreæ fell down. And at Misene, some embers and coals being brought in to air his parlour, went out and were perfectly cold, but burst out into a flame again in the evening, and continued burning very bright 'till late at night.*

75. Morte ejus ita lætatus est populus, ut ad primum nuntium discurrentes, pars *Tiberium in Tiberim* clamitarent: pars *Terram matrem deosque Manes orarent, ne mortuo sedem ullam nisi inter impios darent:* alii uncum et Gemonias cadaveri minarentur, exacerbati super memoriam pristinæ crudelitatis,

75. *The people rejoiced so at his death, that upon the first news of it, they run up and down the city, crying out some,* Away with Tiberius into the Tiber. *Whilst others invoked* the Earth the common mother of mankind, and the infernal gods, to allow no place for the dead, but amongst the wicked. *Others threatened his carcass with the hook and the Scalæ Gemoniæ, being provoked by a fresh instance*

etiam

etiam recenti atrocitate. Nam cum ſenatuſconſulto cautum eſſet ut pœna damnatorum in decimum ſemper diem differretur, forte accidit ut quorundam ſupplicii dies is eſſet quo nuntiatum de Tiberio erat. Hos implorantes hominum fidem, quia, abſente adhuc Cajo, nemo exſtabat qui adiri interpellarique poſſet, cuſtodes, ne quid adverſus conſtitutum facerent, ſtrangulaverunt, abjeceruntque in Gemonias. Crevit igitur invidia: quaſi, etiam poſt mortem tyranni, ſævitia permaneret. Corpus ut moveri a Miſeno cœpit, conclamantibus pleriſque, *Atellam potius deferendum, & in Amphitheatro ſemiuſtulandum*, Romam per milites deportatum eſt, crematumque publico funere.

of barbarity, over and above the remembrance of his former cruelty. It had been provided by an act of the ſenate, that the puniſhment of perſons condemn'd to die ſhould always be deferred 'till the tenth day after the ſentence. Now it happened that the day the news arrived of Tiberius's death, was the day fixed by the law for the execution of ſome that had been ſentenced to die. Theſe poor creatures implored the protection of all about them; but becauſe Caius was not in town, and there was nobody elſe to apply to in their behalf, thoſe charged with the care of their execution, for fear of offending againſt that law, ſtrangled them, and threw them down the Gemoniæ. Which raiſed in the minds of people a greater abhorrence of the tyrant's memory than they had before, ſince his cruelty ſtill took place, even after his death. As ſoon as his corpſe begun to move from Miſene, tho' moſt people cried out to have it carried to Atella, and broiled there in the Amphitheatre, *yet it was carried to Rome, and burnt there with the uſual ceremony.*

76. Teſtamentum duplex ante biennium fecerat: alterum ſua, alterum liberti manu, ſed eodem exemplo: obſignaveratque etiam humillimorum ſignis. Eo teſtamento heredes æquis partibus reliquit, Cajum ex Germanico, et Tiberium ex Druſo, nepotes: ſubſtituitque invicem. Dedit et legata pleriſque: inter quos virginibus Veſtalibus, ac militibus univerſis, plebique Romanæ viritim, atq; etiam ſeparatim vicorum magiſtris.

76. *He had made about two years before two draughts of his will, one with his own hand, and the other with that of a freed-man of his; and had them witneſſed by ſome perſons of very mean rank. He left his two grandſons, Caius by Germanicus, and Tiberius by Druſus, heirs to his eſtate, which they were to ſhare equally; and if either of them chanced to die, the ſurvivor was to inherit the whole. He gave too a great many legacies, and amongſt the reſt, to the Veſtal virgins, all the ſoldiers, to every commoner of Rome, and to the overſeers of the ſeveral petty diviſions of the city, ſomething extraordinary.*

C. SUETONII TRANQUILLI

CAIUS CÆSAR CALIGULA IV.

CHAP I.

1. GErmanicus C. Cæſaris pater, Druſi et minoris Antoniæ filius, a Tiberio patruo adoptatus, quæſturam quinquennio ante quam per leges liceret, et poſt eam, conſulatum ſtatim geſſit. Miſſuſque ad exercitum in Germaniam, exceſſu Auguſti nuntiato, legiones univerſas imperatorem Tiberium pertinaciſſime recuſantes, et ſibi ſummam reipublicæ deferentes, incertum conſtantia an pietate majore, compeſcuit: atq; hoſte mox devicto, triumphavit. Conſul deinde iterum creatus, ac prius quam honorem iniret, ad componendum Orientis ſtatum expulſus, cum Armeniæ regem deviciſſet, Cappadociam in provinciæ formam redegiſſet, annum ætatis agens quartum et trigeſimum diutino morbo Antiochiæ obiit, non ſine veneni ſuſpicione. Nam præter livores, qui toto corpore erant, et ſpumas quæ per os fluebant, cremari quoq; cor inter oſſa incorruptum repertum eſt: cujus ea natura exiſtimatur, ut tinctum veneno igne confici nequeat.

2. Obiit autem, ut opinio fuit, fraude Tiberii, miniſterio et opera Cn. Piſonis. Qui ſub idem tempus Syriæ præpoſitus,

GERMANICUS the father of C. Cæſar, and ſon of Druſus and the younger Antonia, was, after his adoption by Tiberius his uncle, preferred to the queſtorſhip five years ſooner than the laws allowed of; and immediately after he was out of that office, to the conſulſhip. And being ſent to the army in Germany, he quieted the legions, who, upon news of Auguſtus's death, did every one of them obſtinately refuſe to accept of Tiberius for their prince, and offered him the government. In which affair, whether he ſhewed more duty to his father, or firmneſs of reſolution, is hard to ſay. Soon after he defeated the enemy, and triumphed upon it. And then being made conſul a ſecond time, before he could enter upon his office, he was obliged to hurry away to ſettle affairs in the Eaſt; where, after he had conquered the king of Armenia, and reduced Cappadocia into the form of a province, he died at Antioch of a lingering diſtemper, in the thirty fourth year of his age, not without the ſuſpicion of poiſon: for beſides the livid ſpots that appeared all over his body, and his ſpunging at the mouth, when his corpſe was burnt, his heart was found entire; the nature of which is ſuppoſed to be ſuch, as not to admit of any conſumption by fire, if it be tainted with poiſon.

2. *He was taken off, as was commonly believed, by the baſe contrivance of Tiberius, with the aſſiſtance of Cn. Piſo. Who about the ſame time being made governor of*

nec

nec dissimulans offendendum sibi aut patrem, aut filium, quasi plane ita necesse esset, etiam ægrum Germanicum gravissimis verborum ac rerum acerbitatibus, nullo adhibito modo, affecit: propter quæ, ut Romam rediit: pæne discerptus a populo, a senatu capitis damnatus est.

3. Omnes Germanico corporis animiq; virtutes, et quantas nemini cuiquam, contigisse satis constat: formam et fortitudinem egregiam: ingenium in utroq; eloquentiæ doctrinæque genere præcellens: benevolentiam singularem: conciliandæq; hominum gratiæ, ac promerendi amoris mirum et efficax studium. Formæ minus congruebat gracilitas crurum, sed ea quoq; paulatim repleta assidua equi vectatione post cibum. Hostem cominus sæpe percussit. Oravit causas etiam triumphales: atq; inter cætera studiorum monumenta reliquit et comœdias Græcas. Domi forisq; civilis: libera ac fœderata oppida sine lictoribus adibat. Sicubi clarorum virorum sepulcra cognosceret, inferias Manibus dabat. Cæsorum clade Variana veteres ac dispersas reliquias uno tumulo humaturus, colligere sua manu, et comportare primus aggressus est. Obtrectatoribus etiam qualescumque, et quantacumq; de causa nactus esset, lenis adeo et innoxius, ut Pisoni decreta sua rescindenti, clientelas diu vexanti, non prius succensere in animum induxerit, quam veneficiis quoq; et devotionibus impugnari se comperisset: ac ne tunc quidem ultra progressus, quam ut amicitiam ei more majorum renuntiaret, mandaretque domesticis ultionem, si quid sibi accideret.

Syria, and declaring openly that he must either offend the father or the son, as if there was an absolute necessity for it, he abused Germanicus at that time sick, in the most scandalous and extravagant manner, both by words and deeds: for which, upon his return to Rome, he had like to have been torn to pieces by the people; and was condemned to death by the senate.

3. It is generally agreed that Germanicus had all the noble endowments of body and mind in a higher degree than any before him, as handsomeness of person, an extraordinary courage, a great mastery in the eloquence and other literature both of Greece and Rome; besides a singular humanity, and a most engaging way of gaining the favour and affection of all about him. The smallness of his legs did not answer the handsomeness of his person in other respects; but this too was at length corrected by a constant custom of riding after meals. He frequently in battle encountered and slew the enemy with his own hand. He pleaded causes too after he had the honour of a triumph; and amongst the other fruits of his studies, left behind him some Greek comedies. And both at home and abroad behaved with the modesty of a private gentleman. He always entered free and confederate towns without his lictors. And wherever he heard in his travels of the sepulchres of famous men, paid his devoir at them to their memory, by the usual offerings. He buried in one tomb the scattered relicks of those that had been slain with Varus, and was the foremost to put his hand to the work of gathering and bringing them to the place of burial. He was so extremely mild and gentle to his enemies, let them be what they would, and upon what account soever such, that tho' Piso cancelled his decrees, and for a long time harrassed his dependents extremely, he could not find in his heart to shew his resentment of such usage of him, till he found himself attacked by magick charms and imprecations; and even then he went no further, than to renounce all friendship with him, according to antient usage, and to recommend to his friends about him the revenge of his death, if he came to an untimely end.

4. Quarum virtutum fructum uberrimum tulit, sic probatus et dilectus a suis, ut Augustus (omitto enim necessitudines reliquas) diu cunctatus an sibi successorem destinaret, adoptandum Tiberio dederit. Sic vulgo favorabilis, ut plurimi tradunt, quoties aliquo adveniret, vel secunde discederet, præ turba occurrentium prosequentiumve nonnunquam eum discrimen vitæ adisse: e Germania vero post compressam seditionem, revertenti, prætorianas cohortes universas prodisse obviam, quamvis pronuntiatum esset, ut duæ tantummodo exirent: populi autem Romani sexum, ætatem, ordinem omnem usque ad vicesimum lapidem effudisse se.

5. Tamen longe majora et firmiora de eo judicia in morte ac post mortem exstitere. Quo defunctus est die, lapidata sunt templa, subversæ Deum aræ, Lares a quibusdam familiares in publicum abjecti, partus conjugum expositi. Quin et Barbaros ferunt, quibus intestinum, quibusq; adversus nos bellum esset, velut in domestico communiq; mœrore consensisse ad inducias. Regulos quosdam barbam posuisse, et uxorum capita rasisse, ad indicium maximi luctus. Regum etiam regem et exercitatione venandi, et convictu Megistanum abstinuisse, quod apud Parthos justitii instar est.

6. Romæ equidem, cum ad primam famam valetudinis attonita et mœsta civitas sequentes nuntios opperiretur, et repente jam vesperi incertis auctoribus convaluisse tandem percrebuisset: passim cum luminibus et victimis in capitolium concursum est, ac pæne revul-

4. *He reaped the fruit of his noble qualities in abundance, being so much esteemed and beloved by his friends, that Augustus (to say nothing of his other relations) being a long time in doubt with himself, whether he should not appoint him his successor, at last ordered Tiberius to adopt him. He was so extremely popular, that many authors tell us, the crowds of such as went to meet upon his coming to any place, or to attend him at his departure, were so prodigious, that he was sometimes in danger of his life. And that upon his return from Germany, after he had quelled the mutinies in the army there, all the battalions of the guards went to meet him, notwithstanding the publick order that only two should go. And that all the rest of the people, both men and women of all ages and conditions, went as far as twenty miles to attend him to town.*

5. *Yet they still gave far greater and stronger proofs of their mighty fondness for him, about the time of his death, and afterwards. The day he died, the temples were stoned, the altars of the gods demolished, the Lares were by some thrown into the streets, and their new-born infants exposed. Nay, they tell you, that barbarous nations, both such as were at variance among themselves, and those that were at war with us, all agreed to a cessation of arms, as if they had been all in mourning for some very near and common friend. That some petty kings shaved their beards upon it, and their ladies' heads, in token of their extreme sorrow; and that the king of kings forbore his exercise of hunting, and feasting with his nobles, which amongst the Parthians, is equivalent to a cessation of all business in a time of publick mourning with us.*

6. *At Rome, upon the first news of his sickness, the city was in a great consternation and concern, waiting impatiently for further advice; when suddenly in the evening, a report without any certain author, run about, that he was recovered; upon which, the people flocked with torches and victims to the capitol, and were ready to force the doors open, they were in such mighty*

sæ templi fores, ne quid gestientes vota reddere moraretur. Expergefactus e somno Tiberius est gratulantium vocibus, atq; undique concinentium,

haste to pay the vows they had made for his recovery. Tiberius was awakened out of his sleep with the noise of the people congratulating one another, and singing all round,

Salva Roma, Salva patria, Salvus est Germanicus.
Rome is safe, our Country safe, Germanicus is so.

Sed ut demum fato functum palam factum est, non solatiis ullis, non edictis inhiberi luctus publicus potuit; duravitq; etiam per festos Decembris mensis dies. Auxit gloriam desideriumq; defuncti etiam atrocitas insequentium temporum: cunctis nec temere opinantibus, reverentia ejus ac metu repressam Tiberii sævitiam, quæ mox eruperit.

But when at last certain advice came of his death, no stop could possibly be put to the mourning of the publick, by any kind of consolation or edicts whatsoever; and it continued during the festival of December. What much contributed to the glory of the deceased, and the endearment of his memory, was the dismal severity of the following time, all people supposing, and with reason, that the fear and awe of him had laid a restraint upon the cruelty of Tiberius, which broke out soon after.

7. Habuit in matrimonio Agrippinam, M. Agrippæ et Juliæ filiam, et ex ea novem liberos tulit: quorum duo infantes adhuc rapti, unus jam pueraſcens, insigni festivitate, cujus effigiem habitu Cupidinis in æde Capitolinæ Veneris, Livia dedicavit. Augustus in cubiculo suo positam, quotiescumq; introeret, exosculabatur. Cæteri superstites patri fuerunt. Tres sexus fœminini, Agrippina, Drusilla, Livilla, continuo triennio natæ; totidem mares, Nero et Drusus et C. Cæsar. Neronem et Drusum senatus, Tiberio criminante, hostes judicavit.

7. He married Agrippina the daughter of M. Agrippa and Julia, by whom he had nine children, two of which died in their infancy, and another somewhat elder, a very witty pleasant boy, whose effigy in the habit of a Cupid, Livia set up in the temple of Venus in the Capitol; as Augustus did another in his bedchamber, which he used to kiss as oft as he entered it. The rest survived their father, three daughters, Agrippina, Drusilla, and Livilla, which were born successively one after another in three years time; and as many sons, Nero, Drusus, and C. Cæsar. Nero and Drusus at the accusation of Tiberius were declared enemies to the publick.

8. C. Cæsar natus est pridie kalend. Septembres, patre suo et C. Fontejo Capitone coss. Ubi natus sit, incertum diversitas tradentium facit. Cn. Lentulus Gætulicus Tiburi genitum scribit: Plinius Secundus in Treveris vico Ambiatino supra Confluentes: addit etiam pro argumento *aras ibi ostendi inscriptas OB AGRIPPINÆ PUERPERIUM.* Versiculi, imperante mox eo, divulgati, apud

8. Caius Cæsar was born the day before the kalends of September, when his father and C. Fonteius Capito were consuls. But where he was born is rendered somewhat uncertain, by the different accounts given of that matter. Cn. Lentulus Gætulicus says, he was born at Tibur. Plinius Secundus, in the county of the Treveri, at a village called Ambiatinus above Confluentes; and he alledges as a proof of it, altars which are there shewn, with this inscription, for the delivery of Agrippina. *Some verses too that were published in his reign,*

 hibernas

hibernas legiones procreatum indicant.

intimate that he was born in the winter quarters of the army.

In caſtris natus patriis nutritus in armis,
Jam deſignati principis omen erat.

Born and brought up in camps, he ſeemed by fate
Deſtin'd to rule the mighty Roman ſtate.

Ego in actis Antii invenio editum Gætulicum refellit Plinius, quaſi mentitum per adulationem, ut laudes juvenis glorioſiq; principis aliquid etiam ex urbe Herculi ſacra ſumeret: abuſumque audenſius mendacio, quod ante annum fere natus Germanico filius Tiburi fuerat, appellatus et ipſe C. Cæſar: de cujus amabili pueritia immaturoq; obitu ſupra diximus. Plinium arguit ratio temporum. Nam qui res Auguſti memoriæ mandarunt, Germanicum exacto conſulatu in Galliam miſſum conſentiunt, jam nato Cajo. Nec Plinii opinionem inſcriptio aræ quidquam adjuverit, cum Agrippina bis in ea regione filias enixa ſit: et qualiſcumq; partus, ſine ullo ſexus diſcrimine, *puerperium* vocetur; quod antiqui etiam puellas *pueras*, ſicut et pueros *puellos* dictitarent. Exſtat et Auguſti epiſtola ante paucos quam obiret menſe, ad Agrippinam neptem ita ſcripta de Cajo hoc (neq; enim quiſquam jam alius infans nomine pari tunc ſupereret) *Puerum Cajum* XV *kalend. Junii, ſi Di volent, ut ducerent Talarius & Aſellius heri cum his conſtitui. Mitto præterea cum eo ex ſervis meis medicum, quem ſcripſi Germanico, ſi vellet, ut retineret. Valebis mea Agrippina, et dabis operam ut valens pervenias ad Germanicum tuum.* Abunde arbitror parere, non potuiſſe ibi naſci Cajum, quo prope bimulus demum perductus ab urbe ſit.

I find in the publick regiſters that he was born at Antium. Pliny charges Gætulicus, as guilty of a downright forgery, only to ſooth the vanity of a conceited young prince, by giving a luſtre to his birth, from a city ſacred to Hercules; and ſays, that he advanced this lie with the more aſſurance, becauſe the year before the birth of Caius, Germanicus had a ſon of the ſame name, born at Tibur, concerning whoſe amiable childhood and untimely death I have ſpoken above. Pliny, it is plain, muſt be miſtaken, by the account left us of thoſe times. For the writers of Auguſtus's hiſtory, all agree that Germanicus at the expiration of his conſulſhip, was ſent into Gaul, after the birth of Caius. Nor will the inſcription upon the altar help out Pliny's opinion at all, becauſe Agrippina was brought to bed of two daughters in that country, and any delivery, without regard to ſex, is called puerperium, *becauſe the antients were uſed to call girls* pueræ, *and boys* puelli. *There is likewiſe extant a letter of Auguſtus, writ a few months before his death, to his grandaughter Agrippina, about the ſame Caius, (for there was at that time no other child of her's living under that name.)* Yeſterday I gave orders for Talarius and Aſellius to ſet forward for your parts, if the Gods permit, with your child Caius, upon the fifteenth of the kalends of June. I ſend along with him a phyſician of mine, of whom I writ to Germanicus, to keep if he pleaſed. Farewell, my dear Agrippina, and take what care you can to come ſafe and well to your Germanicus. *I ſuppoſe it is abundantly evident, that Caius could not be born there, whither he was carried from the city when almoſt two years old. The ſame conſiderations too muſt needs ſet aſide the credit of the verſes; and the rather,*

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Versiculorum quoq; fidem eadem hæc elevent: et eo facilius quod hi sine auctore sint. Sequenda igitur est quæ sola actorum restat et publici instrumenti auctoritas: præsertim cum Cajus Antium, omnibus semper locis atque secessibus prælatum, non aliter quam natale solum dilexerit: tradaturq; etiam sedem ac domicilium imperii tædio urbis transferre eo destinasse.

9. Caligulæ cognomen castrensi joco traxit, quia manipulari o habitu inter milites educabatur. Apud quos quantum præterea per hanc nutrimentorum consuetudinem amore et gratia valuerit, maxime cognitum est: cum post excessum Augusti tumultuantes, et in furorem usq; præcipites, solus haud dubie conspectu suo flexit. Non enim prius destiterunt quam ablegari eum ob seditionis periculum, et in proximam civitatem demandari animadvertissent. Tunc demum ad pœnitentiam versi, represso ac retento vehiculo, invidiam quæ sibi fieret deprecati sunt.

10. Comitatus est patrem et in Syriaca expeditione. Unde reversus primum in matris, deinde ea relegata, in Liviæ Augustæ proaviæ suæ contubernio mansit: quam defunctam prætextatus etiam tum pro Rostris laudavit. Transiitq; ad Antoniam aviam, et inde vicesimo ætatis anno accitus Capreas a Tiberio, uno atq; eodem die togam sumpsit: barbamq; posuit: sine ullo honore, qualis contigerat tirocinio fratrum ejus. Hic omnibus insidiis tentatus elicientium, cogentiumq; se ad querelas, nullam unquam occasionem dedit: perinde obliterato suorum casu ac si nihil cuiquam accidisset: quæ vero ipse

because the author is unknown. Wherefore the only authority we have to depend upon in this matter, is that of the acts and the publick register; especially since Caius ever gave the preference to Antium above all other his places of retirement, and was as fond of it, as he could be of his native soil; and, it's said too, upon his growing weary of the city, designed to have transferred the seat of empire thither.

9. *He got the name of Caligula, from the merriment of the soldiers with him in the camp, because he was brought up amongst them in the dress of a common soldier. And how much his education amongst them recommended him to their favour and affection, appeared sufficiently in that furious mutiny of the army, after the death of Augustus, when the sight of him only gave them a turn. For they persisted in their outrage, 'till they observed he was sent off, and was conveying to a neighbouring city, to secure him against the danger of that uproar. Then at last they began to relent, and stopping the chariot he was in, earnestly begged that they might not be exposed to the hatred and resentment of the world, which such a proceeding must needs bring them under.*

10. *He attended his father too in his expedition into Syria. After his return he lived first with his mother, and when she was banished, with his great grand mother Livia Augusta; in praise of whom, after her decease, tho' he was then but a boy, he pronounced a funeral oration in the Rostra. He then went into the family of his grandmother Antonia, and afterwards in the twentieth year of his age, being sent for by Tiberius to Capreæ, he in one and the same day took the manly habit, and shaved his beard, but without any of the honours that had been paid to his brothers upon the like occasion. Here tho' all imaginable arts were used to force from him a complaint against Tiberius, yet he never gave any the least handle of that kind against him, taking no more notice of the ill usage of his relations, than if nothing amiss had befallen any one*

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pateretur, incredibili dissimulatione transmittens. Tantiq; in avum, et qui juxta erant, obsequii, ut non immerito sit dictum, *Nec servum meliorem ullum, nec deteriorem dominum fuisse.*

11. Naturam tamen sævam atq; probrosam, ne tunc quidem inhibere poterat: quin et animadversionibus pœnisq; ad supplicium datorum cupidissime interesset: et ganeas atq; adulteria capillamento celatus, et veste longa noctibus obiret: ac scenicas saltandi canendiq; artes studiosissime appeteret: facile id sane Tiberio patiente, si per has mansuefieri posset ferum ejus ingenium. Quod sagacissimus senex ita prorsus perspexerat, ut aliquoties prædicaret. *Exitio suo omniumq; Cajum vivere, et se natricem (serpentis id genus) populo Romano: Phaetontem orbi terrarum educare.*

12. Non ita multo post Juniam Claudillam M. Silani nobilissimi viri filiam duxit uxorem. Deinde augur in locum fratris sui Drusi destinatus, prius quam inauguraretur ad pontificatum traductus est: insigni testimonio pietatis atq; indolis: cum deserta desolataq; reliquis subsidiis aula, Sejano vero tunc suspecto, mox et oppresso, ad spem successionis paullatim admoveretur. Quam quo magis confirmaret, amissa Junia ex partu, Enniam Næviam Macronis uxorem, qui tum prætorianis cohortibus præerat, solicitavit ad stuprum, pollicitus et matrimonium suum, si potitus imperio fuisset, deq; ea re et jurejurando et chirographo cavit. Per hanc insinuatus Macroni, veneno Tiberium aggressus est, ut quidam opinantur: spirantiq; adhuc detrahi annulum: et, quoniam suspicionem

of them; and for his own sufferings, he seemed utterly insensible of them, and behaved with that obsequiousness to his grandfather and all about him, that it was deservedly said of him, that there never was a better slave, nor a worse master.

11. *However, he could not even then restrain the cruelty and lewdness of his natural disposition. He was exceedingly fond of seeing executions, and would stroll about the streets in the night-time, disguised in a perriwig and a long coat, and was passionately addicted to the theatrical arts of singing and dancing. All which Tiberius connived at very willingly, in hopes they might perhaps correct the barbarous roughness of his temper, which the sagacious old prince had so perfect an acquaintance with, that he would often declare,* That Caius lived for the destruction of himself and mankind, and that he brought up a watersnake for the Roman people, and a Phaeton for the world.

12. *Not long after, he married Junia Claudilla, the daughter of M. Silanus, a gentleman of a very great family. And then being chosen augur in the room of his brother Drusus, before he could be inaugurated, he was advanced to the pontificate, with no small commendation of his dutiful behaviour, and great capacity. And the court being now left desolate and destitute of all other supports, Sejanus being at that time suspected, and soon after taken off, he was by degrees raised to the hopes of succeeding Tiberius in the government. For the more effectual securing of which, upon Junia's dying in child-bed, he engaged in a lewd commerce with Ennia Nævia, the wife of Macro, at that time commander of the guards, promising to marry her, if ever he came to the empire; and gave her not only his oath, but a note under his hand for it too. Having by her means insinuated himself far into Macro's favour he attempted to poison Tiberius, as some are of opinion, and ordered his ring to be taken from him, before the breath was out of his body; and because he seemed to hold it fast, a pillow*

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retinentis dabat, pulvinum jussit injici: atq; etiam fauces manu sua oppressit: liberto, qui ob atrocitatem facinoris exclamaverat, confestim in crucem acto. Nec abhorret a veritate, quum sint quidam auctores, ipsum postea, et si non de perfecto, at certe de cogitato quondam parricidio professum. Gloriatum enim esse assidue, in commemoranda sua pietate, *adulciscendam necem matris & fratrum, introisse se cum pugione cubiculum Tiberii dormientis: & misericordia correptum, abjecto ferro recessisse: nec illum, quamquam sensisset, aut inquirere quidquam aut exsequi ausum.*

13. Sic imperium adeptus, populum Romanum vel, ut ita dicam, hominum genus, voti compotem fecit, exoptatissimus princeps maximæ parti provincialium ac militum, quod infantem plerique cognoverant: sed et universæ plebi urbanæ ob memoriam Germanici patris miserationemq; prope afflictæ domus. Itaq; ut a Miseno movit, quamvis lugentis habitu, et funus Tiberii prosequens, tamen inter altaria et victimas ardenteisq; tædas, densissimo et lætissimo obviorum agmine incessit, super fausta nomina, *sidus* et *pullum*, *puppum* et *alumnum* appellantium.

14. Ingressoq; urbem, statim consensu senatus, et irrumpentis in Curiam turbæ, irrita Tiberii voluntate, qui testamento alterum nepotem suum prætextatum adhuc coheredem ei dederat, jus arbitriumq; omnium rerum illi permissum est: tanta publica lætitia, ut tribus proximis mensibus, ac ne totis quidem, supra centum sexaginta millia victimarum cæsa tradan-

to be thrown upon him, seising and squeezing him by the throat at the same time, with his own hand. At the horrid barbarity of which fact, a freed man of his crying out, he was immediately crucified for it. And the thing is likely enough; for some authors tell us, that afterwards, tho' he did not own his having any hand in the death of Tiberius, yet he frankly declared he had formerly such a design; and, to magnify his affection for his relations, he would frequently boast, that in order to revenge the death of his mother and brothers, he had entered the chamber of Tiberius, when he was asleep, with a poniard; but being seized with a fit of compassion threw it away, and retired; and that Tiberius, tho' he was sensible enough of it, yet durst not take any notice, or revenge it at all.

13. *Having thus got the empire, he therein fulfilled the wish of the Roman people, shall I say, or mankind. He had been much longed for by the greatest part of the provincials and soldiers, most of which had known him, when he was a child; as also by the whole body of the commonalty at Rome, from their affection for the memory of Germanicus his father, and compassion for the family almost quite destroyed. Wherefore, upon his moving from Misene, tho' he was in mourning, and attended the corps of Tiberius, yet he made his way amidst altars, victims, and lighted flambeaux, with prodigious crowds of people everywhere attending him, in transports of joy, and calling him, besides other lucky names, by those of their* star, chicken, pretty puppet, dear child.

14. *Upon his entering the city, immediately by the consent of the senate and the people, who broke into the house, Tiberius's will was set aside, who had left his other grand son then a minor, joint-heir with him, and the whole power and management of all affairs was put into his hands, so much to the joy and satisfaction of the publick, that in less than three months after, above a hundred and sixty thousand victims are said to have been offered in sacrifice, And upon his passing, a few days after,*

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tur. Cum deinde paucos post dies in proximas Campaniæ insulas trajecisset, vota pro reditu suscepta sunt: ne minimam quidem occasionem quoquam omittente in testificanda solicitudine et cura de incolumitate ejus. Ut vero in adversam valetudinem incidit, pernoctantibus cunctis circa Palatium, non defuerunt qui depugnaturos se armis pro salute ægri, quiq; capita sua titulo proposito voverent. Accessit ad immensum civium amorem notabilis etiam externorum favor. Namq; Artabanus Parthorum rex, odium semper contemptumq; Tiberii præ se ferens, amicitiam ejus ultro petiit: venitq; ad colloquium legati consularis: et transgressus Euphratem, aquilas et signa Romana, Cæsarumq; imagines adoravit.

15 Incendebat et ipse studia hominum omni genere popularitatis. Tiberio cum plurimis lacrymis pro concione laudato funeratoq; amplissime, confestim Pandatariam, et Pontias, ad transferendos matris fratrisq; cineres festinavit, tempestate turbida, quo magis pietas eminere: adiitq; venerabundus ac per semet in urnas condidit. Nec minore scena Ostiam, præfixo in biremis puppe vexillo, et inde Romam Tiberi subvectos, per splendidissimum quemque equestris ordinis medio ac frequenti die duobus ferculis Mausoleo intulit. Inferiasq; his annua religione publice instituit: et eo amplius matri Circenses, carpentumq; quo in pompa traduceretur. At in memoriam patris, Septembrem mensem *Germanicum* appellavit. Post hæc, Antoniæ aviæ quicquid unquam Livia Augusta honorum cepisset, uno senatusconsulto

into the islands upon the coast of Campania, vows were made for his safe return; every one greedily embracing any slight occasion of testifying their care and concern for his safety. But when he fell ill, the whole body of the people continued all night about the palatium, and some engaged themselves by vow, to expose their persons in combat as gladiators for his recovery, and others engaged in like manner to lay down their lives for his, which they signified by bills publickly posted up in the town. To this prodigious love of his own countrymen for him, was added a remarkable respect paid him by foreigners: for Artabanus king of the Parthians, who had always shewn a hatred and contempt of Tiberius, courted his friendship, had an interview with a consular lieutenant of his, and passing the Euphrates adored the eagles, with the other Roman standards, and the images of the Cæsars.

15. *And this vast respect of the world for him, he very much improved, by practising all the arts of popularity. After he had delivered with abundance of tears, a speech in praise of Tiberius, and interred him with the utmost pomp and magnificence, he immediately hastened over to Pandataria and the Pontian islands, to bring from thence the ashes of his mother and brother; and to testify the dear regard he had for their memory, in a very tempestuous season too. He approached with a profound veneration, and put them into the urns with his own hands. And having brought them in the like formality to Ostia, with a streamer upon the stern of his ship, and from thence up the Tiber to Rome, they were bore by persons of the greatest figure in the equestrian order, on two biers, into the Mausoleum, at noon day. He appointed yearly offerings to be solemnly and publickly made in honour of their memory; and to that of his mother Circensian games besides, and a chariot in the procession. The month of September he called* Germanicus *in honour of his father. And then by a decree of the senate heaped upon his grand-mother Antonia all the ho-*

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congeſſit. Patruum Claudium equitem Romanum ad id tempus collegam ſibi in conſulatu aſſumpſit. Fratrem Tiberium die virilis togæ adoptavit, appellavitq; *principem juventutis*. De ſororibus auctor fuit, ut omnibus ſacramentis adjiceretur, *NEQUE ME LIBEROSQUE MEOS CHARIORES HABEO QUAM CAJUM ET SORORES EJUS*. Item relationibus conſulum: *QUOD BONUM FELIXQUE SIT C. CÆSARI SORORIBUSQUE EJUS*. Pari popularitate damnatos relegatoſq; reſtituit: criminumque, ſi qua reſidua ex priore tempore manebant, omnium gratiam fecit. Commentarios ad matris fratrumq; ſuorum cauſas pertinentes, ne cui poſtmodum delatori aut teſti maneret ullus metus, convectos in forum, et ante clare obteſtatus deos neq; legiſſe neq; attigiſſe quidquam, concremavit. Libellum de ſalute ſua oblatum non recepit, contendens, *Nihil ſibi admiſſum cur cuiquam inviſus eſſet*: negavitq; ſe delatoribus aures habere.

16. Spintrias monſtroſarum libidinum ægre, ne profundo mergeret, exoratus, urbe ſubmovit. Titi Labieni, Cordi Cremutii, Caſſii Severi ſcripta ſenatuſconſultis abolita, requiri, et eſſe in manibus lectitarique permiſit: quando maxime ſua intereſſet ut facta quæq; poſteris tradantur. Rationes imperii ab Auguſto proponi ſolitas, ſed a Tiberio intermiſſas, publicavit. Magiſtratibus liberam juriſdictionem, et ſine ſui appellatione conceſſit. Equites Romanos ſevere curioſeque, nec ſine moderatione recognovit: palam adempto equo, quibus aut probri aliquid aut ignominiæ

nours that ever Livia Auguſta had received. His uncle Claudius, who 'till then had continued in the equeſtrian order, he took for his colleague in his conſulſhip. He adopted his brother Tiberius on the day he took upon him the manly habit, and conferred upon him the title of prince of the youth. *And as to his ſiſters he ordered an addition in all the oaths taken upon his account, in theſe words,* Nor do I love myſelf or my own children more dearly than I do Caius and his ſiſters. *And commanded all propoſals of the conſuls to the ſenate to be prefaced thus:* May what we are going to offer prove fortunate and happy to C. Cæſar and his ſiſters. *With the like popularity he reſtored ſuch as had been condemned and baniſhed, and granted an act of grace for all crimes paſſed: and to deliver ſuch as had been informers or witneſſes againſt his mother and brothers from all apprehenſion, he brought all the records or memoirs relating to their tryals into the forum, and then with a loud voice calling the gods to witneſs, that he had not read or meddled with them at all, he burnt them. And a memoir that was offered him relating to his own ſecurity, he would not receive, declaring,* that he had done nothing to render him odious to any body; *and at the ſame time ſaid,* he had no ears for informers.

16. *The Spintriæ, thoſe practitioners in a monſtrous kind of new invented lewdneſs, he was indeed prevailed upon not to throw into the ſea, as he had intended; but however he baniſhed them the city. He permitted the writings of Titus Labienus, Cordus Cremutius, and Caſſius Severus, which had been ſuppreſſed by an act of the ſenate, to be ſought and read by every body; ſince it would be for his own advantage, he ſaid, to have the tranſactions of former times delivered to poſterity. He publiſhed accounts of all that paſſed in the government, which had been practiſed by Auguſtus, but diſcontinued by Tiberius. He granted the magiſtrates a full and free juriſdiction, without any appeal to himſelf. He took a very ſtrict and exact ſurvey of the equeſtrian order, but yet with a mixture of moderation,*

niæ ineſſet: eorum qui minore culpa tenerentur, nominibus modo in ricitatione præteritis. Ut levior labor judicantibus foret, ad quatuor priores quintam decuriam addidit. Tentavit et comitiorum more revocato, ſuffragia populo reddere. Legata ex teſtamento Tiberii, quamquam abolito, ſed et Juliæ Auguſtæ quod Tiberius ſuppreſſerat, cum fide, ac ſine calumnia repræſentata perſolvit. Centeſimam auctionum Italiæ remiſit. Multis incendiorum damna ſupplevit: ac ſi quibus regna reſtituit, adjecit et fructum omnem vectigaliorum, et redituum medii temporis, ut Antiocho Comageno H. S. millies confiſcatum. Quoque magis nullius non boni exempli fautor videretur, mulieri libertinæ octoginta donavit, quod excruciata graviſſimis tormentis de ſcelere patroni reticuiſſet. Quas ob res inter reliquos honores decretus eſt ei clypeus aureus: quem quotannis certo die collegia ſacerdotum in Capitolium ferrent, ſenatu proſequente, nobilibuſq; pueris ac puellis, carmine modulato, laudes virtutum ejus canentibus. Decretum autem ut dies, quo cepiſſet imperium, Palilia vocaretur, velut argumentum rurſus conditæ urbis.

17. Conſulatus quatuor geſſit: primum ex kalendis Julii per duos menſes: ſecundum ex kalendis Januariis per triginta dies: tertium uſq; in idus Januarii: quartum uſq; in VII idus eaſdem. Ex omnibus duos noviſſimos conjunxit. Tertium autem Lugduni iniit ſolus: non, ut quidem opinantur, ſuperbia

commanding openly his horſe from every one, that laid under any blot or ſcandal whatever, but only paſſing by the names of ſuch as were guilty of ſmall fault, in calling over the liſt of the order. And to eaſe the judges a little of their fatigue, he added a fifth claſs to the former four. He attempted likewiſe to reſtore the people to their antient right of voting in the choice of magiſtrates. He paid very honourably, and without any diſpute the legacies left by Tiberius in his will, tho' it had been ſet aſide, as likewiſe thoſe left by the will of Livia Auguſta, which Tiberius had ſuppreſſed. He remitted too the hundredth penny due in all auctions to the goverment throughout Italy. He made up to many the loſs they had ſuſtained by fire; and if he reſtored to any princes their kingdoms, he likewiſe gave them all the arrears of taxes, or other income of their kingdoms, for the time of their deprivation, as to Antiochus of Comagene, the confiſcation of whoſe kingdom amounted to a hundred million of ſeſterces. And to let the world ſee that he was ready to encourage good examples in every kind, he gave a freed-woman eighty thouſand ſeſterces, for concealing a crime of her patron, notwithſtanding ſhe was put to the moſt exquiſite torture to force a diſcovery from her. For which things, amongſt other honours, a golden ſhield was decreed for him, which the ſeveral companies of prieſts were to carry yearly, upon a certain day, into the Capitol, with the ſenate attending, and noblemen's children of both ſexes, celebrating the praiſe of his virtues in ſongs. It was likewiſe ordained, that the day on which he begun his reign ſhould be called Palilia, in token of the city's being at that time, as it were, new founded.

17. *He bore four conſulſhips, the firſt from the kalends of July for two months: the ſecond from the kalends of January for thirty days: the third 'till the ides of January, and the fourth 'till the ſeventh of the ſame ides: of all which he held the two laſt ſucceſſively. The third he entered upon by himſelf at Lugdunum; not out of pride, or neglect of the uſage of his country; but becauſe at that diſtance he could not*

negli-

negligentiave, ſed quod defunctum ſub kalendarum diem collegam reſciſſe abſens non potuerat. Congiarium populo bis dedit trecenos HS. toties abundantiſſimum epulum ſenatui equeſtriq; ordini, etiam conjugibus ac liberis utrorumque. Poſteriore epulo, forenſia inſuper viris, pueris ac fœminis faſcias purpuræ ac conchylii diſtribuit. Et ut lætitiam publicam in perpetuum quoq; augeret, adjecit diem ſaturnalibus, appellavitq; *Juvenalem.*

18. Munera gladiatoria partim in amphitheatro Tauri, partim in Septis aliquot edidit: quibus inſeruit catervas Afrorum Campanorumq; pugilum ex utraq; regione electiſſimorum. Neq; ſpectaculis ipſe ſemper præſedit: ſed interdum aut magiſtratibus aut amicis præſidendi munus injunxit. Scenicos ludos et aſſidue, et varii generis, multifariam fecit, quoſdam etiam et nocturnos, accenſis tota urbe luminibus. Sparſit et miſſilia variarum rerum, et panaria cum opſonio viritim diviſit. Qua epulatione equiti Romano contra ſe hilarius avidiuſq; veſcenti, partes ſuas miſit: ſed et ſenatori ob eandem cauſam codicillos, quibus prætorem eum extra ordinem deſignabat. Edidit et Circenſes plurimos a mane uſq; ad veſperam interjecta modo Africanarum venatione, modo Trojæ decurſione, quoſdam autem præcipuos, minio et chryſocolla conſtrato Circo: nec ullis niſi ex ſenatorio ordine aurigantibus. Commiſit et ſubitos, cum e Geletiana apparatum Circi proſpicientem pauci ex proximis Mænianis poſtulaſſent.

19. Novum præterea atque inauditum genus ſpectaculi excogitavit. Nam Baiarum medi-

poſſibly know that his colleague died a little before the beginning of the new year. He twice diſtributed to the people three hundred ſeſterces a man, and as often gave a very plentiful entertainment to the ſenate and equeſtrian order, with their ladies and children. In the latter he preſented moreover to the men forenſick garments, and to the women and children red ſcarfs. And to make an addititon to the publick joy for ever, he added a day to the ſaturnalia, which he called Juvenalis.

18. *He preſented ſome ſhows of gladiators partly in the amphitheatre of Taurus, and partly in the Septa, with which he intermixed troops of the choiceſt boxers from Campania and Africa. He did not always preſide himſelf upon thoſe occaſions, but gave a commiſſion to the magiſtrates or his friends ſometimes to ſupply his place. He very frequently entertained the people with ſtage-plays of various kinds, and in ſeveral parts of the town, and ſometimes by night, with lights ſet up all over the town. He likewiſe made ſcrambles among the people, and diſtributed to every man a baſket of bread with other victuals, upon which occaſion he ſent his own ſhare to a Roman knight, that was placed oppoſite to him, and eat very merrily and heartily: and to a ſenator for the ſame reaſon a patent, whereby he, in a manner extraordinary, appointed him a pretor. He likewiſe exhibited a great many Circenſian games from morning 'till night, with the hunting of wild beaſts from Africa intermixed, or the Trojan game; and ſome of theſe games were very extraordinary, the Circus being overſpread with vermillion and chryſocolla, and none rid the chariots but gentlemen of the ſenatorian order. And ſome he preſented upon the ſudden, when upon his viewing from the Geletiana the furniture of the Circus, he was deſired ſo to do by a few people from the neighbouring Mæniana.*

19. *He invented beſides a new kind of ſpectacle, and ſuch as had never been heard of before; for he made a bridge of about*

um intervallum Puteolanas ad moles trium millium et sexcentorum fere passuum ponte conjunxit, contractis undiq; onerariis navibus et ordine duplici ad ancoras collocatis, superjectoq; aggere terreno, ac directo in Appiæ viæ formam. Per hunc pontem ultro citro commeavit, biduo continenti. Primo die phalerato equo, insignisque quercica corona, et securi, et cetra, et gladio, aureaq; chlamyde. Postridie quadrigario habitu, curriculoq; bijugo famosorum equorum, præ se ferens Darium puerum ex Parthorum obsidibus: comitante prætorianorum agmine, et in essedis cohorte amicorum. Scio plerosq; existimasse, talem a Cajo pontem excogitatum æmulatione Xerxis, qui non sine admiratione aliquanto angusticrem Hellespontum contabulaverit. Alios, ut Germaniam et Britanniam, quibus imminebat, alicujus immensi operis fama territaret. Sed avum meum narrantem puer audiebam, causam operis ab interioribus aulicis proditam, quod Thrasyllus mathematicus, anxio de successore Tiberio et in verum nepotem proniori affirmasset, *Non magis Caium imperaturum, quam per Baianum sinum equis discursurum.*

20. Edidit et peregre spectacula, in Sicilia Syracusis asty cos ludos, et in Gallia Lugduni miscellos. Sed et certamen quoq; Græcæq; Latinæ facundiæ, quo certamine ferunt victoribus præmia victos contulisse, eorundem et laudes componere coactos. Eos autem qui maxime displicuissent, scripta sua spongia linguave delere jussos, nisi ferulis objurgari aut flumine proximo mergi maluissent.

three miles and a half in length from Baiæ to the Moles of Puteoli, drawing together from all parts ships of burthen, and fixing them in two rows by their anchors, and over-laying them with earth, in form of the Appian way. He passed and repassed this bridge for two days together. The first day mounted upon a horse with rich accoutrements, wearing on his head a crown of oaken leaves, armed with a battle ax, light shield and sword, and in a cloak made of cloth of gold. The day following in the habit of a charioteer, and mounted upon a chariot drawn by two celebrated horses, having a young boy Darius by name, one of the Parthian hostages, with a body of the guards attending him, and a company of his friends, mounted on British chariots. I am sensible, most people were of opinion, that this bridge had been invented by Caius, in imitation of Xerxes, who, to the wonder of the world, laid a bridge over the Hellespont, which is somewhat narrower than the distance betwixt Baiæ and Puteoli; that others thought he did it to strike a terror into Germany and Britain, which he was just going to invade, with the fame of some prodigious work. But I once when a boy heard my grandfather say, that the reason given out by some courtiers of the greatest intimacy with him, was, that when Tiberius was in some concern about the nomination of a successor, and more inclinable to pitch upon his grandson, Thrasyllus the astrologer had assured them, That Caius would no more be emperor, than he would ride on horseback over the bay of Baiæ.

20. *He likewise exhibited publick diversions in Sicily, Grecian games at Syracuse, and miscellaneous sports at Lugdunum in Gaul: as also a contest for pre-eminence in the Grecian and Roman eloquence, in which, they tell you, such as were baffled bestowed rewards upon the best performers, and were obliged to compose speeches in their praise; but that those who performed the worst, were forced to blot out what they had writ with a sponge or their tongue, unless they chose rather to be well caned, or thrust over head and ears in the next river.*

21. Ope

21. Opera ſub Tiberio ſemiperfecta, templum Auguſti theatrumq; Pompeji abſolvit. Inchoavit autem aquæductum regione Tiburi, et Amphitheatrum juxta Septa: quorum operum a ſucceſſore ejus Claudio, alterum peractum, omiſſum alterum eſt. Syracuſis collapſa vetuſtate mœnia, Deorumque ædes refectæ. Deſtinaverat et Sami Polycratis regiam reſtituere, Mileti Didymeum peragere, in jugo Alpium urbem condere, ſed ante omnia Iſthmum in Achaja perfodere. Miſeratq; jam ad dimetiendum opus primipilarem.

22. Hactenus quaſi de principe, reliqua ut de monſtro narranda ſunt. Compluribus cognominibus aſſumptis (nam et PIUS et CASTRORUM FILIUS, et PATER EXERCITUUM, et OPTIM. MAX. CAESAR vocabatur) cum audiret forte reges, qui officii cauſſa in urbem advenerant, concertantes apud ſe ſuper cœnam de nobilitate generis, exclamavit, Εἷς κοίρανος ἔστω Εἷς βασιλεύς. Nec multum abfuit quin ſtatem diadema ſumeret, ſpeciemq; principatus in regni formam converteret. Verum admonitus, et principum et regum ſe exceſſiſſe faſtigium, divinam ex eo majeſtatem aſſerere ſibi cœpit. Datoq; negotio, ut ſimulacra numinum religione et arte præclara, inter quæ Olympici Jovis, apportarentur e Græcia, quibus capite dempto ſuum imponeret. Partem palatii ad forum uſq; promovit, atq; æde Caſtoris et Pollucis in veſtibulum transfigurata, conſiſtens ſæpe inter fratres deos medium ſe adorandum adeuntibus exhibebat: et quidam eum LATIALEM JOVEM conſalutaverunt. Templum etiam

21. *He finiſhed the works that were left, imperfect by Tiberius, that is, the temple of Auguſtus, and the theatre of Pompey. He begun likewiſe the aquæduct from the neighbourhood of Tibur, and an amphitheatre nigh the Septa, of which works the one was finiſhed by his ſucceſſor Claudius, and the other let alone. The walls at Syracuſe, that by length of time were much gone to ruin, were repaired, as alſo the temple of the gods. He had a deſign too to rebuild the palace of Polycrates at Samos, to finiſh the temple of the Didymæan Apollo at Miletus, to build a city upon the top of the Alps; but above all things to make a cut through the iſthmus in Achaia: and ſent a centurion of the firſt rank to meaſure out the work.*

22. *Thus far we have ſpoken of him as a prince. What remains to be ſaid of him beſpeaks him rather a monſter than a man. He aſſumed various titles,* as dutiful, the ſon of the camp: the father of the armies, and the greateſt and the beſt Cæſar. *And upon hearing ſome kings, that came to the city to pay their reſpects to him, contending amongſt themſelves at ſupper, about the nobleneſs of their birth, he cried out,* Let there be but one prince, one king. *And he was ſtrongly minded to have taken a diadem immediately, and to have turned the imperial dignity into the form of a kingdom. But being told, that he had far exceeded the grandeur of princes and kings, he upon that begun to claim to himſelf a divine majeſty. And having ordered all the images of the gods that were famous for the veneration paid them, or their beauty, amongſt which was that of Jupiter Olympicus, to be brought from Greece, that he might take the heads off, and put on his own. He carried on a part of the Palatium as far as the forum; and the temple of Caſtor and Pollux being transformed into a kind of porch to his houſe, he would often ſtand betwixt the two brothers, and ſo preſent himſelf to be worſhipped by all comers; and ſome ſaluted him by the name of Jupiter Latialis. He ordered likewiſe a temple and prieſts, and the moſt choice victims for his own godhead. In his temple ſtood an image of gold*

numi-

numini suo proprium, et sacerdotes et excogitatissimas hostias instituit. In templo simulacrum stabat aureum iconicum. Amictiebaturq; quotidie veste, quali ipse uteretur. Magisteria sacerdotii ditissimus quisq; et ambitione et licitatione maxima vicibus comparabant. Hostiæ erant phœnicopteri, pavones, tetraones, Numidicæ, meleagrides, phasianæ, quæ generatim per singulos dies immolarentur. Et noctibus quidem plenam fulgentemq; lunam invitabat assidue in amplexus atq; concubitum: interdiu vero cum Capitolino Jove secreto fabulabatur, modo insusurrans, ac præbens invicem aures, modo clarius, nec sine jurgiis. Nam vox comminantis audita est.

exactly of the same size with himself, which was daily dressed up in the same sort of garments, as he made use of himself. The richest persons in the city stood candidates for the honour of being his priests, and purchased it one after another at an immense price. The victims were flamingos, peacocks, bustards, Numidicæ, turky-hens, pheasant-hens, each sacrificed their several days. And in the night he used constantly to invite the moon when full to his embraces. In the day time he talked in private with Jupiter Capitolinus, one while whispering to him, and another turning his ear to him, sometimes he would talk aloud, and in railing language. For he was over-heard to threaten the God in the following terms.

Εἰς γαῖαν Δαναῶν πρέψω σε,
Into the land of GREECE I will transport thee.

donec exorabat, ut referebat, et in contubernium ultro invitatus, super templum Divi Augusti ponte transmisso, palatium Capitoliumq; conjunxit. Mox quo proprior esset, in area Capitolina novæ domus fundamenta jecit.

23. Agrippæ se nepotem neque credi neq; dici ob ignobilitatem ejus volebat: succensebatque, si qui vel oratione vel carmine imaginibus eum Cæsarum insereret. Prædicabat autem matrem suam, ex incesto quod Augustus cum Julia filia commisisset, procreatam. Ac non contentus hac Augusti insectatione, Actiacas Siculasque victorias, ut funestas pop. Rom. et calamitosas, vetuit solennibus feriis celebrari. Liviam Augustam proaviam *Ulyssem stolatum* identidem appellans, etiam ignobilitatis quadam ad senatum epistola arguere ausus est, quasi materno avo decurione Funda-

'till being at last prevailed upon by the entreaties of the God, as he said, and being invited to live with him, he made a bridge over the temple of Augustus, whereby he joined the Palatium and the Capitol together; and soon after, to be still nearer him, he laid the foundation of a new house in the Capitol.

23. *He was not willing to be thought or called the grandson of Agrippa, because of the obscurity of his birth: and he was angry if any one either in prose or verse ranked him amongst the Cæsars. He pretended his mother was begot in incest, which Augustus committed with his daughter Julia. And not content with this vile reflection upon the memory of Augustus, he forbid his victories at Actium, and upon the coasts of Sicily, to be celebrated by festivals as usual, pretending they had been of the most dismal and pernicious consequence to the Roman people. He called his grandmother Livia Augusta* ULYSSES *in a woman's dress, and had the impudence to reflect upon her in a letter to the senate, as of mean birth, and descended from a grandfather by the mother's side that was only a*

no

no ortam, cum publicis monumentis certum sit Aufidium Lingonem Romæ honoribus functum. Aviæ Antoniæ secretum petenti denegavit, nisi ut interveniret Macro præfectus. Ac per istiusmodi indignitates et tœdia, causa exstitit mortis: dato tamen, ut quidam putant, et veneno. Nec defunctæ ullum honorem habuit: prospexitq; e triclinio ardentem rogum. Fratrem Tiberium inopinantem, repente immisso tribuno militum, interemit. Silanum item socerum ad necem, secandasque novacula fauces, compulit: causatus in utroque, quod hic ingressum se turbatius mare non esset secutus, at spe occupandi urbem, si quid sibi per tempestates accideret, remansisset: ille antidotum oboluisset, quasi ad præcavenda venena sua sumptum: cum et Silanus impatientiam nauseæ vitasset et molestiam navigandi, et Tiberius propter assiduam et ingravescentem tussim medicamento usus esset. Nam Claudium patruum non nisi in ludibrium reservavit.

24. Cum omnibus sororibus suis stupri consuetudinem fecit: plenoq; convivio singulas infra se vicissim collocabat uxore supra cubante. Ex his Drusillam vitiasse virginem, prætextatus adhuc, creditur. Atq; etiam in concubitu ejus quondam deprehensus ab avia Antonia, apud quam simul educabantur. Mox Lucio Cassio Longino consulari collocatam abduxit, et in modum justæ uxoris propalam habuit. Heredem quoq; bonorum atq; imperii æger instituit. Eadem defuncta, justitium indixit: in quo risisse, lavisse, cœnasse cum parentibus, aut conjuge liberisve, capitale fuit. Ac mœroris impatiens, cum re-

member of the council of state at Fundi; whereas its certain from publick monuments, that Aufidius Lingo bore publick offices at Rome. His grand mother Antonia desiring some private conferences with him, he denied her, unless Macro commander of the guards might be present, and by such kind of affronts and ill usage was the occasion of her death, but not without giving her a dose of poison, as some think. Nor did he pay the least respect to her memory after her decease, and beheld from his parlour her pile on fire. He surprised his brother Tiberius by suddenly sending a military tribune to dispatch him. He forced too Silanus his father-in-law to kill himself, by cutting his throat with a razor. The pretence he alledged for these murders, was, that the latter had not followed him upon his putting to sea in stormy weather, but staid behind in order to seize the city, if he should happen to be lost in the voyage. The other, he pretended, smelt of an antidote, which he had taken to prevent his being poisoned by him: whereas Silanus was only afraid of being sea-sick, and of the trouble of the voyage; and Tiberius had only made use of a medicine for a cough he had upon him constantly, that grew worse and worse. For as to his successor Claudius he only saved him to make sport with.

24. *He lived in the practice of incest with all his sisters, and at table when a great deal of company was present, he placed them every one by turns below him, whilst his lady lay above him. It is believed he deflowered one of them, Drusilla, whilst he was yet a minor; and was taken in her embraces by his grand mother Antonia, with whom they were educated together. And when she was afterwards married to Lucius Cassius Longinus a consular gentleman, he took her from him, and kept her openly as his wife: and in a fit of sickness did by his will appoint her heiress of his estate and the empire too. After her death he ordered a publick mourning for her, during which it was capital for any one to laugh, use the bath, or sup with his parents, wife or children. And being inconsolable under his affliction, he went hastily and in the*

pente

pente noctuq; profugiſſet ab urbe, tranſcurriſſetq; Campaniam, Syracuſas petiit. Rurſuſq; inde propere rediit, barba capilloq; promiſſo. Nec unquam poſtea quantiſcumq; de rebus, ne pro concione quidem populi, aut apud milites, niſi *per numen Druſillæ* dejeravit. Reliquas ſorores, nec cupiditate tanta, nec dignatione dilexit, ut quas ſæpe exoletis ſuis proſtraverit. Quo facilius eas in cauſa Æmilii Lepidi condemnavit, quaſi adulteras, et inſidiarum adverſus ſe conſcias. Nec ſolum chirographa omnium requiſita fraude ac ſtupro divulgavit, ſed et tres gladios in necem ſuam præparatos Marti ultori, addito elogio, conſecravit.

25. Matrimonia contraxerit turpius, an dimiſerit, an tenuerit, non eſt facile diſcernere. Liviam Oreſtillam C. Piſoni nubentem, cum ad officium et ipſe veniſſet, ad ſe deduci imperavit, intraq; paucos dies repudiatam biennio poſt relegavit: quod repetiſſe uſum prioris mariti tempore medio videbatur. Alii tradunt, adhibitum cœnæ nuptiali, mandaſſe ad Piſonem, contra accumbentem, *Noli uxorem meam premere:* ſtatimq; e convivio abduxiſſe eam ſecum, et proximo die edixiſſe, *MATRIMONIUM SIBI REPERTUM EXEMPLO ROMULI ET AUGUSTI.* Lolliam Paulinam, C. Memmio conſulari, exercitus regenti, nuptam, facta mentione aviæ ejus, ut quondam pulcherrimæ, ſubito ex provincia evocavit, ac perductam a marito conjunxit ſibi, breviq; miſſam fecit, interdicto cujuſquam in perpetuum coitu. Cæſoniam neq; facie inſigni, neq;

night time from the city; and after he had gone through Campania went for Syracuſe, and then ſuddenly returned without ſhaving his beard, or trimming his hair all that while. Nor did he ever after that in matters of the greateſt importance, not in the aſſemblies of the people or the ſoldiers, ſwear any otherwiſe, than by the divinity of Druſilla. *The reſt of his ſiſters he did not treat with that fondneſs or regard, but would oftentimes proſtitute them to his catamites. And therefore he the more readily condemned them in the caſe of Æmilius Lepidus, as guilty of adultery, and privy to that conſpiracy againſt him. Nor did he only divulge their own hand writing relating to the affair, which he procured by baſe and lewd means, but likewiſe conſecrated to Mars the revenger three ſwords that had been prepared to ſtab him, with an inſcription, ſetting forth the occaſion of their conſecration.*

25. *Whether he married his wives, parted with them, or kept them with greater infamy, is not eaſy to ſay. Being at the wedding of C. Piſo with Livia Oreſtilla, he ordered the bride to be carried to his own houſe, but within a few days divorced her, and two years after baniſhed her; becauſe it was thought ſhe had upon her divorce returned to the embraces of her former huſband. Some ſay, that being invited to the wedding-ſupper, he ſent a meſſenger to Piſo over-againſt him in theſe words,* do not preſs upon my wife, *and that he immediately carried her out of the entertainment with him: and the next day publiſhed a proclamation, ſignifying* that he had got a wife as Romulus and Auguſtus had done. *Lollia Paulina, that was married to a conſular gentleman general of an army, he ſuddenly ſent for from the province where ſhe was with her huſband, upon mention made of her grand-mother, as formerly a very beautiful lady; and married her, but ſhortly after parted with her, diſcharging her at the ſame time, for ever having any thing to do with man more. He loved with a moſt paſſionate and conſtant affection, Cæſonia that was neither handſome*

ætate

ætate integra, matremq; jam ex alio viro trium filiarum, sed luxuriæ ac lasciviæ perditæ, et ardentius et constantius amavit: ut sæpe chlamyde peltaq; et galea ornatam, et juxta adequitantem, militibus ostenderit: amicis vero etiam nudam. Quam enixam uxorio nomine dignatus est, uno atq; eodem diem professus, et maritum se ejus, et patrem infantis ex ea natæ. Infantem autem Juliam Drusillam appellatam, per omnium dearum templa circumferens, Minervæ gremio imposuit, alendamq; et instituendam commendavit. Nec ullo firmiore indicio sui seminis esse credebat, quam feritatis: quæ illi quoque tanta jam tunc erat, ut infestis digitis, ora et oculos simul ludentium infantium inceſſeret.

nor young, and was besides the mother of three daughters by another man, but a woman of desperate luxury and lasciviousness. Her he would oftentimes shew to the soldiers dress'd up in a military cloak, with shield and helmet, and riding by his side. And to his friends he shewed her naked. After she had a child, he honoured her with the name of wife, in one and the same day, declaring himself her husband, and father of the child that was born of her. He named it Julia Drusilla, and carrying it round the temples of all the Goddesses, laid it on the lap of Minerva; and recommended to her the care of her education and instruction. He took her to be his own for no other reason so much as the savage cruelty of her temper, which was such when she was but an infant, that she would with her nails fly at the face and eyes of the children at play with her.

26. Leve ac frigidum sit his addere quo propinquos amicosque pacto tractaverit, Ptolemæum regis Jubæ filium, consobrinum suum (erat enim et is M. Antonii ex Selena filia nepos) et in primis ipsum Macronem, ipsam Enniam, adjutores imperii, quibus omnibus pro necessitudinis jure, proq; meritorum gratia, cruenta mors persoluta est. Nihilo reverentior leniorve erga senatum. Quosdam summis honoribus functos, ad esse dum sibi occurrere togatos per aliquot passuum millia, et cœnanti, modo ad pluteum, modo ad pedes stare succinctos linteo, passus est: alios cum clam interemisset, citare nihilo minus ut vivos perseveravit, paucos post dies voluntaria morte periisse mentitus. COSS. oblitis de natali suo edicere, abrogavit magistratum, fuitq; per triduum sine summa potestate respubl. Quæstorem suum in con-

26. It would be trifling and frivolous to add to all this his treatment of his relations and friends; as Ptolemy king Juba's son, his cousin, (for he was the grandson of M. Anthony by his daughter Selene) and especially Macro himself, and Ennia too, by whose assistance he had got the empire, all which, for their alliance and eminent services, met with a cruel death from him. Nor was he at all more mild or respectful in his behaviour towards the senate. Some that had bore the highest offices in the government, he suffered to run by his chaise in their togas for several miles together, and to attend him at supper, sometimes at the head of his couch, sometimes at his feet, with napkins tied about them; and others of them, after he had privately put them to death, he would nevertheless continue to send for, as if they were still alive, and after a few days pretended they had laid violent hands upon themselves. The consuls, forgetting to give notice by proclamation of his birth day, he displaced, and the government was for three days without any to fill that high office. A questor of his that was named as concerned in a conspiracy against him, he scourged severely, having

juratione nominatum flagellavit veste detracta, subjectaq; militum pedibus, quo firme verberaturi insisterent. Simili superbia violentiaq; cæteros tractavit ordines. Inquietatus fremitu gratuita in Circo loca de media nocte occupantium, omnes fustibus abegit. Elisiq; per eum tumultum viginti amplius equites Romani, totidem matronæ super innumeram turbam cæteram. Scenicis ludis, inter plebem et equitem causam discordiarum serens, decimas maturius dabat, ut equestria ab infimo quoq; occuparentur. Gladiatorio munere, reductis interdum flagrantissimo sole velis, emitti quemquam vetabat: remotoq; ordinario apparatu, tabidas feras vilissimos senio confectos, gladiatores quoq; pegmares, patres familiarum notos, sed insignes debilitate aliqua corporis, subjiciebat. Ac nonnunquam horreis præclusis populo famem indixit.

27. Sævitiam ingenii per hæc maxime ostendit. Cum ad saginam ferarum muneri præparatarum carius pecudes compararentur, ex noxiis lanistas adnotavit: et custodiarum seriem recognoscens, nullius inspecto elogio, stans tantummodo intra porticum mediam *a calvo ad calvum duci* imperavit. Votum exegit ab eo qui pro salute sua gladiatoriam operam promiserat: spectavitq; ferro dimicantem: nec dimisit nisi victorem, et post multas preces. Alterum qui se periturum ea de causa voverat, cunctantem pueris tradidit verbenatum infulatumque, qui votum reposcentes per vicos agerent, quoad præcipitaretur

first stripped off his cloaths, and spread them under the feet of the soldiers employed in the work, that they might stand the faster. With the like insolence and violence did he treat the other orders. Being disturbed by the noise of people taking their places at midnight in the Circus, which they were to have gratis, he drove them all away with clubs: and in that hustle above twenty Roman knights were squeezed to death in the crowd, with as many married women, besides a vast number of other people. When stage plays were acted, to set the commonalty and the equestrian order together by the ears, he would scatter the money-tickets sooner than usual, that the seats assigned the knights might be all seised by the mob. In the show of gladiators, sometimes when the sun was violently hot, he would order the cover of the theatre to be drawn off, and forbid any one to be let out; and withdrawing the usual apparatus for the entertainment, presented only wild beasts almost pined to death, the most sorry gladiators, decrepit with age, and fit only for the pegma, besides noted housekeepers, but such as were remarkable for some bodily infirmity. And sometimes shutting up the the publick granaries, he would oblige the people to starve for a while.

27. *He shewed the savage barbarity of his temper chiefly by the following behaviour: When cattle was not to be had but at a high price, for the feeding of his wild beasts designed for the diversion of the publick, he ordered criminals to be made use of for that purpose, and upon taking a view of his prisoners that were drawn up in a row before him, without troubling himself to examine the cause of the commitment of any one of them, only standing in the middle of the portico where they were, he ordered them to be led away to execution from* bald pate to bald-pate. *He exacted from one the performance of his vow, who had engaged himself to expose his life as a gladiator for his recovery, and looked on whilst he fought, nor would he quit him 'till he came off conqueror, and after a great many entreaties. Another that had vowed to sacrifice his life upon the same account, but had no stomach to the per-*

cipitaretur

cipitaretur ex aggere. Multos honesti ordinis, deformatos prius stigmatum notis, ad metalla aut ad viarum munitiones, aut ad bestias condemnavit, aut bestiarum more quadrupedes cavea coercuit, aut medios serra dissecuit. Nec omnes gravibus ex causis, verum male de munere suo opinatos, vel quod nunquam per Genium suum dejerassent. Parentes supplicio filiorum interesse cogebat. Quorum uni valetudinem excusanti lecticam misit: alium e spectaculo pœnæ, epulis statim adhibuit, atque omni comitate ad hilaritatem et jocos provocavit. Curatorem munerum ac venationum per continuos dies in conspectu suo catenis verberatum non prius occidit, quam offensus putrefacti cerebri odore, Atellanæ poetam, ob ambigui joci versiculum, media amphitheatri arena igni cremavit. Equitem Romanum objectum feris, cum se innocentem proclamasset, reduxit: abscissaque lingua, rursus induxit.

28. Revocatum quendam a vetere exsilio sciscitatus, quidnam ibi facere consuesceret, respondente eo per adulationem, *Deos semper oravi, ut quod evenit, periret Tiberius, et tu imperares:* opinans sibi quoq; exsules suos mortem imprecari, misit circum insulas, qui universos contrucidarent. Cum discerpi senatorem concupisset, subornavit, qui ingredientem curiam, repente hostem publicum appellantes, invaderent, graphiisq; confossum lacerandum cæteris traderent. Nec

formance, he delivered dressed up with sacred greens and ribbons to some boys, who drove him along the street, demanding from him the execution of his vow, 'till he was thrown headlong from the town rampart. He deformed many persons of honourable rank by branding them with hot irons in the face, and then condemned them to the mines, or to working in the making causeys, or to fighting with wild beasts, or would shut them up in cages like wild beasts, tied neck and heels, or saw them in two. And not all of them for occasions of any importance, but only for reflecting upon his publick sports for the entertainment of the people, or because they had never sworn by his Genius. He obliged parents to be present at the execution of their sons. And to one that excused himself because he was not well, he sent his own chair: another he invited to his own table immediately after the fight, and with mighty complaisance was for engaging him in a merry jocular conversation. The overseer of his publick diversions of gladiators and the hunting of wild beasts, he ordered to be beat with chains for several days together in his sight, and did not put him to death, 'till he was offended with the stench of his putrified brain. He burnt alive the writer of a farce, in the middle of the amphitheatre, for a merry verse with a double meaning. A Roman knight that was exposed by him to wild beasts, crying out that he was innocent, he fetched him back again, and, cutting out his tongue, ordered him to be brought again.

28. *Asking a certain person, whom he restored to his country after a long banishment, how he used to spend his time, and he in flattery replying,* I was always praying the Gods for what has happened, that TIBERIUS might die, and you be emperor. *He supposing upon it, that all those he had banished prayed for his death too, he sent round the islands to have them all dispatched. Being very desirous to have a senator torn to pieces, he employed some to call him a publick enemy, fall upon him as he entered the house, and stab him with their stiles, and deliver him to the rest to tear in pieces. Nor was he satisfied, 'till he saw the members and bowels of the man,*

ante satiatus est quam membra et artus et viscera hominis tracta per vicos, atq; ante se congesta vidisset.

29. Immanissima facta augebat atrocitate verborum, *Nihil magis in natura sua laudare se ac probare* dicebat, *quam*, ut ipsius verbo utar, ἀδιαφθορίαν. Monenti Antoniæ aviæ, tanquam parum esset non obedire. *Memento*, ait, *Omnia mihi & homini licere*. Trucidaturus fratrem, quem metu venenorum præmuniri medicamentis suspicabatur, *Antidotum*, inquit, *adversus Cæsarem?* relegatis sororibus, non solum insulas habere se, sed etiam gladios minabatur. Prætorium virum ex secessu Anticyræ, quam valetudinis causa petierat, propagari sibi commeatum sæpius desiderantem, cum mandasset interimi, adjecit, *Necessariam esse sanguinis missionem, cui tam diu non prodesset elleborum*. Decimo quoq; die, numerum puniendorum ex custodia subscribens, *Rationem se purgare dicebat*. Gallis Græcisque aliquot uno tempore condemnatis, gloriabatur *Gallograciam sese subegisse*.

30. Non temere in quemquam, nisi crebris et minutis ictibus animadverti passus est: perpetuo notoq; jam præcepto, *Ita feri, ut se mori sentiat*. Punito per errorem nominis alio quam quem destinaverat, ipsum quoq; paria meruisse dixit. Tragicum illud subinde jactabat,

after they had been dragged thro' the streets, piled up on a heap before him.

29 *He aggravated his barbarous actions by as barbarous expressions. He said,* he commended and liked nothing in his nature so much as *to use his own word,* his ἀδιαφθορίαν, *or* inflexible rigour. *Upon his grandmother Antonia's giving him some advice, as if it was but a small matter to give no regard to it, he said,* Remember that all things are lawful for me. *When he was going to put his brother to death, whom he suspected to take antidotes for fear of poison,* What, *says he,* an Antidote against Cæsar? *And when he banished his sisters, he threateningly told them, that he had not only islands at command, but swords too. A pretorian gentleman having sent several times from Anticyra, whither he had gone for his health, for leave to continue longer, he ordered him to be slain, and added withal,* That bleeding was necessary for one that had found no benefit by the use of hellebor for so long a time. *He used every tenth day to subscribe the number of prisoners appointed for execution, and this he called* clearing his accounts. *And having condemned several Gauls and Greeks at one time, he boasted* he had conquered Gallogræcia.

30. *He hardly suffered any one to be put to death, but by slight and frequently repeated strokes, this being a well-known and constant order of his, upon those occasions,* Strike so, that he may feel himself die. *Having by a mistake of his name punished one person for another, he said, he had deserved as much. He had frequently in his mouth those words of the Tragedian,*

Oderint dum metuant.

Let them hate me, so they do but fear me.

Sæpe in cunctos pariter senatores ut Sejani clientes, aut matris ac fratrum suorum delato-

He would often inveigh against all the senators without exception, as the clients of Sejanus, and informers against his mother

res,

res, invectus est : prolatis libellis, quos crematos simulaverat, defensaq; Tiberii sævitia quasi necessaria, cum tot criminantibus credendum esset. Equestrem ordinem, ut scenæ arenæq. devotum assidue proscidit. Infensus turbæ faventi adversus studium suum exclamavit, *Utinam populus Romanus unam cervicem haberet.* Cumq; Tetrinius latro postularetur, *et qui postularent, Tetrinios esse* ait. Retiarii tunicati quinq; numero gregatim dimicantes, sine certamine ullo totidem secutoribus succubuerant: cum occidi juberentur, unus resumpta fuscina, omnes victores interemit. Hanc ut crudelissimam et deflevit edicto, et eos qui spectare sustinuissent, exsecratus est.

31. Queri etiam palam de conditione temporum suorum solebat, *quod nullis calamitatibus publicis insignirentur.* Augusti principatum clade Variana : Tiberii ruina spectaculorum apud Fidenas memorabile factum : sui oblivionem imminere prosperitate rerum. Atque identidem exercituum cædes, famem, pestilentiam, incendia hiatum aliquem terræ optabat.

32. Animum quoq; remittenti, ludoq; et epulis dedito, eadem dictorum factorumq; sævitia aderat. Sæpe in conspectu prandentis vel comessantis seriæ quæstiones per tormenta habebantur. Miles decollandi artifex quibuscumque e custodia capita amputabat. Puteolis dedicatione pontis, quem excogitatum ab eo significavimus, cum multos e littore invitasset ad se, repente omnes præcipitavit. Quosdam gubernacula apprehendentes, contis remisq; detrusit in mare. Romæ pub-

and brothers, producing the memoirs which he had pretended to burn; and excusing the cruelty of Tiberius, as necessary, since it was impossible to disbelieve so many accusers. He was continually abusing the whole Equestrian order, as infinitely fond of acting upon the stage, and fighting as gladiators. Being in a rage at the people for favouring a party in the Circensian games in opposition to him, he cried out, I wish the Roman people had but one neck. *And when Tetrinius the highwayman was prosecuted, he said,* the prosecutors too were all Tetrinius's. *Five Retiarii in tunicks fighting in a company, yielded to so many pursuers, without any dispute for victory, and being ordered to be all slain, one of them taking up his fork again, killed all the conquerors. This he lamented in a proclamation, as a most cruel butchery, and cursed all those that were able to endure the sight of it.*

31. *He used too openly to complain of the condition of the times, because they were not rendered remarkable by any publick calamities. That the reign of Augustus had been made memorable to posterity by the disaster of Varus; and that of Tiberius by the fall of the amphitheatre at Fidenæ; but that his was like to be forgotten in the world, by a continued series of prosperity. And he would now and then wish for some terrible slaughter of his troops, a famine, a pestilence, fires, or that the earth would open.*

32. *And this barbarous cruelty both in his language and actions never forsook him in the midst of his diversions, in his gaming or feasting. Persons were often put to the torture in his presence, whilst he was dining or carousing. A soldier that was an artist at beheading, used at such times to take off the heads of prisoners fetched without distinction from the jails for that purpose. At Puteoli, upon his first mounting the bridge, which we have already taken notice, he contrived there, he invited several people from the shore to him, and then all on a sudden threw them head-long into the water. Some that got hold of the rudders of the ships he thrust down with poles and*

lico

lico epulo servum ob detractam lectis argenteam laminam, carnifici confestim tradidit, ut manibus abscissis, atq; ante pectus e collo pendentibus, præcedente titulo qui causam pœnæ indicaret, per cœtus epulantium circumduceretur. Mirmillonem e ludo rudibus secum batuentem, et sponte prostratum, confodit ferrea sica, ac more victorum cum palma discucurrit. Admota altaribus victima, succinctus poparum habitu, elato alte malleo, cultrarium mactavit. Lautiore convivio effusus subito in cachinnos, COSS. qui juxta cubabant, quidnam rideret blande quærentibus, *Quid*, inquit, *nisi uno meo nutu jugulari utrumque vestrum statim posse?*

oars into the sea. At Rome, in a publick feast, a slave having stole a little silver from the beds, he delivered him immediately to an executioner, with orders to cut off his hands, and to lead him round the several companies with them hanging from his neck before his breast, and a label signifying the cause of his punishment. A gladiator that was practising with him, and voluntarily threw himself at his feet, he stabbed with a poniard, and then run about with a branch of palm in his hand, after the manner of those who come off conquerors in the games. And when a victim was to be offered in sacrifice, he attending in the dress of the popæ, and holding the ax aloft some time, at last, instead of the beast, knocked down an officer attending there to cut up the sacrifice. And at an extraordinary entertainment, falling suddenly into a violent fit of laughter, and the consuls who were next him, very civilly asking him the occasion; Nothing, *replied he*, but upon a single nod of mine you may both of you have your throats cut.

33. Inter varios jocos, cum assistens simulacro Jovis, Apellem tragœdum consuluisset, uter, illi major videretur, cunctantem flagellis discidit; collaudans subinde vocem deprecantis, quasi etiam in gemitu prædulcem. Quoties uxoris vel amiculæ, collum exoscularetur, addebat, *Tam bona cervix, simulac jussero, demetur.* Quin et subinde jactabat, *Exquisiturum se vel fidiculis de Cæsonia sua, cur eam tantopere dilegeret.*

33. *Amongst divers other jests, this was one. As he stood by the statue of Jupiter, he asked Appelles, the tragædian, which of them he thought bigger? and upon his demurring about it, lashed him most cruelly, now and then commending his voice, whilst he begged pardon, as very sweet in the midst of groans. As oft as he kissed the neck of his wife or mistress, he would say,* So fine a neck must be taken off, whenever I please. *And now and then he would threaten* to put his CAESONIA to the torture, in order to find out the reason why he loved her so much.

34. Nec minore livore ac malignitate quam superbia sævitiaq; pæne adversus omnis ævi homines grassatus est. Statuas virorum illustrium, ab Augusto ex capitolina area propter angustias in Martium campum collatas, ita subvertit atq; disjecit, ut restitui salvis titulis non valuerint. Vetuitq; posthac viventium cuiquam us-

34. *He behaved with a degree of envy and ill nature equal to his pride and cruelty against men of all ages almost. He so demolished and dispersed the statues of several illustrious persons that had been removed by Augustus for want of room, from the court of the capitol into the field of Mars, that it was impossible to set them up again with their inscriptions entire. And for the future forbid any statue to be erected for any man living, in*

quam

quam ſtatuam aut imaginem, niſi conſulto ſe et auctore, poni. Cogitavit etiam de Homeri carminibus abolendis. *Cur enim ſibi non licere*, dicens, *quod Platoni licuit, qui eum e civitate quam conſtituebat, ejecerit?* Sed et Virgilii et Titi Livii ſcripta et imagines, paulum abfuit quin ex omnibus bibliothecis amoverit: quorum alterum, *ut nullius ingenii, minimæq; doctrinæ*; alterum, ut *verboſum in hiſtoria negligentemque carpebat*. De juris quoq; conſultis, quaſi ſcientiæ eorum omnem uſum aboliturus ſæpe jactavit, *Se mehercle effecturum, ne quid reſpondere poſſent præter eum.*

35. Vetera familiarum inſignia nobiliſſimo cuiq; ademit; Troquato torquem; Cincinnato crinem; Cn. Pompejo ſtirpis antiquæ Magni cognomen. Ptolemæum, de quo retuli, et accerſitum e regno, et exceptum honorifice, non alia de cauſa repente percuſſit, quam quod edente ſe munus, ingreſſum ſpectacula, convertiſſe hominum oculos fulgore purpureæ abollæ animadvertit. Pulcros et comatos, quoties ſibi occurrerunt, occipitio raſo deturpabat. Erat Eſius Proculus patre primipilari, ob egregiam corporis amplitudinem et ſpeciem *Colloſſeros* dictus. Hunc e ſpectaculis detractum, repente et in arenam deductum, Thraci, et mox hoplomacho comparavit; biſq; victorem conſtringi, ſine mora juſſit; et pannis obſitum vicatim circumduci, ac mulieribus oſtendi, deinde jugulari. Nullus deniq; tam abjectæ conditionis, tamq; extremæ ſortis fuit, cujus non commodis obtrectaret. Nemorenſi regi, quod multos jam annos potiretur ſa-

any place whatever, without his knowledge and leave. He had thoughts too of ſuppreſſing Homer's poems. For why, *he ſaid*, might not he do what PLATO had done before him, who had turned him out of his commonwealth. *He had like too to have baniſhed the writings of Virgil and Titus Livy together with their images out of all libraries, cenſuring the one as* a man of no wit, and very little learning; *and the other, as* a long-winded careleſs hiſtorian. *He would often talk of the lawyers, as though he would quite take away the uſe of their profeſſion, ſwearing by Hercules*, That he would put it out of their power to anſwer any queſtions in law, otherwiſe than by referring to him.

35. *He took from the nobleſt perſons in the city, the antient marks of diſtinction, uſed by their families, as from Torquatus the chain, from Cincinnatus the lock of hair, and from Cn. Pompey, of an antient family, the ſirname of* Great. *Ptolemy, mentioned above, whom he ſent for out of his kingdom, and received very honourably, he ſuddenly took off, for no other reaſon, but becauſe he obſerved that upon entering the theatre, at a publick diverſion of gladiators, he drew the eyes of all the ſpectators upon him, by the ſplendor of his fine ſcarlet Robe. As oft as he met with handſome men that had fine heads of hair, he would order the back of their heads to be ſhaved, to make them appear ridiculous. There was one Eſius Proculus, the ſon of a centurion of the firſt rank, who being a very luſty comely perſon, went by the name of* Coloſſeros. *This gentleman he ordered to be dragged out of his ſeat in the middle of the theatre, and matched with a gladiator in light armour, and another completely armed, and upon his worſting them both, commanded him forthwith to be bound, to be led cloathed in rags up and down the ſtreets of the city, and ſhewn in that pickle to the women, and afterwards butchered. There was no man of ſo abject and mean condition, whoſe excellency in any kind he*

cerdotio,

cerdotio, validiorem adversarium subornavit. Cum quodam die muneris, essedario Porio ob prosperam pugnam servum suum manumittenti studiosius plausum esset, ita se proripuit e spectaculis, ut calcata lacinia togæ, præceps per gradus iret indignabundus, et clamitans, *Dominum gentium populum ex re levissima plus honoris gladiatori tribuentem, quam censecratis principibus, aut præsenti sibi.*

did not envy. The rex nemorensis having many years enjoyed the honour of the priesthood, he procured an able-bodied antagonist to oppose him. One Porius an Essedarian having at a publick show of gladiators, manumised a slave of his for his success in fighting, and being clapt extremely for it, he arose in such a hurry from his seat, that treading upon the lap of his toga, he came tumbling down the steps, full of indignation, and crying out, That a people that were masters of the world, paid a greater respect to a gladiator for a trifle, than to princes received amongst the gods, or to himself there present amongst them.

36. Pudicitiæ neq; suæ neq; alienæ pepercit. M. Lepidum, Mnesterem pantomimum, quosdam obsides dilexisse fertur, commercio mutui stupri. Valerius Catullus consulari familia juvenis, stupratum a se, ac latera sibi contubernio ejus defessa, etiam vociferatus est. Super sororum incesta, et notissimum prostitutæ Pyrallidis amorem non temere ulla illustriore fœmina abstinuit: quas plerumq; cum maritis ad cœnam vocatas, præterq; pedes suos transeuntes, diligenter ac lente, mercantium more considerabat: etiam faciem manu allevans, si quæ pudore submitterent. Quoties deinde libuisset, egressus triclinio, cum maxime placitam sevocasset, paulo post, recentibus adhuc lasciviæ notis, reversus, vel laudabat palam, vel vituperabat; singula enumerans bona malave corporis, atq; concubitus. Quibusdam, absentium maritorum nomine, repudium ipse misit, jussitq; in acta referri.

36. He never had the least regard either to the chastity of his own person, or that of other people. He is said to have been inflamed with an unnatural passion for M. Lepidus Mnester the pantomimick, and some hostages; and to have engaged with them in a practice of mutual pollution. Valerius Catullus, a young man of a consular family, bawled it out publickly, that he had belaboured the emperor in that vile way, till his sides ached with the work. Besides his incest with his sisters, and his notorious passion for the prostitute Pyrallis, there was hardly any lady of considerable distinction, that he did not make free with, which he used commonly to invite along with their husbands to supper; and as they passed by his feet, viewed them very nicely and deliberately, like those who traffick in slaves; and if any out of modesty held down their faces, lifting them up with his hand. Then, when he had a fancy to it, he would quit the room, and send for her he liked best, and soon after return with the marks of lewdness fresh upon him; and would before the company commend or disparage her, running over the advantages or defects of her person and behaviour in private. He sent some a divorce in the name of their absent husbands, and ordered it to be put down in the publick acts.

37. Nepotinis sumptibus omnium prodigorum ingenia superavit, commentus novum balnearum usum, portentosissima genera ciborum atq; cœna-

37. *In extravagance he outwent the contrivance of all the prodigals that ever lived, inventing a new kind of bath, strange kind of dishes and suppers, so that he wold bath in precious unguents, both*

rum,

rum, ut calidis frigidisq; unguentis lavaretur; pretiosissimas margaritas aceto liquefactas forberet; convivis ex auro panes et opsonia apponeret, *aut frugi hominem esse oportere* dictitans, *aut Cæsarem*. Quin et nummos non mediocris summæ e fastigio basilicæ Juliæ per aliquot dies sparsit in plebem. Fabricavit et de cedris Liburnicas, gemmatis puppibus, versicoloribus velis, magna thermarum et porticuum et triclinium laxitate, magnaq; etiam vitium et pomiferarum arborum varietate: quibus discumbens de die inter choros ac symphonias, littora Campaniæ peragraret. In extructionibus prætoriorum atq; villarum omni ratione posthabita, nihil tam efficere concupiscebat, quam quod posse effici negaretur. Et jactæ itaq; moles infesto ac profundo mari, excisæ rupes durissimi silicis, et campi montibus aggere æquati, et complanata fossuris montium juga, incredibili quidem celeritate, cum moræ culpa capite lueretur. Ac ne singula enumerem, immensas opes, totumq; illud Tiberii Cæsaris vicies ac septies millies HS. non toto vertente anno absumpsit.

38. Exhaustus igitur atque egens, ad rapinas convertit animum, vario et exquisitissimo calumniarum et auctionum et vectigalium genere. Negabat jure civitatem Romanam usurpare eos quorum majores sibi posteriq; eam impetrassent, nisi filii essent. Neq; enim intelligi debere *posteros* ultra hunc gradum. Prolataq; Divorum Julii et Augusti diplomata ut vetera et obsoleta detestabat. Arguebat et perperam editos census, quibus postea quacumq; de

warm and cold; drink pearls of immense value, dissolved in vinegar; and serve up for his guests bread and other victuals, all of gold; often saying, That a man ought either to be a good husband, or an emperor. *Nay, he scattered money likewise to a prodigious sum amongst the people from the top of the Julian court, for several days together. He built too, ships with ten banks of oars after the Liburnian fashion, whose sterns were decked with jewels, and sails were parti-coloured, with large baths, portico's and rooms of entertainment, and with great variety too of vines, and other fruit-trees. In these he would sail along the coasts of Campania, feasting in the day-time amidst concerts of musick. In the building of his palaces and country seats, in defiance to all sense and reason, he desired to effect nothing so much, as what was said to be impossible. Accordingly moles were formed in a deep and turbulent sea, rocks of the hardest stone cut away, and plains raised to the height of mountains with a vast mass of earth, and the tops of mountains levelled by digging, and with incredible speed too; for all remissness was sure to be capital. And not to reckon up particulars, he lavished away a most prodigious estate, and all the treasure that had been amassed together by Tiberius Cæsar, amounting to two thousand seven hundred millions of sesterces, within less than a year's time.*

38. *Being therefore quite exhausted, and in want of money, he fell to plundering his subjects, by all the ways and means of false accusation, confiscation and taxes, that could be invented. He declared those had no right to the freedom of Rome, whose ancestors had obtained it for themselves and their posterity, unless they were sons; for that none under that degree ought to be reckoned as* posterity. *And when the grants of Julius and Augustus were produced upon those occasions, he put on a shew of concern, but said they were old and out of date. He charged too all those with giving in a false account of their*

causa quidquam incrementi acceſſiſſet. Teſtamenta primipilarium, qui ab initio principatus Tiberii, neq; illum, neq; ſe heredem reliquiſſent, ut ingrata reſcidit. Item cæterorum, ut irrita et vana, quoſcumque quis diceret herede Cæſare mori deſtinaſſe. Quo metu injecto, cum jam et ab ignotis inter familiares, et a parentibus inter liberos palam hæres nuncuparetur, deriſores vocabat; quod poſt nuncupationem vivere perſeverarent, et multis venenatas macteas miſit. Cognoſcebat autem de talibus cauſis, taxato prius modo ſummæ, ad quem conficiendum conſideret, confecto demum excitabatur. Ac ne paullulum quidem moræ patiens, ſuper quadraginta reos quondam ex diverſis criminibus una ſententia condemnavit, gloriatuſque eſt expergefactæ ſomno Cæſoniæ, *quantum egiſſet, dum ea meridiaret.* Auctione propoſita, reliquias omnium ſpectaculorum ſubjecit, et venditavit: exquirens per ſe pretia et uſq; eo extendens, ut quidam immenſo coacti quædam emere, ac bonis exuti venas ſibi inciderent. Nota res eſt, Aponio Saturnino inter ſubſellia dormitante, monitum a Cajo præconem, ne prætorium virum crebro capitis motu nutantem ſibi præteriret: nec licendi finem factum, quoad tredecim gladiatores HS. nonagies ignoranti addicerentur.

39. In Gallia quoque, cum damnatarum ſororum ornamenta, et ſupellectilem, et ſervos, atque etiam liberos, immenſis pretiis vendidiſſet: invitatus lucro, quidquid inſtrumenti veteris aulæ erat, ab urbe repe-

eſtates, who after the taking of the cenſus, had by any means whatever improved them. He made void the wills of all thoſe that had been centurions of the firſt rank in the army, as teſtimonies of their baſe ingratitude, if from the beginning of Tiberius's reign, they had not made either that prince or himſelf their heir. The like he did too by the wills of all others, if any one did but pretend to ſay, that they deſigned at their death to leave Cæſar their heir. The publick being terrified at this proceeding, he was now, by perſons unknown to him, joined heir with their friends, and by parents with their children. And thoſe he ſaid bantered him, in pretending to live any longer after ſuch an appointment; and accordingly ſent many of them poiſoned cakes. He uſed to ſit for the trial of ſuch cauſes himſelf, determining beforehand the ſum, for the raiſing of which he propoſed to ſit; and after he had made it up, quitted the bench. And he was upon thoſe occaſions a man of mighty diſpatch, condemning by one ſingle ſentence forty perſons, charged with different accuſations; upon which he boaſted to Cæſonia at her awaking, What a great deal of buſineſs he had done, whilſt ſhe was taking her noon-nap. *He expoſed to ſale in the way of auction, all that was left of the furniture of his publick ſhews for the diverſion of the people, and obliged the company to take off his ware at a price ſo extravagant, that ſome were ruined in their fortunes by it, and bled themſelves to death. It is a well known ſtory that is told of Aponius Saturninus, who happening to take a nap as he ſat by at the ſale, Caius called out to the ſaleſman not to overlook the Prætorian gentleman that nodded to him ſo frequently; and accordingly the fellow went on with his work, pretending to take his nods for tokens of aſſent, 'till thirteen gladiators were knocked off to him at nine millions of ſeſterces.*

39. *Having ſold off too in Gaul all the cloaths, furniture, ſlaves, and even freemen belonging to his ſiſters, at prodigious prices, he was ſo pleaſed with the money he made of them, that he ſent for all the old furniture of the court from the city, taking up for the conveying of it to him all the hackney car-*

tiit:

tiit: comprehenſis ad deportandum meritoriis quoq; vehiculis, et piſtrinenſibus jumentis: adeo ut et panis Romæ ſæpe deficeret, et litigatorum plerique, quod occurrere abſentes ad vadimonium non poſſent, cauſa caderent. Cui inſtrumento diſtrahendo nihil non fraudes ac lenocinii adhibuit: modo avaritiæ ſingulos increpans, et *quod non puderet eos locupletiores eſſe quam ſe:* modo pœnitentiam ſimulans, quod principalium rerum privatis copiam faceret. Compererat provincialem locupletem ducenta HS. numeraſſe vocatoribus, ut per fallaciam convivio interponeretur, nec tulerat moleſte tam magno æſtimari honorem cœnæ ſuæ. Huic poſtero die ſedenti in auctione miſit, qui neſcio quid frivoli ducentis millibus traderet: diceretque *cœnaturum apud Cæſarem vocatu ipſius.*

40. Vectigalia nova atq; inaudita, primum per publicanos, deinde quia lucrum exuberabat, per centuriones tribunoſq; prætorianos exercuit: nullo rerum aut hominum genere omiſſo, cui non tributi aliquid imponeret. Pro eduliis, quæ tota urbe venirent, certum ſtatumq; exigebatur. Pro litibus atq; judiciis ubicumq; conceptis, quadrageſima ſummæ, de qua litigaretur: nec ſine pœna, ſi quis compoſuiſſe vel donaſſe negotium convinceretur. Ex gerulorum diurnis quæſtibus pars octava, ex capturis proſtitutarum quantum quæq; uno concubitu mereret. Additumq; ad caput legis, ut tenerentur publico, ea quæ meretricium, et qui lenocinium feciſſent: necnon et matrimonia obnoxia eſſent.

riages, together with the horſes and mules belonging to the bakers every where upon the road, that they often wanted bread at Rome; and a great many that had ſuits at law in hand, by reaſon they could not make their appearance in due time, according to their bail-bond, loſt their cauſes. And in the ſelling off of this furniture, all manner of wheedling and cheating was employed. Sometimes he would rail at his cuſtomers for their covetouſneſs, and becauſe they were not aſhamed to be richer than him; *another while he would pretend to be ſorry he had parted with what belonged to the court to private perſons. He had diſcovered that a rich gentleman of that province had given two hundred thouſand ſeſterces to thoſe that were employed by him to invite company to his table, to be admitted to that honour, and he was well enough pleaſed to find it valued at ſo high a rate. He ſent the day following ſome bauble or another to him, as he was ſitting at the ſale, which he told him he muſt pay two hundred thouſand ſeſterces for, and* that he ſhould ſup with Cæſar upon his own invitation.

40. *He levied his new taxes, and ſuch as were never heard of before, at firſt by the publicans, but afterwards, becauſe the money ariſing from thence was prodigious, by centurions and tribunes of the guards, no kind either of things or perſons being exempted from the payment of ſome duty or other. For all eatables that were ſold in the city, a certain exciſe was exacted. For all law-ſuits and trials in what court ſoever, the fortieth part of the ſum in diſpute; and ſuch as were convicted of agreeing or dropping the matter in debate, were made liable to a penalty. Out of the day-wages of porters, he received an eighth part; and of the gains of common ſtrumpets, as much as they received for one bout. And a clauſe was inſerted in the law, that all thoſe ſhould be liable to pay, who kept women for proſtitution or ſale; and that matrimony itſelf ſhould not be exempt.*

41. Hujuſmodi vectigalibus indictis, neq; propoſitis, cum per ignorantiam ſcripturæ multa commiſſa fierent, tandem flagitante populo Romano propoſuit quidem legem; ſed et minutiſſimis literis, et anguſtiſſimo loco, uti ne cui deſcribere liceret. Ac ne quod non manubiarum genus experiretur, lupanar in palatio conſtituit: diſtinctiſq; et inſtructis pro loci dignitate compluribus cellis, in quibus matronæ ingenuiq; ſtarent. Miſit circum fora, et baſilicas nomenclatores ad invitandos in libidinem juvenes ſeneſque: præbita advenientibus pecunia fœnebris, appoſitique qui nomina palam ſubnotarent, quaſi adjuvantium Cæſaris reditus. Ac ne ex luſu quidem aleæ compendium ſpernens, plus mendacio atq; etiam perjurio lucrabatur. Et quondam proximo colluſori demandata vice ſua, progreſſus in atrium domus, cum prætereuntes duos equites Romanos locupletes ſine mora corripi, confiſcariq; juſſiſſet, exſultans rediit, gloriansq; nunquam ſe proſperiore alea uſum.

42. Filia vero nata, paupertatem, nec jam imperatoria modo ſed et patria conquerens onera, collationes in alimoniam atque dotem puellæ recepit. Edixit et ſtrenas ineunte anno ſe recepturum: ſtetitq; in veſtibulo ædium Kalendis Januariis ad captandas ſtipes, quas plenis ante eum manibus ac ſinu omnis generis turba fundebat. Noviſſime contrectandæ pecuniæ incenſus, ſæpe ſuper immenſos aureorum acervos patentiſſimo diffuſos loco, et nudis pedibus ſpatiatus, et toto corpore aliquandiu volutatus eſt.

41. *These taxes being laid, but the act by which they were laid being never expoſed to publick view, great blunders were committed, for want of a ſufficient knowledge of the law. At length, upon the importunate requeſt of the people, he hung up the act, but writ in a very ſmall character, and in a very narrow place, that no body might tranſcribe it. And, to leave no ſort of exaction untried, he ſet up a ſtew in the palatium, with a great variety of apartments, furniſhed in a manner ſuitable to the dignity of the place; in which married women and boys free-born ſtood ready for the reception of all comers. He ſent too his nomenclators about the forums and courts, to invite both young and old to his brothel; and lent money to ſuch as came upon intereſt, clerks attending to take down the names of them, as of perſons that were promoters of the emperor's revenue. Gaming too was a method of raiſing money he did not think below his notice; for by the help of lying and forſwearing together, he made it turn to conſiderable account. And once leaving the management of his play to a fellow-gameſter that ſat next him, he ſtept to the door, and 'ſpying two rich Roman knights paſſing by, he order'd them immediately to be ſeiſed, and their eſtates confiſcated; and then returning to his company full of joy, he boaſted that he had never had better luck at game in his life.*

42. *After his daughter was born, complaining of his poverty, and the burthen that lay heavy upon him, not only as he was emperor, but as he was a father too, he received contributions for her maintenance and fortune. He likewiſe gave notice by proclamation, that he would receive new years gifts the firſt of January following; and ſtood at the door of his houſe accordingly, to receive the preſents which people of all ranks threw down before him by handfuls and lapfuls. At laſt being inflamed with a furious deſire of feeling money, he would oftentimes walk over great heaps of gold coin ſpread upon a large floor, and rowl his whole body over and over again upon them.*

43. Mi-

43. Militiam resq; bellicas semel attigit, neq; ex destinato, sed cum ad visendum nemus flumenq; Clitumni Mevaniam processisset: admonitus de supplendo numero Batavorum, quos circa se habebat expeditionis Germanicæ impetum cepit; neq; distulit, sed legionibus et auxiliis undiq; excitis, delectibus ubiq; acerbissime actis, contracto et omnis generis commeatu, quantum nunquam alius, iter ingressus est: confecitque modo tam festinanter et rapide, ut prætorianæ cohortes contra morem signa jumentis imponere, et ita subsequi cogerentur: interdum adeo segniter et delicate ut octophoro veheretur, atq; a propinquarum urbium plebe verri sibi vias, et conspergi propter pulverem exigeret.

44. Postquam castra attigit, ut se acrem et severum ducem ostenderet, legatos, qui auxilia serius ex diversis locis adduxerant, cum ignominia dimisit. At in exercitu recensendo, plerisq; centurionum maturis jam, et nonnullis ante pauciss imos quam consummaturi essent dies, primos pilos ademit, causatus senium cujusq; et imbecillitatem: cæterorum increpita cupiditate, commoda emeritæ militiæ ad sex millium summam rescidit. Nihil autem amplius quam Adminio Cinobellini Britannorum regis filio, qui pulsus a patre, cum exigua manu transfugerat, in deditionem recepto: quasi universa tradita insula, magnificas Romam literas misit: monitis speculatoribus ut vehiculo ad Forum usq; et Curiam pertenderent, nec nisi in æde Martis, ac frequente senatu, COSS. traderent.

43. *He never but once meddled with military affairs at all, and that not upon any sedate and deliberate consideration, but in his journey to Mevania, to see the grove and river of Clitumnus; being put in mind of recruiting his company of Batavians which he had about him, he resolved upon an expedition into Germany, and without more ado, drew together several legions and auxiliary forces from all quarters, and made new levies every where with the utmost rigour; and laying in provisions of all kinds, beyond what had ever been done by any man upon the like occasion, he put himself upon his march; and he pursued it with so much haste and hurry sometimes, that the guards were obliged, contrary to custom, to lay their standards upon the backs of horses or mules, and so follow him. Sometimes again he would march with that laziness and niceness, that he would be carried in a chair by eight men, and ordered the roads to be swept by the commonalty of the neighbouring cities, and sprinkled with water too, to lay the dust.*

44. *After he had reached the camp, to shew himself a brisk and severe general, he cashiered the lieutenant-generals, that came up late with the auxiliary forces from divers parts. And in revieving the army, he took their companies from most of the centurions of the first rank, that had now served up their legal time in the wars, and from some but a few days before their time would have been up, alledging against them their great age and infirmity; and railing at the covetous humour of the rest of them, he reduced the premiums due to such as had served up their time to the sum of six thousand sesterces. And tho' he did no more than receive the submission of Adminius the son of Cinobellinus, a British prince, who being forced from his native country by his father, came over to him with a small body of troops, yet as if the whole island had been surrendered up to him, he sent bouncing letters to Rome upon it; ordering the bearers to proceed in their chaise directly up to the Forum and the Senate house, and not to deliver the letters but to the consuls in the temple of Mars, and before a full assembly of the senators.*

45. Mox

45. Mox deficiente belli materia, paucos de custodia Germanos trajici, oculique trans Rhenum jussit : ac sibi post prandium, quam tumultuosissime adesse hostem nuntiari. Quo facto, prorupit se cum amicis et parte equitum prætorianorum in proximam silvam, truncatisq; arboribus, et in modum tropæorum adornatis ad lumina reversus, eorum quidem qui secuti non essent, timiditatem et ignaviam corripuit : comites autem et participes victoriæ, novo genere ac nomine coronarum donavit : quas distinctas solis ac lunæ siderumq; specie, *exploratorias* appellavit. Rursus obsides quosdam abductos e literario ludo, clamque præmissos, deserto repente convivio, cum equitatu insecutus, veluti profugos ac reprehensos in catenis reduxit : in hoc quoque mimo præter modum intemperans. Repetita cœna renuntiantes coactum agmen, sicut erant loricatos ad discumbendum adhortatus est. Monuit etiam notissimo Virgilii versu, *Durarent, secundisque se rebus servarent.* Atque inter hæc absentem senatum populumque gravissimo objurgavit edicto, quod *Cæsare præliante, et tantis discriminibus objecto, tempestiva convivia, circum et theatra et amœnos secessus celebrarent.*

46. Postremo, quasi perpetraturus bellum, directa acie in littore oceani, ac ballistis machinisq; dispositis, nemine gnaro ac opinante quidnam cœpturus esset, repente ut conchas legerent, galeasque et sinus replerent, imperavit : *spolia oceani*, vocans, *Capitolio Palatioque debita.* Et in indi-

45. *Soon after this, for want of an enemy, he ordered a few Germans of his guard to be carried over and concealed on the other side of the Rhine, and word to be brought him after dinner, in a mighty hurry, that the enemy was advancing. Which being accordingly done, he immediately posted away with his friends, and a part of the horse-guards into the next wood, and cutting away the branches of some trees, and dressing them up in a manner of trophies, he returned by torch-light, upbraiding those that did not follow him with timorousness and cowardice ; but presented the companions and sharers of his victory with a new kind of crowns, and under a new name, with the representation of the sun, moon, and stars upon them, which he called* exploratoriæ. *Again, some hostages by his order were taken out of a school, and privately sent off ; upon notice of which he immediately rose from table, pursued them with the horse, as if they had run away, and coming up with them, brought them back in chains, proceeding to an extravagant height in this piece of military farce too. Upon sitting down to table again, when some came to acquaint him that the army was all come in, he ordered them to sit down as they were in their coats of mail, animating them in the words of that well-known verse of Virgil,* To hold it out, and reserve themselves for happier circumstances. *In the mean time he chid the senate and people of Rome, by a very severe proclamation,* For revelling and frequenting the diversions of the circus and theatre, and enjoying themselves in their country-houses, whilst their emperor was fighting, and exposing his person to the greatest dangers.

46. *At last, as if he was resolved to make an end of the war at once, drawing up his army upon the shore of the ocean, with his balistæ and other engines of war, whilst nobody was able to conceive or imagine what he was going to do, on a sudden he commanded them to gather up the sea-shells, and fill their helmets and laps of their coats with them, calling them* the spoils of the ocean due to the Capitol

cium

cium victoriæ altissimam turrem excitavit: ex qua, ut ex Pharo, noctibus ad regendos navium cursus, ignes emicarent: pronuntiatoq; militi donativo, centenis viritim denariis, quasi omne exemplum liberalitatis supergressus. *Abite*, inquit, *læti, abite locupletes.*

47. Conversus hinc ad curam triumphi, præter captivos, et tranfugas barbaros, Gallorum quoq; proceriſſimum quemque, et ut ipse dicebat, ἀξιοθεάμβευτον, ac nonnullos ex principibus legit ac sepoſuit ad pompam, coegitque non tantum rutilare, et ſubmittere comam, ſed et ſermonem Germanicum addiſcere, et nomina barbarica ferre. Præcepit etiam, triremes, quibus introierat oceanum, magna ex parte itinere terreſtri Romam devehi. Scripſit et procuratoribus, *Triumphum appararent quam minima ſumma, ſed quantus nunquam alius fuiſſet, quando in omnium hominum bona jus haberent.*

48. Priuſquam provincia decederet, conſilium iniit nefandæ atrocitatis, legiones, quæ poſt exceſſum Auguſti ſeditionem olim moverant, contrucidandi: quod et patrem ſuum Germanicum ducem, et ſe infantem tunc obſediſſent. Vixque a tam præcipiti cogitatione revocatus, inhiberi nullo potuit modo, quin decimare velle perſeveraret. Vocatas itaq; ad concionem inermes, atque etiam gladiis depoſitis, equitatu armato, circumſedit. Sed cum videret, ſuſpecta re, pleroſque dilabi ad reſumenda, ſi qua vis fieret, arma, profugit concione: confeſtimque urbem petiit, deflexa omni acerbitate

and the Palatium; *and raiſed a very high tower as a monument of his ſucceſs, to put lights upon in the night-time, for the direction of ſhips at ſea; and then promiſing the ſoldiers a donative of an hundred denarii a man, as if he had outdone the higheſt examples of generoſity*, Go your ways, *ſays he*, and be merry, go and be rich.

47. *Upon his applying himſelf to make proper preparations for his triumph, beſides priſoners and ſuch as had deſerted from the Barbarians, he choſe out the talleſt men in all Gaul, and ſuch as he ſaid were fitteſt for a triumph, and ſome of the moſt conſiderable perſons in the province, and reſerved them to grace the ſolemnity; and obliged them not only to dye their hair of a yellowiſh colour, and let it grow long, but to learn the German tongue, and take upon them names that were uſed in that country. He ordered likewiſe the triremes, in which he had entered the ocean, to be carried a good part of the way to Rome by land. He writ too to the collectors of his revenue in the city*, To make proper preparations for a triumph, againſt his arrival, at as ſmall an expence as poſſible; but yet ſuch an one as had never been before it, ſince they had full power and authority to ſeiſe the eſtates of all men whatever.

48. *Before he left the province, he formed a deſign of the moſt horrid cruelty, to maſſacre the legions that had mutinied upon the death of Auguſtus, for ſeiſing and detaining by violence his father Germanicus their commander, and himſelf then an infant, in the camp. And tho' he was with great difficulty diſſuaded from ſo raſh a deſign, yet in ſpite of all that could be ſaid or done to hinder him, he reſolved however to put to death every tenth man. Accordingly he ordered them to aſſemble unarmed, and without ſo much as their ſwords; and when they were met, ſurrounded them with armed horſe. But finding that a great many of them, from a ſuſpicion of ſome deſign upon them, were making off, to arm for their defence, in caſe any violence was offered them, he got away as faſt as he could out of the aſſembly, and immediately marched*

in

in senatum; cui ad avertendos tantorum dedecorum rumores palam minabatur: querens inter cætera, fraudatum se justo triumpho, cum ipse paulo ante, ne quid de honoribus suis ageretur, etiam sub mortis pœna denuntiasset.

49. Aditus ergo in itinere a legatis amplissimi ordinis, ut maturaret orantibus, quam maxima voce, *Veniam*, inquit, *veniam, et hic mecum*, capulum gladii crebro verberans quo cinctus erat: Edixit et *reverti se, sed iis tantum qui optarent, equestri ordini et populo; nam se neque civem neque principem senatui amplius fore.* Vetuit etiam quemque senatorum sibi occurrere: atque omisso, vel dilato triumpho, ovans urbem natali suo ingressus est. Intraque quartum mensem periit, ingentia facinora ausus, et aliquanto majora moliens. Siquidem proposuerat Antium, deinde Alexandriam, commigrare, interempto prius utriusque ordinis electitissimo quoque. Quod ne cui dubium videatur, in secretis ejus reperti sunt duo libelli, diverso titulo, alteri GLADIUS, alteri PUGIO index erat. Ambo notas et nomina continebant mori destinatorum. Inventa et arca ingens, variorum venenorum plena: quibus mox a Claudio demersis, infecta maria traduntur, non sine piscium exitio, quos enectos æstus in proxima, littora ejecit.

50. Statura fuit eminenti, pallido colore, corpore enormi, gracilitate maxima cervicis et crurum, et oculis et temporibus concavis, fronte lata et torva, capillo raro, ac circa verticem nullo, hirsutus cætera. Quare transeunte eo, prospicere ex su-

for Rome, bending now all his fury against the senate, whom he publickly threatned, to divert the reports that run about concerning these horrid designs of his: he complained amongst other things, that he was defrauded of a fair triumph, whereas he had but just before forbidden, upon pain of death, any honours to be decreed him.

49. *He was in his march waited upon by deputies from the senatorian order, begging of him to hasten his return; to whom he replied with a loud voice,* I will come, I will come, and this along with me, *frequently striking the hilt of the sword he had on. He declared too by proclamation,* That he was coming, but for those only that wish'd for him, the Equestrian order and the people; for that he would no longer behave as a fellow-citizen or a prince to the senate. *He forbid likewise any of the senators to come to meet him; and either dropping or deferring his triumph, he entered the city in ovation upon his birth-day; and within four months was slain, after he had ventured upon the greatest villanies that ever man committed, and whilst he was attempting still greater. For he had entertained a design of removing to Antium, after that to Alexandria; but first resolved to murther all the flower of the equestrian and senatorian orders: which is put beyond all question by two books that were found in his cabinet, under different titles, the one being called* SWORD, *and the other* DAGGER. *They both of them contained privy marks, and the names of such as had been destined by him to destruction. A huge chest was found likewise, filled with variety of poisons; which being afterwards thrown into the sea by the order of Claudius, so infected the waters, they say, that the fish were poisoned, and thrown out dead upon the neighbouring shores.*

50. *He was tall, of a very pale complexion, ill-shaped, his neck and legs being very slender, his eyes and temples hollow, his forehead broad and grim, and his hair thin, and quite gone about the crown; all over the other parts of his body he was very hairy. Wherefore it was reckoned a heinous and a capital crime*

periore parte, ac omnino quacumq; de cauſa *capram* nominare, criminoſum et exitiale habebatur. Vultum vero natura horridum ac tetrum etiam ex induſtria efferabat, componens ad ſpectaculum in omnem terrorem ac formidinem. Valetudo ei neque animi neq; corporis conſtitit. Puer comitiali morbo vexatus: in adoleſcentia ita patiens laborum erat, ut tamen non nunquam ſubita defectione ingredi, ſtare, colligere ſemet ac ſufferre vix poſſet. Mentis valetudinem et ipſe ſenſerat: ac ſubinde de receſſu deq; purgando cerebro cogitavit. Creditur potionatus a Cæſonia uxore, amatorio quidem medicamento, ſed quod in furorem verterit. Incitabatur inſomnia maxime: neq; enim plus quam tribus nocturnis horis quieſcebat: ac ne his quidem placida quiete, ſed pavida miris rerum imaginibus: ut qui inter cæteras, pelagi quondam ſpeciem colloquentem ſecum videre viſus ſit. Ideoq; magna parte noctis vigiliæ cubandiq; tædio, nunc toro reſidens, nunc per longiſſimas porticus vagus, invocare identidem atque exſpectare lucem conſueverat.

for any to look down from above, as he was paſſing by, or ſo much as to name a goat upon any account whatever. His countenance, which was by nature horrible and frightful, he purpoſely rendered more ſo, forming it by a glaſs into a moſt terrible and hideous appearance. He was craſy both in body and mind, being troubled when a boy with the falling ſickneſs. When he arrived at the years of manhood, he would endure fatigue tolerably well, yet ſo that ſometimes he would be ſeized with ſuch a faintneſs, that he could ſcarce walk, ſtand, recover when ſinking, or ſupport himſelf. He was himſelf ſenſible of the diſorder of his mind, and had now and then thoughts of retiring to purge his brain. It is believed he had a love potion given him by his wife Cæſonia, that threw him into a phrenſy. What moſt of all diſordered him, was want of ſleep; for he ſeldom got more than three or four hours reſt in a night, and even then he ſlept not very quietly, but was diſturbed by ſtrange appearances; as once he fancied the ocean talked to him. Wherefore being weary with lying ſo much of the night awake, he would one while ſit upon the bed, another while walk in the longeſt porticos about his houſe, and now and then call and look out for day.

51. Non immerito mentis valetudini attribuerim diverſiſſima in eodem vitia, ſummam confidentiam, et contra nimium metum. Nam qui deos tantopere contemneret, ad minima tonitrua et fulgura connivere, caput obvolvere, ad vero majora proripere ſe e ſtrato, ſub lectumq; condere ſolebat. Peregrinatione quidem Sicilienſi, irriſis multorum locorum miraculis, repente a Meſſana noctu profugit, Ætnæi verticis fumo ac murmure pavefactus. Adverſus Barbaros quoq; minaciſſimus, cum trans Rhenum inter anguſtias denſumq; agmen tier eſſedo faceret, dicente quo-

51. *To this craſy conſtitution of mind may, I think, very juſtly be imputed two faults he had of quite contrary nature to one another, an exceſs of aſſurance and fear. For he that deſpiſed the gods ſo much, upon any little thunder and lightning, would ſhut his eyes, and wrap up his head in his coat, and if it thundered and lightened much, would get up, and hide himſelf under the bed. In his viſit to the iſle of Sicily, after he had made a jeſt of many ſtrange things which that country preſents, he ran away ſuddenly in the night from Meſſana, being frighted ſorely at the ſmoke and noiſe of mount Ætna. And though he was with his tongue very valiant againſt the Barbarians, yet upon paſſing a narrow defile in Germany in his chaiſe, with his troops crowded cloſe about him, ſomebody happening to ſay,* There

dam, *Non mediocrem fore conſternationem, ſicunde hoſtis appareat,* equum illico conſcendit: ac propere verſus ad pontes, ut eos calonibus et impedimentis ſtipatos reperit, impatiens moræ, per manus ac ſuper capita hominum tranſlatus eſt. Mox etiam audita rebellione Germaniæ, fugam et ſubſidia fugæ, claſſes apparabat, uno ſolatio acquieſcens, tranſmarinas certe ſibi ſuperfuturas provincias, ſi victores Alpium juga ut Cimbri, vel etiam urbem, ut Senones quondam, occuparent: unde credo percuſſoribus ejus poſtea conſilium natum, apud tumultuantes milites mentiendi, ipſum ſibi manus intuliſſe, nuntio malæ pugnæ perterritum.

would be no ſmall conſternation amongſt them, if any enemy ſhould appear, *he immediately mounted his horſe, and ſcowring off to the bridges in vaſt haſte, but finding them crowded with ſoldiers, ſervants, and carriages, he was in ſuch a huge hurry, that he was handed above the heads of the people quite over. And ſoon after upon hearing of the wars breaking out again in Germany, he was making ready to quit Rome, and providing fleets for the purpoſe, comforting himſelf with this conſideration, that if the enemy ſhould prove victorious, and poſſeſs themſelves of the tops of the Alps as the Cimbri had done, or of the city, as the Senones had, he ſhould ſtill have the tranſmarine provinces in reſerve. And for this reaſon I ſuppoſe it was, that thoſe who killed him thought fit to give out amongſt the ſoldiers, who were all in an uproar upon the occaſion of his death, that he had laid violent hands upon himſelf, in a fright occaſioned by news brought him of the defeat of his army.*

52. Veſtitu calceatuque, et cætero habitu neq; patrio neq; civili, ac ne virili quidem, ac deniq; humano, ſemper uſus eſt. Sæpe depictas gemmataſq; indutus pænulas, manuleatus et armillatus in publicum proceſſit: aliquando ſericatus, et cycladatus: ac modo in crepidis vel cothurnis, modo in ſpeculatoria caliga, nonnunquam ſocco muliebri, plerumq; vero aurea barba fulmen tenens, ac ſuſcinam, aut caduceum, deorum inſignia, atq; etiam Veneris cultu conſpectus eſt. Triumphalem quidem ornatum etiam ante expeditionem aſſidue geſtavit: interdum et Magni Alexandri thoracem repetitum e conditorio ejus.

52. *In his cloaths, ſhoes, and other parts of his dreſs, he neither kept to the faſhion of his country, or his ſex, or ſuch as was ſuitable to a human creature. He would oftentimes appear abroad dreſſed up in an embroidered cloak ſet with jewels, in a tunick with ſleeves, and with bracelets upon his arms; ſometimes all in ſilks and in a woman's dreſs; and ſometimes in the crepidæ or buſkins, ſometimes in a ſort of ſhoes uſed by the meaner ſoldiers, or thoſe of women, and commonly with a golden beard fixed to his chin, holding in his hand a thunderbolt, a trident, or a caduceus, marks of diſtinction belonging to the gods only. Sometimes too he was ſeen in the dreſs of Venus. He wore too very commonly the triumphal dreſs, even before his expedition, and ſometimes the thorax of Alexander the Great, taken out of the vault where his body lay.*

53. E diſciplinis liberalibus minimum eruditioni, eloquentiæ plurimum attendit, quantumvis facundus et promptus: utiq; ſi perorandum in aliquem eſſet, irato et verba et ſenten-

53. *Of the liberal ſciences he meddled very little with philology, but applied himſelf very cloſely to the ſtudy of eloquence, being indeed elegant and ready enough in his delivery; eſpecially, if he was angry, he had words and ſentences in abundance.*

tiæ

tiæ ſuppetebat: pronuntiatio quoq; et vox, ut neq; eodem loco præ ardore conſiſteret et exaudiretur a procul ſtantibus. Peroraturus *ſtricturum ſe lucubrationis ſuæ telum minabatur:* lenius comptiuſq; ſcribendi genus adeo contemnens, ut Senecam tum maxime placentem, *commiſſiones meras* componere, et *arenam eſſe ſine calce* diceret. Solebat etiam proſperis oratorum actionibus reſcribere, et magnorum in ſenatu reorum accuſationes defenſioneſq; meditari: ac, prout ſtylus ceſſerat, vel onerare ſententia ſua quemque, vel ſublevare: equeſtri quoq; ordine ad audiendum invitato per edicta.

54 Sed et aliorum generum artes ſtudioſiſſime et diverſiſſimas exercuit. Thrax et auriga, idem cantor, atq; ſaltator. Batuebat pugnatoriis armis, aurigabat exſtructo plurifariam circo. Canendi ac ſaltandi voluptate ita efferebatur, ut ne publicis quidem ſpectaculis temperaret, quo minus et tragœdo pronuntianti concineret: et geſtum hiſtrionis quaſi laudans vel corrigens palam effingeret. Nec alia de cauſa videtur eo die quo periit, pervigilium indixiſſe, quam ut initium in ſcenam prodeundi licentia temporis auſpicaretur. Saltabat autem nonnunquam etiam noctu: et quondam tres conſulares ſecunda vigilia in palatium accitos, multaq; et extrema metuentes ſuper pulpitum collocavit: deinde repente magno tibiarum et ſcabellorum crepitu, cum palla tunicaq; talari proſiluit, ac deſaltato cantico abiit. Atq; hic tam docilis ad cætera, natare neſciit.

55. Quorum vero ſtudio teneretur, omnibus ad inſaniam

His pronunciation was ſo vehement, and his voice ſo ſtrong, that he could not ſtand ſtill in a place, and was heard at a great diſtance. When he came to harangue, he threatened the ſword of his lucubration, *and ſo much deſpiſed a ſoft ſmooth ſtile, that he ſaid Seneca, who was then in mighty vogue,* Writ only boyiſh declamations, *and that* his language was meer ſand without lime. *And when pleaders came off with ſucceſs, he wrote anſwers to their ſpeeches. And would exerciſe himſelf in penning accuſations or vindications of perſons of figure that were impeached before the ſenate. And according to his ſucceſs therein, would diſtreſs or relieve the party by his vote in the houſe, inviting the equeſtrian order by proclamation to hear him.*

54. *He likewiſe applied himſelf with great eagerneſs to the practice of various other arts, as fencing, riding the chariot, ſinging and dancing. He practiſed in fencing with the weapons uſed in fighting; and drove the chariot in Circus's built in ſeveral places. He was ſo exceſſively fond of ſinging and dancing, that he could not refrain in the theatre, from ſinging along with the tragedians, and imitating the geſtures of the actors in the way of approbation, or correction. And it was thought he ordered a pervigilium upon the day he was ſlain, for no other reaſon, but to take the opportunity, that the licentiouſneſs of ſuch a ſeaſon gave him, of making his firſt appearance upon the ſtage. He danced ſometimes by night too. And once ſending for three conſular gentlemen in the ſecond watch of the night, who were under terrible apprehenſions upon it, he placed them by the ſtage, and then all on a ſudden came bouncing out, with a huge noiſe of flutes and ſcabella, dreſſed up in a palla and a tunick reaching down to his heels; and after he had danced out a ſong, went off again. And yet he that learned other things ſo well, could not ſwim.*

55. *Such as he once took a fancy too, he favoured even to madneſs. He uſed to kiſs*

favit.

favit. Mneſterem pantomimum etiam inter ſpectacula oſculabatur: ac ſi quis ſaltante eo vel leviter obſtrepereret, detrahi juſſum manu ſua flagellabat. Equiti Romano tumultuanti, per centurionem denuntiavit abiret ſine mora Oſtiam, perferretq; ad Ptolemæum regem in Mauritaniam codicillos ſuos. Quorum exemplum erat, *Et, quem iſtuc miſi, neque boni quidquam, neq; mali feceris.* Thraces quoſdam Germanis corporis cuſtodibus præpoſuit. Mirmillonum armaturas reſcidit. Columbo victori, leviter tamen ſaucio venenum in plagam addidit, quod ex eo *Columbinum* appellavit. Sic certe inter alia venena ſcriptum ab eo repertum eſt. Prasinæ factioni ita addictus et deditus, ut cœnaret in ſtabulo aſſidue, et maneret. Agitatori Cythico comeſſatione quadam in apophoretis vicies HS contulit. Incitato equo, cujus cauſa pridie Circenſes ne inquietaretur, viciniæ ſilentium per milites indicere ſolebat, præter equile marmoreum et præſepe eburneum, præterq; purpurea tegumenta, ac monile e gemmis, domum etiam, et familiam, et ſuppellectilem dedit, quo lautius nomine ejus invitati acciperentur: conſulatum quoque traditur deſtinaſſe.

96. Ita bacchantem atq; graſſantem non deſuit pleriſq; animus adoriri. Sed una alteraque conſpiratione detecta, aliis per inopiam occaſionis cunctantibus, duo conſilium communicaverunt, perfeceruntque: non ſine conſcientia potentiſſimorum libertorum præfectorumq; prætorii: quod ipſi quoque, etſi falſo, in quadam conjuratione, quaſi participes nominati, ſuſpectos tamen ſe et inviſos ſenti-

Mneſter the pantomimick publickly in the theatre; and if any one made the leaſt noiſe while he was dancing, he would order him to be dragged out of his ſeat, and ſcourged him with his own hand. A Roman knight once making ſome buſtle, he ſent him by a centurion, a command to go forthwith down to Oſtia, and carry a letter of his to king Ptolemy in Mauritania. The words of which were theſe, Do neither good nor harm to the bearer. *He made ſome gladiators captains of his German guards. He took from the gladiators called Mirmillones ſome of their arms. One Columbus coming off with victory in a combat, but being ſlightly wounded, he ordered ſome poiſon to be infuſed into the wound, which from thence he called* Columbinum. *For thus its certain it was found put down with his own hand amongſt other poiſons. He was ſo extravagantly fond of the party of charioteers that rid in green, that he ſupped and lodged for ſome time conſtantly in the ſtable where their horſes were kept. And at a certain revel he made a preſent of twenty hundred thouſand ſeſterces to one Cythicus a driver of a chariot. The day before the Circenſian games, he uſed by his ſoldiers to enjoin the whole neighbourhood ſilence, that the repoſe of his horſe* Incitatus *might not be diſturbed; for whom, beſides a marble ſtable, an ivory manger, ſcarlet body cloaths, and a bracelet of jewels, he appointed a houſe, with a retinue of ſlaves, and fine furniture, for the handſome reception of ſuch as were invited in the horſe's name to ſup with him. It is ſaid too, that he deſigned to have made him conſul.*

56. *During this frantick and ſavage behaviour, a great many had a good mind to be upon him; but one or two conſpiracies coming to light, and others keeping off for want of opportunity, at laſt two laid their heads together, and accompliſhed their deſign, not without the privity of ſome of the greateſt favourites amongſt his freed-men, and the commanders of the guard; becauſe having been named, though falſely, as concerned in one conſpiracy againſt him, they perceived he was jealous of them, and hated them ever after. For he had immediately*

ebant,

ebant. Nam et ſtatim ſeductis magnam fecit invidiam, *diſtricto gladio affirmans ſponte ſe perituram, ſi et illis morte dignus videretur*: nec ceſſavit ex eo criminari alterum alteri, atque inter ſe omnes committere. Cum placuiſſet Palatinis ludis ſpectaculo egreſſum meridie aggredi, primas ſibi partes Caſſius Chærea tribunus cohortis prætoriæ depopoſcit: quem Cajus ſeniorem jam ut mollem et efœminatum denotare omni probro conſuerat: et modo ſignum petenti, PRIAPUM aut VENEREM dare: modo, ex aliqua cauſa agenti gratias, oſculandum manum offerre, formatam commotamq; in obſcœnum modum.

57. Futuræ cædis multa prodigia exiſtiterunt. Olympiæ ſimulacrum Jovis, quod diſſolvi transferriq; Romam placuerat, tantum cachinnum repente edidit, ut machinis labefactis opifices diffugerint. Supervenitq; illico quidam Caſſius quoq; nomine, juſſum ſe ſomnio affirmans immolare taurum Jovi. Capitolium Capuæ Idibus Martiis de cælo tactum eſt: item Romæ cella Palatini atrienſis. Nec defuerunt qui conjectarent altero oſtento periculum a cuſtodibus domino portendi: altero, cædem rurſus inſignem, qualis eodem die facta quondam fuiſſet. Conſulenti quoq; de genitura ſua, Sulla mathematicus *certiſſimam necem appropinquare* affirmavit. Monuerunt et ſortes Antiatinæ *ut a Caſſio caveret*. Qua cauſa ille Caſſium Longinum Aſiæ tum proconſulem occidendum delegaverat, immemor Chæream Caſſium nominari. Pridie quam periret, ſomniavit conſiſtere ſe in cælo juxta ſolium Jovis: impulſumq;

endeavoured to bring the odium of the ſoldiery upon them by drawing his ſword, and declaring, That he would kill himſelf, if they thought him worthy of death; *and he was continually ever after accuſing them to one another, and ſetting them all together by the ears. The conſpirators having reſolved to fall on him as he came at noon from the Palatine games, Caſſius Chærea, a tribune of a battalion of the guards, deſired he might begin the onſet. This Chærea was now an elderly man, whom Caius was uſed to treat in the moſt ſcurrilous and abuſive manner, as a ſoft effeminate fellow; and when he came for the watch-word, he would give him* Priapus *or* Venus; *and when he returned him thanks upon any occaſion, he would offer him his hand to kiſs in a figure and geſture of lewd imitation.*

57. *There were ſeveral prodigies that gave notice of his approaching fate. The ſtatue of Jupiter at Olympia, which he had ordered to be taken down and brought to Rome, all on a ſudden burſt out into ſuch a violent fit of laughter, that the machines employed in the work being all in diſorder upon it, the workmen ran away. And immediately thereupon came in one Caſſius by name, who ſaid that he was commanded in a dream to ſacrifice a bull to Jupiter. The capitol at Capua was ſtruck with lightning upon the ides of March; as alſo at Rome too, the apartment of the principal ſlave about the Palatium; which ſome conſtrued as a preſage, that the maſter thereof was in ſome danger of his life from his own guards; and the former they thought a ſign of ſuch notable execution, as had formerly happened upon the ſame day. Sylla the aſtrologer too being conſulted by him about his nativity, aſſured him,* That death would unavoidably and ſpeedily befal him. *The oracle of fortune at Antium, likewiſe forewarned him* of Caſſius; *for which reaſon he had given orders for the putting to death of Caſſius Longinus, at that time pro-conſul of Aſia; never conſidering that Chærea was called Caſſius too. The day before his death, he dreamt that he was ſtanding in*

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ab eo dextri pedis pollice, et in terras præcipitatum. Prodigiorum loco habita sunt etiam quæ forte illo ipso die paulo prius acciderant. Sacrificans respersus est phœnicopteri sanguine. Et pantomimus Mnester tragœdiam saltavit quam olim Neoptolemus tragœdus ludis, quibus rex Macedonum Philippus occisus est, egerat. Et cum in Laureolo mimo, in quo actor proripiens se ruina sanguinem vomuit, ut plures secundarum certatim experimentum artis darent, cruore scena abundavit. Parabatur et in noctem spectaculum, quo argumenta inferorum per Ægyptios et Æthiopes explicarentur.

58. Nono kalend Feb. hora quasi septima, cunctatus an ad prandium surgeret, marcente adhuc stomacho pridiani cibi onere, tandem suadentibus a micis egressus est. Cum in crypta per quam transeundum erat, pueri nobiles ex Asia ad edendas in scena operas evocati præparentur, ut eos inspiceret hortaretur; restitit. Ac nisi princeps gregis algere se diceret, redire ac repræsentare spectaculum voluit. Duplex dehinc fama est: alii tradunt alloquenti pueros, a tergo Chæream cervicem gladio cæsim graviter percussisse, præmissa voce, *Hoc age*. Dehinc Cornelium Sabinum, alterum e conjuratis tribunum, ex adverso trajecisse pectus: alii, Sabinum, submota per conscios centuriones turba, signum more militiæ petisse, et Cajo *Jovem* dante, Chæream exclamasse, *Accipe ratum*; respicientiq; maxiliam ictu discidisse. Jacentem, contractisq; membris clamitantem se vivere, cæteri vulneribus triginta con-

heaven by the throne of Jupiter, and tumbled headlong with a great push from the great toe of his right foot down upon the earth. Some things too were looked upon as ominous presages, that happened the very day of his death a little before it. As he was at sacrifice he was bespattered with the blood of a flamingo. And the pantomimick Mnester danced a tragedy, which the tragedian Neoptolemus had formerly acted at the games, in which Philip the king of the Macedonians was slain. And in the mimus called Laureolus, wherein the actor running out in a hurry and falling vomited blood, several of the secondary actors vying with one another to give the best specimen of their art, made the whole stage run down with blood. And for the night a sort of play was designed, wherein the fabulous accounts of the infernal regions were to be represented by Egyptians and Ethiopians.

58. *Upon the ninth of the kalends of February, and about the seventh hour of the day, being in some doubt whether he should rise to dinner, his stomach being out of order with what he had eaten the day before, at last by the advice of his friends he came out; and some boys of noble extraction, that had been sent for from Asia to act upon the stage, standing to wait for him in a private portico, thro' which he was to pass, he made a stop to view and speak to them; and, but that the chief of them said he had got cold, he would have gone back, and made them have acted just then. There are two different accounts given of what followed. Some say, that as he was speaking to the boys, Chærea came behind him, and gave him a great cut in the neck, crying out first,* mind this. *That then a tribune, by name Cornelius Sabinus, another of the conspirators, run him through the breast. Others say, that whilst the crowd were kept at a distance by some centurions that were privy to the design, Sabinus came, according to custom, for the word, and that Caius gave him* Jupiter, *upon which Chærea cried out,* Here's for thee thy wish fulfill'd, *and then as he looked about, cut off one of his jaws with a stroke. The rest dispatched him with thirty wounds, as he lay double*

fecerunt,

fecerunt. Nam ſignum erat omnium, *Repete*. Quidam etiam per obſcœna ferrum adegerunt. Ad primum tumultum lecticarii cum aſſeribus in auxilium accurrerunt: mox Germani corporis cuſtodes, ac nonnullos ex percuſſoribus, quoſdam etiam ſenatores innoxios interemerunt.

59. Vixit annis xxix, imperavit triennio et x menſibus, diebuſq; VIII. Cadaver ejus clam in hortos Lamianos aſportatum, et tumultario rogo ſemiambuſtum levi ceſpite obrutum eſt. Poſtea per ſorores ab exſilio reverſas erutum, crematum, ſepultumque. Satis conſtat, prius quam id fieret, hortorum cuſtodes umbris inquietatos: in ea quoq; domo in qua occubuerit, nullam noctem ſine aliquo terrore tranſactam, donec ipſa domus incendio conſumpta ſit. Periit una et uxor Cæſonia, gladio a centurione confoſſa; et filia parieti illiſa.

60. Conditionem temporum illorum etiam per hæc exiſtimare quivis poſſit. Nam neq; cæde vulgata ſtatim creditum eſt. Fuitq; ſuſpicio, ab ipſo Cajo famam cædis ſimulatam et emiſſam: ut eo pacto erga ſe hominum mentes deprehenderet. Neq; conjurati cuiquam imperium deſtinaverunt. Et ſenatus in aſſerenda libertate adeo conſenſit, ut COSS. primo non in curiam, quia Julia vocabatur, ſed in Capitolium convocarent. Quidam vero ſententiæ loco abolendam Cæſarum memoriam ac diruenda templa cenſuerunt. Obſervatum autem notatumq; eſt in primis, Cæſares omnes, quibus Caii prænomen fuit, ferro periiſſe, jam inde ab eo qui Cinnanis temporibus ſit occiſus.

on the ground; crying out that he was ſtill alive: for the word amongſt them all was Strike again. *Some likewiſe run their ſwords through his priwy parts. Upon the firſt buſtle the chairmen came running in with their poles to his aſſiſtance, and preſently after this his German guards, who killed ſome of the conſpirators, and ſome ſenators too, that were not concerned in the affair.*

59. *He lived twenty-nine years, and reigned three, beſides ten months, and eight days. His body was privately carried into the Lamian gardens, where it was half burnt upon a pile haſtily raiſed, and then as carelefly buried. It was afterwards taken up again by his ſiſters, upon their return from baniſhment, effectually burnt, and buried. It is certain, before that, the keepers of the gardens were ſadly diſturbed by apparitions; and that ne'er a night paſſed in the houſe where he was ſlain, without ſome terrible fright or other, 'till it was burnt quite down. His wife Cæſonia was killed along with him, being ſtabbed by a centurion; and his daughter had her brains knocked out againſt a wall.*

60. *Any one may eaſily make an eſtimate of the miſerable condition of thoſe times by theſe enſuing circumſtances. For after his death was made publick, it was not preſently credited. People were jealous that the report of his being killed had been contrived and ſpread by himſelf, on purpoſe to diſcover how they ſtood affected towards him. Nor had the conſpirators pitched upon any one to ſucceed him. And the ſenate were ſo unanimous in their reſolution to aſſert the liberty of their country, that the conſuls aſſembled them at firſt not in the uſual place of meeting, becauſe that had its name from Julius Cæſar, but in the capitol. And ſome propoſed to the houſe to aboliſh the memory of the Cæſars, and level their temples with the ground. It was particularly taken notice of upon this occaſion, that all the Cæſars, that had the prænomen of Caius, died by the ſword, ever ſince him that was ſlain in the times of Cinna.*

C. SUETONII TRANQUILLI

TIBERIUS CLAUDIUS DRUSUS CÆSAR V.

CHAP I.

1. PATREM Claudii Cæsaris Druſum, olim Decimum, mox Neronem prænomine, Livia, cum Auguſto gravida nupſiſſet, intra menſem tertium peperit: fuitq; ſuſpicio, ex vitrico per adulterium conſuetudinem procreatum. Statim certe vulgatus eſt verſus:

LIVIA having married Auguſtus, when ſhe was big with child, was within three months after brought to bed of Druſus the father of Claudius Cæſar, who had at firſt the prænomen of Decimus, but afterwards that of Nero: and it was ſuſpected he was begot in adultery by his father-in-law. However the following verſe became immediately very common upon it.

Τοῖς εὐτυχοῦσι τρίμηνα παιδία.

The Great can children have in three month's time.

Is Druſus in quæſturæ prætu-ræq; honore, dux Rhætici, deinde Germanici belli, Oceanum ſeptentrionalem primus Romanorum ducum navigavit: tranſque Rhenum foſſas novi et immenſi operis effecit, quæ nunc adhuc DRUSINÆ vocantur. Hoſtem etiam frequenter cæſum, ac penitus in intimas ſolitudines actum, non prius deſtitit inſequi, quam ſpecies barbaræ mulieris humana amplior, victorem tendere ultra ſermone Latino prohibuiſſet. Quas ob res ovandi jus, et triumphalia ornamenta percepit: ac poſt præturam conſeſtim inito conſulatu, atq; expeditione repetita, ſupremum diem morbo obiit, in æſtivis caſtris, quæ ex eo *Scelerata* ſunt appellata. Corpus

This Druſus, during the time of his being quæſtor and pretor, commanded in the Rhætic and German wars, and was the firſt of all the Roman generals that ſailed the northern ocean. He made too ſome prodigious trenches beyond the Rhine, which to this day are called by his name. He overthrew the enemy in ſeveral battles, and drove them up a great way into the deſart parts of their country; continuing the purſuit of them, 'till a barbarian woman of more than human ſize appeared to him, and in the Latin tongue forbid him to proceed any further. For which exploits he had the honour of an ovation, and the triumphal ornaments. After his pretorſhip, he immediately took upon him the conſulate, and returning again to Germany, died in the ſummer-camp which from thence was called the Wicked camp. *His corpſe was tranſmitted to Rome by the principal perſons of the ſeveral borough towns and colo-*

ejus

ejus per municipiorum coloniarumq; primores, suscipientibus obviis scribarum decuriis, ad urbem devectum, sepultumq; est in Martio campo. Cæterum exercitus honorarium ei tumulum excitavit: circa quem deinceps statо die quotannis miles decurreret, Galliarumq; civitates publice supplicarent. Præterea senatus inter alia complura, marmoreum arcum cum tropæis via Appia decrevit, et Germanici cognomen ipsi posterisque ejus. Fuisse autem creditur non minus glorioси quam civilis animi. Nam ex hoste super victorias, opima quoq; spolia captasse, summoq; sæpius discrimine duces Germanorum tota acie insectatus: nec dissimulasse unquam pristinum se reip. statum quandoq; restituturum, si posset. Unde existimo nonullos tradere ausos, suspectum eum Augusto, revocatumq; ex provincia: et quia cunctaretur, interceptum veneno. Quod equidem magis, ne prætermitterem, retuli, quam quia verum aut verisimile putem: cum Augustus tantopere et vivum dilexerit, ut cohœredem semper filiis instituerit, sicut quondam in senatu professus est: et defunctum ita pro concione laudaverit, ut deos precatus sit, *Similes ei Cæsares suos facerent: sibiq; tam honestum quandoq; exitum darent, quam illi dedissent.* Nec contentus elogium tumulo ejus versibus a se compositis insculpsisse, etiam vitæ memoriam prosa oratione composuit. Ex Antonia minore complures quidem liberos tulit: verum tres omnino reliquit, Germanicum, Livillam, Claudium.

2. Claudius natus est, Julio Antonio Fabio Africano coss. calend. Augustis Lugduni, eo ipso die quo primum ara ibi Augusto dedicata est: appellatusq; Ti-

nies upon the road, being every where met and received by the publick scribes of each place, and buried in the field of Mars. The army erected a monument in honour of his memory, round which the soldiers used yearly upon a certain day to march in solemn procession, and persons deputed from the several cities of Gaul made their supplications to his ghost. Besides, the senate amongst various other honours, decreed for him a triumphal arch of marble with trophies in the Appian way, as also the cognomen of Germanicus for him and his posterity. He was looked upon as a person far from an assuming temper, yet of a keen appetite for glory. For besides his victories, he brought off the spoils called opima, and frequently singled out and pursued the German commander up and down their army, with the utmost hazard of his life, and often declared that he would some time or other, if possible, restore the old government. For which reason, I suppose, some have ventured to write, that Augustus was jealous of him, and recalled him; and because he made no haste to comply with the order, took him off by poison: which I mention, that I may not be thought guilty of an omission, more than because I think it true or probable at all, since Augustus loved him so dearly whilst living, that he always in his wills made him joint-heir with his sons, as he once declared in the senate, and upon his decease extolled him in a speech to the people, to that degree, that he prayed the gods to make his Cæsars like him, and to grant him as honourable an exit out of this world as they had given him. *And not satisfied with inscribing upon his tomb an elogy in verse composed by himself, he writ the history of his life too in prose. He had by the younger Antonia several children, but left only three behind him, Germanicus, Livilla, and Claudius.*

2. *Claudius was born at Lugdunum in the consulship of Julius Antonius, and Fabius Africanus, upon the first of August, the very day upon which an altar was first dedicated there to Augustus, and was named*

berius

berius Claudius Druſus. Mox fratre majore in Juliam familiam adoptato, Germanici cognomen aſſumpſit. Infans autem relictus a patre, ac per omne fere pueritiæ atq; adoleſcentiæ tempus, variis et tenacibus morbis conflictatus eſt; adeo ut animo ſimul et corpore hebetato ne progreſſa quidem ætate, ulli publico privatoq; muneri habilis exiſtimaretur. Diu, atq; etiam poſt tutelam receptam, alieni arbitrii, et ſub pædagogo fuit: quem *Barbarum & olim ſuperjumentarium, ex induſtria ſibi appoſitum, ut ſe quibuſcumq; de cauſis quam ſæviſſime coerceret*, ipſe quodam libello conqueritur. Ob hanc eandem valetudinem et gladiatorio munere, quod ſimul cum fratre memoriæ patris edebat, palliolatus novo more præſedit: et togæ virilis die, circa mediam noctem, ſine ſolenni officio lectica in capitolium latus eſt.

3. Diſciplinis tamen liberalibus ab ætate prima non mediocrem operam dedit, ac ſæpe experimenta cujuſq; etiam publicavit. Verum ne ſic quidem quidquam dignitatis aſſequi, aut ſpem de ſe commodiorem in poſterum facere potuit. Mater Antonia *portentum eum hominis* dictitabat, *nec abſolutum a natura, ſed tantum inchoatum*: ac ſi quem ſocordiæ argueret, *ſtultiorem* aiebat *filio ſuo Claudio*. Avia Auguſta pro deſpectiſſimo ſemper habuit: non affari, niſi rariſſime: non monere, niſi acerbo et brevi ſcripto, aut per internuntios ſolita. Soror Livilla, cum audiſſet quandoq; imperaturum, tam iniquam et tam indignam ſortem populo Rom. palam et clare deteſtata eſt. Nam et avunculus major Auguſtus quid de eo in utramq;

Tiberius Claudius Druſus. Soon after upon the adoption of his elder brother into the Julian family, he took the cognomen of Germanicus. He was left an infant by his father, and during almoſt the whole time of his minority, and for ſome while after he came to be a man, was afflicted with a variety of ſtubborn diſtempers, inſomuch that his mind and body being very much impaired thereby, he was even after his arrival at an age of maturity, never thought ſufficiently qualified for any publick or private employment. And therefore he was for a long time after he came at age of maturity, under the government of a pædagogue, who he complains in a certain memoir, was a barbarous wretch, and formerly a maſter mule-driver, that was made his governor, on purpoſe to correct him moſt ſeverely on every trifling occaſion. *And by reaſon of this crazy conſtitution of body and mind, he preſided in the ſhow of gladiators, which in conjunction with his brother he gave the people, in honour of his father's memory, muffled up in a pallium, contrary to cuſtom. When he took upon him the manly habit, he was carried in a chair at midnight into the Capitol, without the uſual ceremony.*

3. *However he applied himſelf very early and cloſely to the ſtudy of the liberal ſciences, and frequently publiſhed ſpecimens of his ſkill in every one of them. But yet for all that could never attain to any publick poſt in the government, or give any better hopes of himſelf for the future. His mother Antonia frequently called him* a monſter of a man, that had been only begun, but never finiſhed by nature. *And when ſhe would upbraid any one with dulneſs, ſhe ſaid* he was more a fool than her ſon Claudius. *His grand mother Auguſta always treated him with the utmoſt contempt, very rarely ſpoke to him, and when ſhe did admoniſh him upon any occaſion, it was in writing, very briefly and ſeverely, or by meſſengers. His ſiſter Livilla, upon hearing that it would be his fortune to be emperor, openly and loudly expreſſed her abhorrence of the Roman people's falling under a fate ſo ſevere and ſo much below their grandeur. And to let the reader into the*

partem

partem opinatus sit, quo certius cognoscatur, capita ex ipsius epistolis posui.

4. *Collocutus sum cum Tiberio, ut mandasti, mea Livia, quid nepoti tuo Tiberio faciendum esset ludis Martialibus. Consentit autem uterq; nostrum, semel esse nobis statuendum, quod consilium in illo sequamur. Nam si est ἄρτιος, ut ita dicam, ὁλόκληρος, quid est quod dubitemus, quin per eosdem articulos & gradus producendus sit, per quos frater ejus productus fuit? Sin autem ἡλαττῶσθαι, sentimus eum, καὶ βεβλάφθαι, καὶ εἰς τὴν τοῦ σώματος καὶ εἰς τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρτότητα, præbenda materia deridendi & illum & nos non est hominibus, τὰ τοιαῦτα σκώπτειν καὶ μυκτηρίζειν εἰωθόσιν. Nam semper æstuabimus, si de singulis articulis temporum deliberabimus, μὴ προυποκειμένου ἡμῖν, posse eum gerere honores arbitremur nec ne. In præsentia tamen quibus de rebus consulis, curare eum ludis Martialibus triclinium sacerdotum, non displicet nobis, si est passurus se ab Silani filio, homine sibi affini, admoneri, ne quid faciat quod conspici & derideri possit. Spectare eum Circenses ex pulvinari non placet nobis. Expositus enim in prima fronte spectaculorum conspicietur. In Albanum montem ire eum non placet nobis, aut esse Romæ Latinarum diebus. Cur enim non præficitur urbi, si potest fratrem suum sequi in montem? Habes nostras, mea Livia, sententias quibus placet semel de tota re aliquid constitui: ne semper inter spem & metum fluctuemus. Licebit autem, si voles, Antoniæ quoq; nostræ des hanc partem epistolæ hujus legendam.* Rursus alteris literis: *Tiberium adolescentem, ego vero, dum tu aberis, quotidie in-*

sentiments of Augustus his great uncle about him, as well for him as against him, I have here subjoined some passages out of his letters.

4. I have had some talk with Tiberius, according to your desire, my dear Livia, what must be done with your grandson Tiberius at the games of Mars. We are both agreed in this, that once for all we ought to determine what course to take about him. For if he be really perfect and entire, as I may say, with regard to his intellectuals, why then should we scruple to promote him by the same steps and degrees we did his brother? But if we find him indeed unfinished, and defective both in body and mind, we must not give the world occasion to laugh both at him and us, who are forward enough to make matters of this kind the subject of mirth and derision. For we shall never be easy, if we are always to be debating upon every occasion of this kind, without coming at once to a resolution of this point, whether he be really capable of publick offices, or no. As to what you consult me about at present, I am not against his superintending at the feast of the priests, if he will suffer himself to be governed by his kinsman Silanus's son, that he may do nothing to set people a staring, or laughing at him for. But I do not approve of his seeing the Circensian games from the pulvinar. He will be there exposed to view in the very front of the theatre. Nor do I like that he should go to the Alban mountain, or be at Rome during the Latin festival. For why is he not made præfect of the city, if he is capable of attending his brother into the mountain? Thus, my dear Livia, you have my thoughts upon the matter. I am of opinion we ought to settle this affair once for all, that we be not always in suspence betwixt hope and fear. You may, if you please, give our kinswoman Antonia this part of my letter to read. *Again in another letter he has the following words.* I shall invite the youth Tiberius every day during your absence to supper, that he may not sup alone with

vitabo ad cœnam, ne ſolus cœnet cum ſuo Sulpicio & Athenodoro: qui vellem diligentius, & minus μετεωρῶς, deligeret ſibi aliquem, cujus motum & habitum & inceſſum imitaretur miſellus:

his friend Sulpicius and Athenodorus. I wiſh he was more cautious and mindful in the choice of ſome perſon, whoſe motion, air and gait, might be proper for the poor creature's imitation.

Ἀτυχεῖ παυ ἐν τοῖσι σπουδαίοις λίαν.

In things of conſequence he ſadly fails.

ubi non aberravit ejus animus, ſatis apparet ἡ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ εὐγένεια. Item tertiis literis, *Tiberium nepotem tuum placere mihi declamantem potuiſſe, pereram, niſi, mea Livia, admiror. Nam qui tam ἀσαφῶς loquatur, qui poſſet, cum declamat, σαφῶς dicere quæ dicenda ſunt, non video.* Nec dubium eſt quin poſt hæc Auguſtus conſtituerit, et reliquerit eum nullo præter Auguralis ſacerdotii honore impertitum: ac ne heredem quidem, niſi inter tertios, ac pæne extraneos, e parte ſexta nuncuparit: legatoque non amplius quam octingentorum ſeſtertiorum proſecutus.

where his mind does not run aſtray, a noble ſtrain ſufficiently ſhews itſelf in him. *Likewiſe in a third letter he ſays,* Let me die, my dear Livia, if I am not aſtoniſhed, that your grandſon Tiberius ſhould declaim to pleaſe me; for how he that talks ſo darkly, ſhould be able to declaim ſo clearly and properly, I cannot imagine. *And no doubt but Auguſtus did after this come to a reſolution upon the matter, and accordingly left him inveſted with no other honour but that of the augural prieſthood; and named him amongſt the heirs of the third degree, and ſuch as were but far off allied to his family, and for a ſixth part of his eſtate only, and left him a legacy of no more than eight hundred thouſand ſeſterces.*

5. Tiberius patruus petenti honores conſularia ornamenta detulit. Sed inſtantius legitimos flagitanti, id ſolum codicillis reſcripſit, *Quadraginta aureos in Saturnalia & Sigillaria miſiſſe ei.* Tunc demum abjecta ſpe dignitatis, ad otium conceſſit, modo in hortis et ſuburbana domo, modo in Campaniæ ſeceſſu delitеſcens: atq; ex contubernio ſordidiſſimorum hominum ſuper veterem ſegnitiæ notam, ebrietatis quoq; et aleæ infamiam ſubiit.

5. *Tiberius, upon his addreſſing him for preferment in the government, granted him the conſular ornaments. But he perſiſting in his ſuit, he ſent him* forty gold pieces for his expences, during the feſtivals of the Saturnalia, and Sigillaria. *Upon which laying aſide all hopes of all advancement, he gave himſelf wholly up to an idle life, living in great privacy, one while in his gardens, or a country ſeat he had nigh the city; another while in Campania, where he paſſed his time amongſt the vileſt of company, and by that means, beſides his former character of a dull heavy fellow, got that of a drunkard and a gameſter.*

6. Cum interim, quamquam hoc modo agenti, nunquam aut officium hominum, aut reverentia publica defuit. Equeſter ordo bis patronum eum perferendæ pro ſe legationis elegit: ſe-

6. *But yet notwithſtanding the infamous life he led, he had a great reſpect ſhewn him, as well from the publick as private perſons. The Equeſtrian order twice made choice of him to carry a meſſage in their names, once to requeſt from the conſuls the*

mel

mel cum deportandum Romam corpus Augusti humeris suis a COSS. exposceret: iterum cum oppressum Sejanum apud eosdem gratularetur. Quin et spectaculis advenienti assurgere, et lacernas deponere solebat. Senatus quoque, ut ad numerum sodalium Augustalium sorte ductorum extra ordinem adjiceretur, censuit: et mox ut domus ei, quam incendio amiserat, publica impensa restitueretur, dicendæq; inter consulares sententiæ jus esset. Quod decretum abolitum est, excusante Tiberio imbecillitatem ejus, ac damnum liberalitate sua resarturum pollicente. Qui tamen moriens, et in tertiis hæredibus eum ex parte tertia nuncupatum, legato etiam circa HS. vicies prosecutus, commendavit insuper exercitibus, senatui populoq; Rom. inter cæteras necessitudines nominatim.

7. Sub Cajo demum fratris filio secundam existimationem circa initia imperii omnibus lenociniis colligente, honores auspicatus, consulatum gessit una per duos menses: evenitq; ut primitus ingredienti cum fascibus Forum, prætervolans aquila dexteriore humero consideret. Sortitus est et de altero consulatu in quartum annum: præseditq; nonnunquam spectaculis in Caji vicem, acclamante populo, *Feliciter*, partim *patruo Imperatoris*, partim *Germanici fratri*.

8. Nec eo minus contumeliis obnoxius vixit. Nam et si paullo serius ad prædictam cœnæ horam occurrisset, non nisi ægre, et circuito demum triclinio, recipiebatur. Et quoties post cibum addormisceret, quod

favour of bearing on their shoulders the corpse of Augustus to Rome, and a second time to congratulate the consuls upon the taking off Sejanus. Likewise when he entered the theatre, they used to rise up and put off their cloaks. The senate too voted that he should be added to the number of the sodales Augustales who were chose by lot; and soon after, that his house which was burnt down, should be rebuilt at the publick charge, and that he should have the right of delivering his mind upon any matter that came before the house, amongst the consular gentlemen. Which decree was however repealed; Tiberiu insisting to have him excused because of his weakness, and promising to make good his loss at his own expence. Who, however, at his death named him in his will amongst his third heirs, for a third part of his estate, leaving him withal a legacy of two millions of sesterces, and moreover recommended him by name, to the armies, the senate and people of Rome, amongst his other relations.

7. *At last Caius his brother's son, upon his advancement to the empire, endeavouring to gain the affections of the people, by all the arts of popularity, he too was admitted to publick offices, and bore the consulship together with him for two months. And as he was entering the Forum for the first time with the Fasces, an eagle that was flying that way, settled upon his right shoulder. He likewise took his lot for the government of a province as proconsul at the year's end. And he sometimes presided in the publick diversions of the theatre, in the room of Caius, ever complimented with the acclamations of the people, wishing all happiness to him, sometimes under the title of the* Emperor's uncle, *and sometimes under that of* Germanicus's brother.

8. *But notwithstanding he met with a great deal of contumelious usage too. For if he came late in at any time to supper, he was obliged to walk round the room some time, before he could get a place at table. And as oft as he took a nap after meat, which was a usual thing with him, the*

ei

ei fere accidebat, olearum ac palmularum ossibus incessebatur: interdum ferula flagrove, velut per ludum, excitabatur a copreis. Solebant et manibus stertentis socci induci, ut repente expergefactus faciem sibi confricaret.

9. Sed ne discriminibus quidem caruit: primum in ipso consulatu, quod Neronis et Drusi, fratrum Cæsaris, statuas segnius locandas ponendasq; curasset, pæne honore submotus est; deinde extraneo vel etiam domesticorum aliquo deferente, assidue varieq; inquietatus. Cum vero detecta esset Lepidi et Gætulici conjuratio, missus in Germaniam inter legatos ad gratulandum, etiam vitæ periculum adiit: indignante ac fremente Cajo, patruum potissimum ad se missum, quasi ad puerum regendum: adeo ut non defuerint qui traderent, præcipitatum quoq; in flumen, sicut vestitus advenerat. Atque ex eo nunquam non in senatu noviissimus consularium sententiam dixit, ignominiæ causa post omnes interrogatus. Etiam cognitio falsi testamenti recepta est, in quo et ipse signaverat. Postremo etiam sestertium octogies pro introitu novi sacerdotii coactus impendere, ad eas rei familiaris angustias decidit, ut cum obligatam ærario fidem liberare non posset, in vacuum lege prædiatoria venalis pependerit sub edicto præfectorum.

10. Per hæc ac talia, maxima ætatis parte transacta, quinquagesimo anno imperium cepit quantumvis mirabili casu. Exclusus inter cæteros ab insidiatoribus Caji, cum quasi secretum eo desiderante turbam submoverent, in diætam, cui nomen est Hermæum, recesse-

company used to pelt him with olive stones and dates. And drolls that attended, would wake him, as if it were only in jest, with a cane or a whip. And sometimes they would put shoes upon his hands, as he lay snoring, that he might upon his awaking rub his face with them.

9. *But he was not only exposed to contempt, but considerable danger too, first, in his consulship, for having been too remiss in providing and erecting the statues of Caius's brothers, Nero and Drusus, he had like to have been turned out of his office of consul; and afterwards he was continually plagued with informations against him by one or other, even of his own domesticks sometimes. When the conspiracy of Lepidus and Gætulicus was discovered, being sent with some other deputies into Germany, to congratulate the emperor upon it, he was in danger of his life; Caius being in a mighty chafe, and expressing his resentment, that his uncle should be sent to him, as if he was a boy that wanted a governor; and some authors say, that he was thrown into a river in his travelling habit, just as he came. And ever after that time, he spoke in the senate always the last of all the consular gentlemen, being called upon after the rest on purpose to disgrace him. An indictment too for forging a will was allowed to be prosecuted, though he had signed it as a witness. At last being obliged to pay eight millions of sesterces for his entrance upon a new office of priesthood conferred upon him, he was reduced to those difficulties, for want of ability to discharge his obligation to the treasury, that his whole estate, according to the law in that case provided, was exposed to sale by an edict of the commissioners.*

10. *Having spent the greatest part of his life under these or the like circumstances, he came at last to the empire in the fiftieth year of his age, by a very surprizing turn of affairs. Being amongst others not suffered by the conspirators to come near the emperor, under pretence of his desiring to be private, he retired into an apartment called the Hermæum; and*

rat.

rat. Neq; multo post rumore cædis exterritus, prorepsit ad solarium proximum: interque prætenta foribus vela se abdidit: latentem discurrens forte gregarius miles animadversis pedibus e studio sciscitandi quisnam esset, agnovit, extractumque, & præ metu ad genua sibi accidentem, IMPERATOREM salutavit. Hinc ad alios commilitones fluctuantes, nec quidquam adhuc quam frementes perduxit. Ab his lecticæ impositus, et quia servi diffugerant, vicissim succollantibus, in castra delatus est, tristis ac trepidus, miserante obvia turba, quasi ad pœnam raperetur insons. Receptus intra vallum, inter excubias militum pernoctavit, aliquanto minore spe quam fiducia. Nam consules cum senatu et cohortibus urbanis Forum Capitoliumq; occuparunt, asserturi communem libertatem: accitusq; et ipse per Tribunum pleb. in curiam ad suadenda quæ viderentur, *vi se & necessitate teneri* respondit. Verum postero die, senatu segniore in exsequendis conatibus, per tædium ac dissensionem diversa censentium, et multitudine quæ circumstabat, unum rectorem jam et nominatim exposcente, armatos pro concione jurare in nomen suum passus est: promisitq; singulis quinadena HS. primus Cæsarum fidem militis etiam præmio pignoratus.

11. Imperio stabilito, nihil antiquius duxit quam id biduum, quo de mutando reip. statu hæsitatum erat, memoriæ eximere. Omnium itaq; factorum dictorumq; in eo veniam et oblivionem in perpetuum sanxit, ac præstitit: tribunis modo ac centurionibus paucis e

soon after being affrighted with the rumour of his being slain, he crept into a balcony close by it, and hid himself behind the hangings of the door. As he stood there, a common soldier, that came by chance that way, spying his feet, and desirous to discover who he was, knew him, and pulled him out in a great fright, falling at his feet, and saluted him by the title of Emperor. After this, he brought him out to his fellow-soldiers, all in great rage and uncertainty what to do. They put him in a chair, and because the slaves of the palace were all run away, took their turns of carrying him, and brought him into the camp, very melancholy, and in great consternation; the people that met him lamenting his case, as if the poor innocent was carrying away to execution. Being received within the ramparts he continued all night with the watch, pretty well recovered from his fright, but in no great hopes of the success. For the consuls with the senate and city battalions, had possessed themselves of the forum, and the capitol, with a resolution to reclaim the publick liberty; and he being sent for too by a tribune of the commons to the house, to give his advice upon the present juncture of affairs; he returned answer, that he was under constraint, and could not possibly come. *But the day after, the senate being very slack in the execution of their project, by reason of the great divisions amongst themselves, and the insolence of the mob, who insisted upon a single person, and Claudius by name; he suffered the soldiers to assemble under arms, and take the oath of fidelity to him; and promised them fifteen thousand sesterces a man, being the first of the Cæsars that purchased the faith of the soldiers with money.*

11. *After he had thus secured the government to himself, his first concern was to abolish all remembrance of that two days time, wherein a change of the government had been debated. Accordingly he passed an act of perpetual oblivion and pardon for every thing said or done during that time, and kept it too; except only that he put to death a few tribunes and centurions concern-*

conju-

conjuratorum in Cajum numero interemtis, exempli simul causa, et quod suam quoq; cædem depopoſciſſe cognoverat. Converſus hinc ad officia pietatis, jusjurandum neq; ſanctius ſibi neq; crebrius inſtituit quam *PER AUGUSTUM*. Aviæ Liviæ divinos honores, et Circenſi pompa currum elephantorum Auguſtino ſimilem decernendum curavit. Parentibus inferias publicas: et hoc amplius, patri Circenſes annuos natali die, matri carpentum quod per Circum duceretur, et cognomen Auguſtæ, ab avia recuſatum. Ad fratris memoriam per omnem occaſionem celebratam, comœdiam quoq; Græcam Neapolitano certamine docuit, ac de ſententia judicum coronavit. Ne Marcum quidem Antonium inhonoratum, ac ſine grata mentione tranſmiſit: teſtatus quondam per edictum *Tanto impenſius petere ſe ut natalem patris Druſi celebrarent, quod idem eſſet et avi ſui Antonii.* Tiberio marmoreum arcum juxta Pompeji theatrum, decretum quidem olim a ſenatu, verum omiſſum, peregit. Caji quoq; etſi acta omnia reſcidit, diem tamen necis, quamvis exordium principatus ſui, vetuit inter feſtos referri.

12. At in ſemet augendo parcus atq; civilis, prænomine *Imperatoris* abſtinuit, nimios honores recuſavit, ſponſalia filiæ natalemq; geniti nepotis ſilentio, ac tantum domeſtica religione, tranſegit. Neminem exſulum, niſi ex ſenatus auctoritate, reſtituit: ut ſibi in curiam præfectum prætorii, tribunoſq; militum ſecum inducere liceret, utq; rata eſſent quæ procuratores ſui in judicando ſtatuerent, precario exegit. Jus nun-

ed in the conſpiracy againſt Caius, for example ſake, and becauſe he underſtood they were for killing him too. And now he begun to think of paying his reſpect to the memory of his relations. His moſt ſolemn and uſual oath was, by Auguſtus. *He prevailed with the ſenate to decree divine honours to his grand mother Livia, and a chariot in the Circenſian proceſſion drawn by elephants, as had been appointed for Auguſtus, and publick offerings to the ghoſts of his parents, and beſides for his father, Circenſian games to be celebrated every year upon his birth day, for his mother a chariot to be drawn through the Circus, and the title of Auguſta, which had been refuſed by his grand-mother. And in memory of his brother, which he ſhewed a great regard to upon all occaſions, he ordered a greek comedy of his own to be added to the games at Naples, and received the honour of a crown upon it, by the ſentence of the judges in that ſolemnity. Nor did he omit to make an honourable and grateful mention of M. Anthony, declaring by a proclamation,* That he the more earneſtly inſiſted upon the obſervation of his father Druſus's birth-day, becauſe it was likewiſe that of his grandfather Anthony. *He finiſhed the marble arch nigh Pompey's theatre, that had formerly been decreed by the ſenate in honour of Tiberius, but neglected. And tho' he cancelled all the acts of Caius, yet he forbad the day of his death, notwithſtanding it was that of his own acceſſion to the empire, to be reckoned amongſt the feſtivals.*

12. *But with reſpect to his own dignity, he was ſparing and modeſt, declining the title of emperor, and refuſing all exceſſive honours. He celebrated the wedding of his daughter, and the birth day of a grandſon, with great privacy, at home. He recalled none of thoſe that had been baniſhed, without a decree of the ſenate for it; and requeſted of them the favour, to bring into the houſe with him, the commander of the guards, and a few military tribunes; as alſo, that they would be pleaſed to beſtow upon his procurators, a judicial authority in the provinces. He begged too of the con-*

dinarum

dinarum in privata prædia a consulibus petiit: cognitionibus magistratuum, ut unus e consiliariis frequenter interfuit. Eosdem spectacula edentes, surgens et ipse cum cætera turba, voce ac manu veneratus est. Tribunis pleb. adeuntibus se pro tribunali excusavit, quod propter angustias non posset audire eos nisi stantes. Quare in brevi spatio tantum amoris favorisq; collegit, ut cum profectum eum Ostiam periisse ex insidiis nuntiatum esset, magna consternatione populus, et militem quasi proditorem, et senatum quasi parricidam, diris execrationibus incessere non ante destiterit, quam unus atque alter, et mox plures a magistratibus in rostra producti, salvum et appropinquare confirmarent.

13. Nec tamen expers insidiarum usquequaq; permansit, sed et a singulis, et per factionem, et deniq; civili bello infestatus est. E plebe homo nocte media juxta cubiculum ejus cum pugione deprehensus est: reperti et equestris ordinis duo in publico cum dolone ac venatorio cultro præstolantes, alter ut egressum theatro, alter ut sacrificantem apud Martis ædem adoriretur. Conspiraverant autem ad res novas Gallus Asinius et Statilius Corvinus, Pollionis ac Messalæ oratorum nepotes, assumptis compluribus libertis ipsius atq; servis. Bellum civile movit Furius Camillus Scribonianus Dalmatiæ legatus: verum intra quintum diem oppressus est, legionibus quæ sacramentum mutaverant, in pœnitentiam religione conversis, postquam denuntiato ad novum imperatorem itinere, casu quodam, an divinitus, neq; aquilæ

suls the privilege of holding fairs upon his private estate. He frequently assisted the magistrates in the trial of causes, as one of their assessors. And when they presented the people with any publick diversions, would rise up to them with the rest of the people, and pay his respects to them both by words and gestures. And when the tribunes of the commons came to wait upon him as he was on the bench, he begged to be excused, if he desired them to speak to him standing, because otherwise he could not hear them, by reason of the crowd. By this means, in a short time, he wrought himself so much into the favour and affection of the people, that when, upon his going to Ostia, news was brought to town, that he had been waylaid and slain, they never ceased cursing the soldiers for traitors, and the senate as parricides, 'till one or two, and presently after several others, were brought by the magistrates upon the rostra, who assured them that he was alive, and not far from the town, upon his return home.

13. *But notwithstanding he did not continue absolutely free from conspiracies against him, being attempted both by single persons, and several in conjunction, and at last by a civil war. An ordinary fellow was found with a ponyard, nigh his chamber, at midnight. Two gentlemen likewise of the equestrian order were discovered waiting for him in the streets, armed with a tuck and a huntsman's dagger; the one designing to attack him as he came out of the theatre; and the other, as he was sacrificing in the temple of Mars. Likewise Gallus Asinius, and Statilius Corvinus, grandsons of the two orators, Pollio and Messala, form'd a design against him, wherein they engaged a great many of his freedmen and slaves. Furius Camillus Scribonianus, his lieutenant in Dalmatia, raised a civil war against him, but was reduced in five days time; the legions which had been drawn into the rebellion by him, changing their minds again, upon a fright occasioned by ill omens. For when orders were given them to march, to meet their new emperor, the eagles could not be dressed, nor the other standards pulled out of the ground, whether*

ornari, neq; signa convelli moveriq; potuerunt.

14. Consulatus super pristinum quatuor gessit: ex quibus duos primos junctim: sequentes per intervallum, quarto quemq; anno: semestrem novissimum: bimestres cæteros; tertium autem, novo circa principem exemplo, in locum demortui suffectus. Jus et consul et extra honorem laboriosissime dixit, etiam suis suorumq; diebus solennibus, nonnunquam festis quoque antiquitus, et religiosis. Nec semper præscripta legum secutus, duritiam lenitatemve multarum, ex bono et æquo, perinde ut afficeretur, moderatus est. Nam et iis qui apud privatos judices plus petendo formula excidissent, restituit actiones: et in majore fraude convictos, legitimam pœnam supergressos, ad bestias condemnavit.

15. In cognoscendo autem ac decernendo mira varietate animi fuit, modo circumspectus et sagax, modo inconsultus ac præceps: nonnunquam frivolus amentiq; similis. Cum decurias rerum actu expungeret, eum qui dissimulata vacatione quam beneficio liberorum habebat, resonderat, ut cupidum judicandi dimisit: alium interpellatum, ab adversariis de propria lite, negantemque cognitionis rem, sed ordinarii juris esse, agere causam confestim apud se coegit, proprio negotio documentum daturum, quam æquus judex in alieno negotio futurus esset. Fœminam non agnoscentem filium suum, dubia utrimque argumentorum fide, ad confessionem compulit, indicto matrimonio juvenis. Absenti-

it was by accident, or a divine interposition.

14. *Besides his former consulship, he bore four more; of which he held the two first successively; but the following, after an interval of four years each; the last for six months; the rest for two; and his third, upon being chose in the room of a consul that died, which had never been done by any of the emperors before him. But whether he was consul or not, he gave a very constant attendance in the courts for the administration of justice, even upon such days as were solemnly observed as days of rejoicing in his family, or by his friends; and sometimes upon the publick festivals of antient institution, or unlucky days. Nor did he always keep strictly to the letter of the laws, but over-ruled the rigour or lenity of many, according to justice and equity, as he was affected. For where persons lost their suits, by insisting upon more than appeared to be their due, before the judges of private causes, he granted them the favour of bringing the matter over again. And with respect to such as were convict of any great villainy, he would exceed the punishment appointed by law and condemn them to be exposed to wild beasts.*

15. *But in the hearing and determining of causes, he shewed a strange variety of humour, being one while circumspect and exact, another while inconsiderate and rash, and sometimes silly, and like one out of his wits. In cancelling the names of persons upon the judges' list, he struck off one, who concealing the privilege he had by his children, to be excused from that service, had answered to his name, as too fond of the office. Another that was summoned before the emperor upon a cause of his own, but alledged that the matter did not properly belong to his cognizance, but that of the ordinary judges, he ordered to plead the cause himself immediately before him, and thereby gave a specimen in a business of his own, how fair a judge he would be in that of other people's. A woman refusing to own her own son, and there being no clear proof on either side, he obliged her to confess the truth, by enjoining her to marry the young man. He was very inclinable to determine*

bus

bus ſecundum præſentes facillime dabat, nullo delectu, culpa ne quis an aliqua neceſſitate ceſſaſſet. Proclamante quodam, præcidendas falſario manus, carnificem ſtatim acciri cum machæra menſaque lanionia flagitavit. Peregrinitatis reum, orta inter advocatos levi contentione, togatumne an palliatum dicere cauſam oporteret, quaſi æquitatem integram oſtentans, mutare habitum ſæpius, et prout accuſaretur defendereturve, juſſit. De quodam etiam negotio ita ex tabella pronuntiaſſe creditur, *SECUNDUM EOS SE SENTIRE QUI VERA PROPOSUISSENT.* Propter quæ uſq; eo eviluit ut paſſim ac propalam contemptui eſſet. Excuſans quidam teſtem e provincia ab eo vocatum, negavit præſto eſſe poſſe: diſſimulata diu cauſa, ac poſt longas demum interrogationes, *mortuus eſt*, inquit, *Puteolis.* Alius gratias agens, quod reum defendi pateretur, adjecit; *Et tamen fieri ſolet.* Illud quoq; a majoribus natu audiebam, adeo cauſidicos patientia ejus ſolitos abuti, ut deſcendentem e tribunali non ſolum voce revocarent, ſed et lacinia togæ retenta, interdum pede apprehenſo retinerent. Ac ne cui hæc mira ſint, litigatori Græculo vox in altercatione excidit, οὐ σὺ γέρων εἶ, οὐ μαργός. Equitem quidem Romanum obſcœnitatis in fœminas reum, ſed falſo, et ab impotentibus inimicis conficto crimine, ſatis conſtat, cum ſcorta meritoria citari adverſus ſe, et audiri pro teſtimonio videret, graphium et libellos, quos tenebat in manu, ita cum magna ſtultitiæ et ſævitiæ exprobratione jeciſſe in faciem ejus, ut genam non leviter perſtrinxerit.

cauſes in favour of the party that appeared againſt ſuch as did not, without any regard whether their abſence was occaſioned by their own fault, or real neceſſity. And ſome body crying out upon a man's being convicted of forgery, that he ought to have his hands cut off, he inſiſted thereupon that an executioner ſhould be immediately ſent for with a ſword and a butcher's block. And one being proſecuted for falſely aſſuming to himſelf the freedom of Rome, and a diſpute ariſing betwixt the advocates in the cauſe, whether he ought to make his defence in the Roman or the Græcian dreſs, to ſhew his great impartiality, he commanded him to change his cloaths ſeveral times, according as he was accuſed or defended. It is a ſtory told of him, and believed too, that he did in a certain cauſe deliver his ſentence which he had in writing before him, in the following words, That he gave it for thoſe that were in a right ſtory. *By ſuch things as theſe he loſt himſelf to that degree in the opinion of the world, that he was every where and openly deſpiſed. One making an excuſe for a witneſs he had ſent for from the provinces, declared he could not poſſibly appear, and concealing his reaſon for ſome time, at laſt, after ſeveral queries put to him about it,* The man died lately, *ſays he,* at Puteoli. *Another thanking him, for ſuffering a perſon that was proſecuted to make his defence by council, added,* And yet it is no more than what is uſual. *I have heard likewiſe ſome old men ſay, that the pleaders in court uſed to abuſe his patience ſo groſly, that they would not only call him back, as he was going off the bench, but would ſeize him by the lap of his coat, and ſometimes catch him by the heels to make him ſtay. And that no one may think this ſtrange, ſome ſorry Greek that had a cauſe before him, in a warm debate that happened upon it, cried out to him,* Thou art an old fellow, and a fool too. *Its certain that a Roman knight who was falſely proſecuted by a malicious contrivance of his enemies as guilty of unnatural lewdneſs with women, obſerving that common ſtrumpets were ſummoned and allowed to give evidence againſt him, upbraided him in very ſevere language*

with his folly and cruelty, and then threw his stile and some books he had in his hand full drive in the face of him, with that violence, that he gave him an ugly wound on the cheek.

16. Gessit et censuram intermissam diu post Paullum Plancumq; censores: sed hanc quoq; inæqualiter, varioq; et animo et eventu. Recognitione equitum juvenem probri plenum, sed quem pater probatissimum sibi affirmabat, sine ignominia dimisit, *habere* dicens *censorem suum*. Alium corruptelis adulteriisq; famosum, nihil amplius quam monuit, *ut aut parcius ætatulæ indulgeret, aut certe cautius*. Addiditq; *Quare enim ego scio quam amicam habeas?* Et cum orantibus familiaribus dempsisset cuidam appositam notam, *Litura tamen*, inquit, *exstet*. Splendidum virum, Græciæq; provinciæ principem, verum Latini sermonis ignarum, non modo albo judicum erasit, sed etiam in peregrinitatem redegit. Nec quemquam nisi sua voce, utcumq; quis posset, ac sine patrono, rationem vitæ passus est reddere; notavitq; multos et quosdam inopinantes, et ex causa novi generis, quod se inscio ac sine commeatu Italia excessissent: quendam vero, et quod comes regis in provincia fuisset, referens, majorum temporibus, Rabirio Postumo, Ptolemæum Alexandriam, crediti servandi causa, secuto, majestatis crimen apud judices motum. Plures notare conatus, magna inquisitorum negligentia, sed suo majore dedecore, innoxios fere reperit, quibuscumq; cœlibatum, aut orbitatem, aut egestatem objiceret, maritos, patres, opulentos se probantibus: eo quidem, qui sibimet vim ferro intulisse arguebatur, illæsum corpus veste deposita ostentante.

16. *He likewise took upon him the office of Censor, which had been discontinued, since the time that Paullus and Plancus had enjoyed that honour together. But upon this occasion, again he behaved very unequally, and with a strange variety of humour and conduct. In his review of the gentlemen, allowed a war horse by the publick, he dismissed, without any mark of infamy, a scandalous young fellow, only because his father declared his approbation of his behaviour, saying,* he had his own proper censor: *another that was infamous for the debauching of youth both male and female, and adultery, he only admonished* to indulge his youthful inclinations more sparingly, or, however, more cautiously; *adding withal,* why must I needs know what mistress you keep. *And when, at the request of his friends, he had taken off a mark of infamy he had set upon one gentleman's name,* let the blot however, *said he,* remain. *He not only struck out of the list of the judges, but likewise deprived of his freedom of Rome, a gentleman of great figure, and of the first rank in Greece, only because he was ignorant of the Latin tongue. Nor did he suffer any one to give an account of his life by an advocate, but obliged each man to speak for himself, how meanly soever he was qualified for it. He disgraced many, and some that little expected it, and for a reason perfectly new,* i. e. *for going out of Italy without his knowledge and permission; and one too, only for having attended in his province upon a king, as his companion; observing, that, in former times, Rabirius Postumus had been prosecuted for treason, only upon the account of attending Ptolemy to Alexandria, to secure a debt. Several others that he attempted to disgrace, through the great negligence of the persons employed to enquire into people's characters, but, to his own greater shame, he found generally very innocent; those that he charged with living unmarried, want of children or estate, proving themselves to be husbands, parents, and rich. One too that was accused of an at-*

Fue-

Fuerunt et illa in censura ejus notabil a, quod essedum argenteum sumptuose fabricatum ac vænale ad Sigillaria, redimi concidique coram imperavit: quodq; uno die xx edicta proposuit, inter quæ duo, quorum altero admonebat *ut uberi vinearum proventu bene dolia picarentur:* altero, *nihil æque facere ad viperæ morsum quam raxi arboris succum.*

17. Expeditionem unam omnino suscepit, eamq; modicam, cum, decretis sibi a senatu ornamentis triumphalibus, leviorem majestate principali titulum arbitraretur, velletq; justi triumphi decus, unde acquireret, Britanniam potissimum elegit, neq; tentatam ulli post Divum Julium, et tunc tumultuantem ob non redditos transfugas. Huc cum ab ostia navigaret, vehementi Circio bis pæne demersus est, prope Liguriam, juxtaq; Stæchadas insulas. Quare a Massilia Gessoriacum usq; pedestri itinere confecto, inde transmisit: ac sine ullo prælio aut sanguine intra pauciss imos dies parte insulæ in dedi tionem recepta, sexto quam profectus erat mense Romam rediit, triumphavitq; maximo apparatu. Ad cujus spectaculum commeare in urbem non solum præsidibus provinciarum permisit, verum etiam exsulibus quibusdam: atq; inter hostilia spolia, navalem coronam fastigio Palatinæ domus juxta civicam fixit, trajecti et quasi domiti Oceani insigne. Currum ejus Messalina uxor carpento secuta est. Secuti et trimphalia ornamenta eodem bello adepti, sed cæteri pedibus et in prætexta: Crassus

tempt made upon his own life by the sword, stripped himself to let him see there was not the least mark of any such violence upon his body. The following things were remarkable enough in his censorship: He ordered a silver chaise that was very sumptuously wrought up, and exposed to sale at the sigillaria, to be purchased and hew'd in pieces before his eyes. And published twenty proclamations in one day; in one of which he advised the people, since the vintage was very plentiful, to have their casks well secured at the bung with pitch: *And in another he told them,* that nothing would sooner cure the bite of a viper, than the sap of the yew-tree.

17. *He undertook only one expedition, and that but of short continuance. The triumphal ornaments decreed him by the senate, he look'd upon as below the imperial grandeur, and was therefore resolved to have the honour of a complete triumph: For which purpose, he made choice of the province of Britain; which had never been attempted by any one since Julius Cæsar; and was then in an uproar, because the Romans would not return some deserters to them from that island. Accordingly he set sail from Ostia, but had like to have been sunk twice by that boisterous wind called Circius, upon the coast of Liguria, and near the islands callea Stæchades. Wherefore making his way by land from Massilia to Gessoriacum, he went over from thence into Britain; and a part of the island submitting, within a few days after his arrival, without battle or bloodshed, he returned in less than six months, from the time of his setting forward, to Rome again, and triumph'd in the most solemn manner; to the sight of which, he not only suffered some governors of provinces to come to town, but some that were in banishment too; and amongst the spoils taken from the enemy, fixt upon the dome of his house in the Palatium, a naval crown, nigh the civick, which was there before, in token of his having passed, and, as it were, conquered the ocean. Messalina his lady followed his chariot in a carpentum. Those too that had attained the honour of triumphal ornaments in the same war, came after in chariots, the rest*

Frugi

Frugi equo phalerato, et in veste palmata, quod eum honorem iteraverat.

18. Urbis annonæq; curam solicitissime semper egit. Cum Æmiliana pertinacius arderent, in diribitorio duabus noctibus mansit: ac deficiente militum ac familiarum turba, auxilio plebem per magistratus ex omnibus vicis convocavit: ac positis ante se cum pecunia fiscis, ad subveniendum hortatus est, repræsentaturus pro opera dignam cuiq; mercedem. Arctiore autem annona ob assiduas sterilitates detentus quondam medio foro a turba, convitiisq; ac simul fragminibus panis ita instratus, ut ægre nec nisi postico evadere in palatium valuerit; nihil non excogitavit ad invehendos etiam in tempore hiberno commeatus. Nam et negotiatoribus certa lucra proposuit suscepto in se damno, si cui quid per tempestates accidisset: et naves mercaturæ causa fabricantibus magna commoda constituit.

19. Pro conditione cujusq; civi vacationem legis Papiæ-Poppææ; Latino jus Quiritum; fœminis jus quatuor liberorum: quæ constituta hodie servantur.

20. Opera magna potius quam necessaria, quam multa perfecit: sed vel præcipua, aquæ ductum a Cajo inchoatum, emissarium Fucini lacus, portumq; Ostiensem: quamquam sciret ex his alterum ab Augusto precantibus assidue Marsis negatum, alterum a D. Julio sæpius destinatum, ac propter difficultatem omissum. Claudiæ aquæ gelidos et uberes fontes, quorum alteri Cæruleo,

on foot, and clad in the robe used by the great officers of state. Crassus Frugi was mounted upon a horse finely attired, in an embroidered robe, because that was the second time of his attaining that honour.

18. *He took especial care of the city, and to have it well supplied with provisions. A dreadful fire happening in the Æmiliana, that continued some time, he stayed two nights in the diribitorium, and the soldiers and gladiators being not sufficient to master it, he summoned the commonalty by the magistrates of all the streets in town, to their assistance; and placing baskets full of money before him, he encouraged them to do their utmost, declaring he would immediately, upon the spot, reward every one of them according to their merit. In a dearth, occasioned by bad crops for some years together, he was stopped in the middle of the forum by the mob, and so pelted with foul language, and pieces of bread together, that it was with some difficulty he got at last, by a back-door, into the palace. And therefore, he used all possible means to bring provisions to town, even in the winter season. He proposed to the merchants employed in that traffick, a sure and certain gain, by taking upon himself any loss that might befall them by sea; and to such as built ships for that purpose, he granted great privileges, according to their several circumstances.*

19. *To a citizen of Rome he gave an exemption from the penalty of the Papia-Poppæan law; to one that had only the privilege of Latium, the freedom of the city; and to women, the rights that by law belonged to such as had four children: which constitutions of his are observed to this day.*

20. *He executed several projects that were rather great than necessary; the principal were an aquæduct, that was begun by Caius; a canal for the discharge of the Fucine lake, and the harbour of Ostia; altho' he knew one of these had by Augustus been denied the Marsians, who were frequently addressing him about it; and that the other had been several times intended by Julius Cæsar, but dropped by reason of its difficulty. He brought to town the cool and plentiful springs of the Claudian water, one*

alteri

alteri Curtio et Albudino nomen eſt; ſimulq; rivum Anienis novi lapideo opere in urbem perduxit, diviſitq; in plurimos et ornatiſſimos lacus. Fucinum aggreſſus eſt non minus compendii ſpe quam gloriæ, cum quidam privato ſumptu emiſſuros ſe repromitterent, ſi ſibi ſiccati agri concederentur. Per tria autem paſſuum milia partim effoſſo monte partim exciſo, canalem abſolvit ægre, et poſt undecim annos; quamvis continuis triginta hominum millibus ſine intermiſſione operantibus. Portum Oſtiæ exſtruxit, circumducto dextra ſiniſtraq; brachio, et ad introitum profundo jam ſolo mole objecta, quam quo ſtabilius fundaret, navem ante demerſit, qua magnus obeliſcus ex Ægypto fuerat advectus, congeſtiſq; pilis ſuperpoſuit altiſſimam turrim in exemplum Alexandrini Phari, ut ad nocturnos ignes curſum navigia dirigerent.

21. Congiaria populo ſæpius diſtribuit, ſpectacula quoq; complura magnificaq; edidit, non uſitata modo, ac ſolitis locis, ſed et commentitia, et ex antiquitate repetita, et ubi præterea nemo ante eum. Ludos dedicatione Pompejani theatri quod ambuſtum reſtituerat, e tribunali poſito in orcheſtra commiſit, cum prius apud ſuperiores ædes ſupplicaſſet, perq; mediam caveam ſedentibus ac ſilentibus cunctis, deſcendiſſet. Fecit et ſæculares, quaſi anticipatos ab Auguſto, nec legitimo tempori reſervatos: quamvis ipſe in hiſtoriis ſuis prodat, *intermiſſos eos Auguſtum multo poſt, diligentiſſime annorum ratione ſubducta, in ordinem redegiſſe*. Quare vox præconis irriſa eſt, invitantis more ſolenni ad ludos, *quos nec ſpectaſſet quiſquam, nec ſpectaturus eſſet*: cum

of which is called Cæruleus, and the other Curtius and Albudinus; as alſo the river of the new Anien in a ſtone canal, and diſpoſed of them into a great many fine lakes. He attempted the Fucine lake, as much from the expectation of advantage, as the glory of the performance; ſince ſome offered to drain it, at their own expence, on condition they might have a grant of the land that would be left. He finiſhed a canal of three miles in length, by partly cutting through, and partly levelling a mountain, but with a world of difficulty, thirty thouſand men being conſtantly employed in that work for eleven years together. He formed the harbour at Oſtia, by carrying on to the right and left two vaſt works, with a bend into the ſea, making a mole at the entrance in a deep water; to ſecure the foundation of which, he ſunk the ſhip in which the great obeliſk had been brought from Egypt, and upon ſeveral piles built a very high tower, in imitation of that Pharos, to fix lights upon, for the direction of mariners in the night.

21. *He frequently gave largeſſes to the people, and entertained them with a great variety of publick diverſions, not only ſuch as were uſual, and in the uſual places, but ſome of new invention, and others revived from antiquity, and in places where no body had ever done any thing of that kind before. In the games he preſented upon the opening of Pompey's theatre, that had been burnt, and was rebuilt by him, he preſided upon a throne erected him in the Orcheſtra; having firſt paid his devotions in the upper part, and then coming down through the middle of the Cavea, whilſt all the people kept their ſeats with profound ſilence. He likewiſe exhibited the ſecular games, under pretence of their having been anticipated by Auguſtus, and not reſerved till their proper time; though he himſelf ſays in his hiſtory,* That they had been neglected before Auguſtus, who had made an exact calculation of the time, and again brought them into their former order. *And there-*

ſuper

superessent adhuc qui spectaverant, et quidam histrionum producti olim, tunc quoq; producerentur. Circenses frequenter etiam in Vaticano commisit, nonnunquam interjecta per quinos missus venatione. Circo vero maximo marmoreis carceribus, auratisq; metis, quæ utraq; et tophina ac lignea antea fuerant, exculto, propria senatoribus constituit loca, promiscue spectare solitis. Ac super quadrigarum certamina, Trojæ lusum exhibuit, et Africanas conficiente turma equitum prætorianorum, ducibus tribunis, ipsoque præfecto: præterea Thessalos equites, qui feros tauros per spatia circi agunt, insistuntq; defessos, et ad terram cornibus detrahunt. Gladiatoria munera plurifariam ac multiplicia exhibuit. Anniversarium in castris prætorianis, sine venatione apparatuque, justum atque legitimum in Septis, ibidem extraordinarium et breve, dierumq; paucorum, quodq; appellare cœpit *Sportulam:* quia primum daturus edixerat, *velut ad subitam collectamq; cœnulam invitare solo populum.* Nec ullo spectaculi genere communior aut remissior erat, adeo ut oblatos victoribus aureos prolata sinistra pariter cum vulgo, voce digitisq; numeraret: ac sæpe hortando rogandoq; ad hilaritatem homines provocaret, *dominos* identidem appellans, immistis interdum frigidis et arcessitis jocis: Qualis est, cum Palumbum postulantibus *daturum se* promisit, *si captus esset.* Illud quoq; plane quantumvis salubriter et in tempore cum essedario; pro quo quatuor filii deprecabantur, magno omnium favore indulsisset rudem, tabulam illico misit admonens populum, *quantopere liberos*

fore the crier was laughed at, when he came to invite people, in the usual form, to games which never any one had seen before, nor ever would; *when many people were still living, that had seen them; and some of the players that had formerly acted upon the occasion, were now brought upon the stage again. He likewise frequently presented the Circensian games in the Vatican, sometimes with a hunting of wild beasts, after every five courses. He beautified the great Circus with marble barriers, and gilded goals, which before were of ordinary stone and wood, and assigned proper places for the senators, who were used before to sit promiscuously with other people. Besides the chariot races, he exhibited there the Trojan game, and wild beasts from Africa, which were encountered by a troop of the horseguards, with Tribunes, and the commander in chief, at the head of them; besides Thessalian horse that drive mad bulls round the Circus, and jump upon the backs of them when they are tired, and pull them down by the horns to the ground. He gave shows of gladiators in several places, and of various kinds: An anniversary one in the prætorian camp, but without any hunting, or the usual apparatus; another, as usual, in the Septa; and in the same place, another out of the common way, and of a few days continuance only, which he called* Sportula, *because when he was going to present it, he told the people by proclamation,* that he invited them as it were to a hasty snack. *Nor was he in any kind of publick diversion more free or merry, insomuch that he would with the common people, hold out his left-hand, and count upon his fingers aloud, the golden pieces presented to such as came off conquerors; and would invite the company by earnest exhortations and entreaties, to be merry; now and then calling them his* masters, *with a mixture of insipid, far-fetched jests; as that was, when the people calling for Palumbus (a gladiator) he said,* he would give them one when it was catched; *and this too, tho' well intended and well timed, when having, with great applause, discharged an Essedarian, upon the intercession of his four sons,*

beros

heros ſuſcipere deberet, quos videret et gladiatori præſidio gratiæque eſſet. Edidit et in Martio campo expugnationem direptionemq; oppidi ad imaginem bellicam, et deditionem Britanniæ regum, præſeditq; paludatus. Quin et emiſſurus Fucinum lacum, naumachiam ante commiſit. Sed cum proclamantibus naumachiariis, *Ave imperator, morituri te ſalutant*, reſpondiſſet, *Avęte vos:* neq; poſt hanc vocem, quaſi venia data, quiſquam dimicare vellet, diu cunctatus, an omnes igni ferroque abſumeret, tandem e ſede ſua proſiluit: ac per ambitum lacus, non ſine fœda vacillatione, diſcurrens, partim minando, partim adhortando, ad pugnam compulit. Hoc ſpectaculo claſſis Siculæ et Rhodia concurrerunt, duodecinarum triremum ſingulæ, exciente buccina Tritone argenteo, qui e medeo lacu per machinam emerſerat.

he ſent a billet immediately round the theatre, to put the people in mind, how much it concerned them to have children, ſince they had before them an inſtance, how uſeful they had been to procure favour and ſecurity for a gladiator. *He likewiſe repreſented in the field of Mars, the taking and ſacking of a town, as alſo the ſurrender of the Britiſh kings, and preſided in his general's cloak. And juſt before he diſcharged the Fucine lake, he exhibited a ſea-fight upon it. But thoſe on board the fleets crying out,* Health attend you, noble emperor, dying men ſalute you; *and he replying,* Health attend you too, *they all refuſed to fight upon it, as if by that anſwer he had meant to excuſe them. At which he was in ſome doubt with himſelf, whether he ſhould not deſtroy them all by fire and ſword: at laſt jumping from his ſeat, and running along the ſide of the lake, and reeling to a ridiculous degree, partly by fair words, and partly by foul, he at laſt got them to engage. The two fleets were one of Sicily, and the other of Rhodes, conſiſting each of twelve ſhips of war of three banks of oars; and the charge was given by a ſilver Triton, raiſed by mechaniſm.*

22. Quædam circa ceremonias, civilemque et militarem morem, item circa omnium ordinum ſtatum, domi foriſque, aut correxit, aut exoleta revocavit, aut etiam nova inſtituit. In cooptandis per collegia ſacerdotibus, neminem niſi juratus nominavit; obſervavitque ſedulo, ut quoties terra in urbe moviſſet, ferias advocata concione prætor indiceret: ut que dira avi in urbe, aut in Capitolio viſa, obſecratio haberetur, eamq; ipſe jure Max. Pont. commonito pro roſtris populo, præiret, ſubmotaque operariorum ſervorumq; turba.

22. *With reſpect to religion, the management of affairs both civil and military, as alſo the condition of the ſeveral orders of the people at home and abroad, ſome uſages he corrected, others that had been laid aſide he revived, and ſome regulations he made entirely new. In chooſing new prieſts into the ſeveral companies of them, he nominated none but upon oath: and he never failed as often as an earthquake happened in the city, to ſummon the people together by the prætor, and appoint holydays for religious worſhip: and upon the ſight of any ominous bird in the city or the capitol, ordered a publick prayer to be put up, the words of which, by virtue of his office of high prieſt, after an exhortation to the people from the roſtra, he repeated before them for them to join in; all ordinary mechanicks and ſlaves being firſt ordered to withdraw.*

23. Rerum actum diviſum antea in hibernos æſtivoſque menſes conjunxit. Juriſdictio-

23. *And whereas the courts uſed to ſit for the diſpatch of buſineſs, only ſome months in the ſummer, and ſome in winter, he or-*

nem de fidei commissis quotannis, et tantum in urbe delegari magistratibus solitam in perpetuum atq; etiam per provincias potestatibus demandavit. Capiti Papiæ Poppeæ legis, a Tiberio Cæsare, quasi sexagenarii generare non possent, addito, obrogavit. Sanxit ut pupillis extra ordinem tutores a coss. darentur, utq; hi, quibus a magistratibus provinciæ interdicerentur, urbe quoque et Italia submoverentur. Ipse quosdam novo exemplo relegavit, ut ultra lapidem tertium vetaret egredi ab urbe. De majore negotio actus, in curia medius inter consulum sellas, tribunitio subsellio sedebat. Commeatus a senatu peti solitos beneficii sui fecit.

24. Ornamenta consularia etiam procuratoribus ducenariis indulsit. Senatoriam dignitatem recusantibus, equestrem quoq; ademit. Latum clavum, quamvis initio affirmasset non lecturum senatorem, nisi civis Romano abnepotem, etiam libertini filio tribuit: sed sub conditione, si prius ab equite Romano adoptatus esset. Ac sic quoq; reprehensionem verens, etiam Appium Cæcum generis sui proauctorem, censorem, libertinorum filios in senatum allegisse docuit: ignarus, temporibus Appii et deinceps aliquandiu *libertinos* dictos, non ipsos qui manumitterentur, sed ingenuos ex his procreatos. Collegio quæstorum pro stratura viarum gladiatorium munus injuxit; detractaq; Ostiensi et Gallica provincia, curam ærarii Saturni reddidit, quam medio tempore prætores aut utique prætura functi sustinuerant. Triumphalia ornamenta Silano filiæ suæ sponso, nondum pu-

dered them to sit the year round. The jurisdiction, in matters of trust, which used by special commission to be yearly granted to some certain magistrates, and in the city only, he granted once for all, and to the governors of provinces too. He likewise repeated a clause added to the Papia-Poppæan law by Tiberius, as if men of sixty years of age were uncapable of getting children. He ordered too that orphans should have guardians appointed them by the consuls; and that those who were banished any province by the president thereof, should be debarred coming in the city, or any part of Italy. He inflicted upon some a new sort of banishment, by forbidding them to stir above three miles from Rome. When any affair of importance came before the senate, he used to sit betwixt the two consuls upon the tribune bench. He assumed to himself the power of granting licence to travel out of Italy, which before had belonged to the senate.

24. *He likewise granted the consular ornaments to his procurators called Ducenarii. From such as refused the senatorian dignity, he took away the equestrian too; tho' he had in the beginning of his reign declared, he would chuse no man into the senate, that was not the great grandson of a Roman senator; yet he gave the latus clavus to the son of a freedman; but upon condition that he should be adopted by a Roman knight, but being afraid the world would censure him for it, he informed the publick, that his great fore elder Appius Cæcus the censor, had chosen the sons of freedmen into the senate: for he was ignorant, it seems, that in the times of Appius, and a long while after, persons manumised, were not called* libertini, *but their sons that were free born. Instead of the expence the questors were obliged to be at, for the paving of the highways, he ordered them to give the people a shew of gladiators; and taking from them the provinces of the Ostian and Gallick coast, he restored to them the charge of the treasury, which since the time it was taken from them had been managed by the pretors, or those that had been so. He gave the triumphal ornaments to Silanus contracted to his daughter, tho' he was under age: but to elder*

ber

beri dedit. Majoribus vero natu, tam multis, tamq; facile, ut epistola communi legionum nomine exstiterit. petentium, *ut legatis consularibus simul cum exercitu et triumphalia darentur, ne causam belli quoque modo quærerent.* A Plautio etiam ovationem decrevit; ingressoq; urbem obviam progressus, et in capitolium eunti et inde rursus revertenti. Gabinio Secundo, Chaucis, gente Germanica, superatis, Chaucius cognomen usurpare concessit.

people in such numbers, and so easily, that he was unanimously addressed by all the legions to grant his consular lieutenants the triumphal ornaments together with their commissions to prevent their engaging in unnecessary wars. *He gave A. Plautius the honour of an ovation, and meeting him at his entering the town, walked along with him into the capitol and back again: and allowed Gabinius Secundus, upon his conquest of the Chauci, a nation of Germany, to assume the cognomen of Chaucius.*

25. Equestres militias ita ordinavit, ut post cohortem, alam, post alam, tribunatum legionis daret: stipendiaq; instituit et imaginariæ militiæ genus, quod vocatur *Super numerum*, quo absentes, et titulo tenus fungerentur. Milites domos senatorias salutandi causa ingredi, etiam patrum decreto prohibuit. Libertinos, qui se pro equitibus Romanis agerent, publicavit. Ingratus et de quibus patroni quererentur, revocavit in servitutem; advocatisq; eorum negavit se adversus libertos ipsorum jus dicturum. Cum quidam ægra et affecta mancipia in insulam Æsculapii tædio medendi exponerent, omnes qui exponerentur, liberos esse sanxit, nec redire in ditionem domini, si convaluissent: quod si quis necare quem mallet quam exponere, cædis crimine teneri. Viatores ne per Italiæ oppida, nisi aut pedibus, aut sella, aut lectica transirent, monuit edicto. Puteolis et Ostiæ singulas cohortes ad arcendos incendiorum casus collocavit. Peregrinæ conditionis homines vetuit usurpare Romana nomina, duntaxat gentilitia. Civitatem Romanam usurpantes in Campo Esquilino securi percussit. Provincias A-

25. *His management, with regard to the promotion of gentlemen of the equestrian order in the armies was this; After the command of a battalion, he granted that of the horse in a legion, and after that a tribune's commission. He raised too a sort of imaginary militia, stiled* the supernumeraries, *who were soldiers in name only, being not obliged so much as to be in the armies, however they received pay. He procured an act of the senate to prohibit all soldiers attending upon senators at their houses, in the way of respect and compliment. He confiscated the estates of all freedmen that presumed to take upon them the equestrian dignity. Such of them as were ungrateful to their patrons, and were complained of by them, he reduced to their former condition of slavery; and declared to their advocates, that he would never give judgment against their freedmen, in any suit at law they might have with them whatever. Some people having exposed their sick slaves, that were in a languishing condition, in the island of Æsculapius, because of the tediousness of their cure, he declared all that were so exposed free for ever, never more to return to their former servitude, if they did recover; and that if any one chose rather to kill than expose a slave, in that case he should be liable to a prosecution for murther. He published a proclamation forbidding all travellers to pass through the towns of Italy any otherwise than on foot, or in a litter or chair. He quartered a battalion of soldiers at Puteoli and another at Ostia, to be ready against the casualties*

chaiam et Macedoniam, quas Tiberius ad curam ſuam tranſtulerat, Senatui reddidit. Lyciis ob exitiabiles inter ſe diſcordias libertatem ademit: Rhodiis ob pœnitentiam veterum delictorum reddidit. Ilienſibus, quaſi Romanæ gentis auctoribus, tributa in perpetuum remiſit: recitata vetere epiſtola Græca ſenatus populiq; Romani, Seleuco Regi amicitiam, et ſocietatem ita demum pollicentis, ſi conſanguineos ſuos Ilienſes ab omni onere immunes præſtitiſſet. Judæos impulſore CHRESTO aſſidue tumultuantes Roma expulit. Germanorum legatis in orcheſtra ſedere permiſit, ſimplicitate eorum et fiducia motus, quod in popularia deducti, cum animadvertiſſent Parthos et Armenios ſedentes in ſenatu, ad eadem loca ſponte tranſierant, nihilo deteriorem virtutem aut conditionem ſuam prædicantes. Druidarum religionem apud Gallos diræ immanitatis, et tantum civibus ſub Auguſto interdictam, penitus abolevit. Contra, ſacra Eleuſinia etiam transferre ex Attica Romam conatus eſt. Templum quoq; in Sicilia Veneris Erycinæ vetuſtate collapſum, ut ex ærario Populi Romani reficeretur, auctor fuit. Cum regibus fœdus in foro icit, porca cæſa, ac vetere fecialium præfatione adhibita. Sed et hæc et cætera, totumq; adeo ex parte magna principatum, non tam ſuo, quam uxorum libertorumq; arbitrio, adminiſtravit: talis ubique plerumque, qualem eſſe eum aut expediret illis aut liberet.

of fire. He forbid foreigners the uſe of Roman names, that is ſuch as were appropriated to families. Such as falſely pretended to the freedom of Rome he beheaded in the field of Eſquiliæ. He returned to the ſenate the provinces of Achaia and Macedonia, which Tiberius had taken under his own care. He took from the Lycians their liberties to puniſh them for their deadly animoſities amongſt themſelves; but reſtored the Rhodians their's, upon their repentance for former miſdemeanors. He diſcharged from the payment of all taxes for ever, the Ilienſians, as being the founders of the Roman people; reciting upon the occaſion a letter in Greek of the ſenate and people of Rome to king Seleucus, wherein they promiſed him their friendſhip and alliance, provided he granted their kinſmen the Ilienſians an immunity from all burthens whatever. He baniſhed the Jews out of Rome, that were perpetually making diſturbances at the inſtigation of one Chreſtus. He allowed the embaſſadors of the Germans to ſit to ſee the publick diverſions in the ſeats aſſigned the ſenators, being moved thereto by their frankneſs and aſſurance, for having been ſeated amongſt the common people, upon obſerving the embaſſadors from Parthia and Armenia ſitting with the ſenators, they went over to them, as being no ways inferior to them, they ſaid, in point of merit or quality. The ſavage religion of the Druids, which had been only forbid the Romans in Auguſtus's reign, he utterly aboliſhed. On the other hand, he endeavoured to transfer the Eleuſinian myſteries from Attica to Rome. He likewiſe took care to have the temple of Venus Erycina in Sicily, which was old and in a ruinous condition, repaired at the charge of the treaſury. He concluded treaties with foreign princes in the forum, with the ſacrifice of a ſow, and the form of words uſed by the heralds in former times. But in theſe and other things, and indeed the main of his adminiſtration, he acted not ſo much by himſelf, as by the influence of his wives and freedmen, being for the moſt part ſuch, as was moſt agreeable to their intereſt and humour he ſhould be.

26. Sponſas admodum adoleſcens duas habuit: Æmiliam

26. *He was contracted to two ladies very young, Æmilia Lepida, the great grand-*

Lepi-

Lepidam, Augusti proneptem: item Liviam Medullinam, cui et cognomen Camillæ erat, e genere antiquo Dictatoris Camilli. Priorem, quod parentes ejus Augustum offenderant, virginem adhuc repudiavit. Posteriorem, ipso die qui erat nuptiis destinatus, ex valetudine amisit. Uxores deinde duxit Plautiam Urgulanillam, triumphali, et mox Æliam Petinam, consulari patre. Cum utraq; divortium fecit: sed cum Petina, ex levibus offensis: cum Urgulanilla, ob libidinum probra et homicidii suspicionem. Post has Valeriam Messalinam, Barbati Messalæ consobrini sui filiam in matrimonium accepit. Quam cum comperisset, super cætera flagitia atq; dedecora, C. Sillio etiam nupsisse, dote inter auspices designata, supplicio affecit: confirmavitq; pro concione apud Prætorianos, *Quatenus sibi matrimonia male cederent, permansurum se in cœlibatu: ac nisi permansisset, non recusaturum se confodi manibus ipsorum.* Nec durare valuit, quin de conditionibus continuo tractaret, etiam de Petinæ, quam olim exegerat, deq; Lolliæ Paullinæ, quæ C. Cæsari nupta fuerat. Verum illecebris Agrippinæ, Germanici fratris sui filiæ, per jus osculi et blanditiarum occasiones pellectus in amorem, subornavit proximo senatu qui censeret cogendum se ad ducendum eam uxorem, quasi reipublicæ maxime interesset: dandamq; cæteris veniam talium conjugiorum, quæ ad id tempus incesta habebantur. Ac vix uno interposito die, confecit nuptias: non repertis qui sequerentur exemplum, excepto libertino quodam, et altero primipilari, cujus officium nuptiarum et ipse cum Agrippina celebravit.

daughter of Augustus, and Livia Medullina who had the cognomen of Camilla, and was descended from the old dictator Camillus. The former he turned off untouched, because her parents had fallen under the displeasure of Augustus; and the latter died upon the very day designed for their nuptials. After that he married Plautia Urgulanilla whose father had had the honour of a triumph, and soon after Ælia Petina the daughter of a consular gentleman, but divorced them both, Petina upon some frivolous occasions of offence, and Urgulanilla for scandalous lewdness, and the suspicion of murther. After them he took in marriage Valeria Messalina the daughter of Barbatus Messala his cousin. But finding besides her other scandalous debaucheries, that she had married C. Silius, the writing relating to her fortune being formally signed as usual in the presence of the auspices, he put her to death: and summoning his guards together, declared to them, that since he was so unhappy in his marriages, he was resolved to continue a widower; and if he did not, would give them leave to stab him. *But he was not able to hold this resolution, for immediately he begun to think of another wife, and of taking Petina again, whom he had formerly divorced, as also Lollia Paullina, who had been married to Caius Cæsar. But being ensnared by the arts of Agrippina, his brother Germanicus's daughter, upon occasion of that freedom of kissing and toying which their near relation allowed of, he under-hand procured one to declare, at the next meeting of the senate, as his opinion, that the emperor ought to be forced to marry her, as a thing that would be highly conducive to the publick good; and that all others ought to be allowed the liberty of such matches, which 'till that time had been looked upon as incestuous. In less than an entire day after this he married her. However, there were none found to follow the example, but a freed man, and a centurion of the first rank, at the solemnizing of whose nuptials, both he and Agrippina gave their attendance.*

27 Libe-

27. Liberos ex tribus uxoribus tulit: ex Urgulanilla Druſum et Claudiam: ex Petina Antoniam: ex Meſſalina Octaviam, et quem primo Germanicum, mox Britannicum cognominavit. Druſum Pompeiis impuberem amiſit, pyro per luſum in ſublime jactato, et hiatu oris excepto ſtrangulatum: cui et ante paucos dies filiam Sejani deſpondiſſet. Quo magis miror fuiſſe qui traderent, fraude a Sejano necatum. Claudiam ex liberto ſuo Botere conceptam, quamvis ante quintum menſem divortii natam, aliq; cœptam, exponi tamen ad matris januam, et nudam juſſit abjici Antoniam Cn. Pompejo magno, deinde Fauſto Syllæ, nobiliſſimis juvenibus, Octaviam Neroni privigno ſuo collocavit, Silano ante deſponſatam. Britannicum vigeſimo imperii die, inq; ſecundo conſulatu natum ſibi, parvulum etiam tum, et militibus pro concione manibus ſuis geſtans, et plebi per ſpectacula gremio, aut ante ſe retinens, aſſidue commendabat, fauſtiſq; ominibus cum acclamantium turba proſequebatur. E generis Neronem adoptavit: Pompejum atq; Silanum non recuſavit modo, ſed et interemit.

28. Libertorum præcipue ſuſpexit Poſidem ſpadonem, quem etiam Britannico triumpho inter militares viros haſta pura donavit. Nec minus Felicem, quem cohortibus et alis, provinciæq; Judeæ præpoſuit, trium reginarum maritum. Et Harpocram, cui lectica per urbem vehendi, ſpectaculaq; publice edendi jus tribuit. Ac ſuper hos Polybium a ſtudiis, qui ſæpe inter duos coſſ. ambulabat. Sed ante omnes, Narciſſum ab epiſtolis, et Pallantem a ratio-

27. *He had children by three wives; by Urgulanilla, Druſus and Claudia; by Petina, Antonia; and by Meſſalina, Octavia, and a ſon, whom at firſt he called Germanicus, but afterwards Britannicus. He loſt Druſus while a minor, at Pompeii, being choaked with a pear, which in play he toſſed up in the air, and catched upon its deſcent in his mouth. He had but a few days before concluded a match betwixt him and one of Sejanus's daughters; for which reaſon, I wonder ſome authors ſhould pretend to ſay, that he loſt his life by the treachery of Sejanus. Claudia, who was indeed the daughter of Boter his freed-man, though ſhe was born five months before his divorcing her mother, he ordered to be thrown naked at her door. He married Antonia to Cn. Pompey the great, afterwards to Fauſtus Sylla, both of very noble parentage; Octavia to his ſtep-ſon Nero, after ſhe had been firſt contracted to Silanus. Britannicus was born upon the twentieth day of his reign, and in his ſecond conſulſhip. He would oftentimes hold him in his arms, and recommend him to the favour of the ſoldiers, and to the common people too in the theatre, ſetting him on his lap, or before him, whilſt he was as yet but very little; and would join in their good wiſhes and acclamations in his behalf. Of his ſons in law he adopted Nero: he not only caſt off Pompey and Silanus, but put them to death.*

28. *The greateſt favourite amongſt his freed-men, was the eunuch Poſides, whom, in his Britiſh triumph, he preſented with the haſta pura, amongſt ſeveral others of the army. Next to him in favour was Felix, whom he not only dignified with a command both of foot and horſe in the troops, but made governor of Judea too; ſo that he came to be the huſband of three queens. Harpocras was another favourite, whom he granted the right of uſing a chair in the city, and of entertaining the people with publick diverſions. Polybius another, who aſſiſted him in his ſtudies, and had often the honour to walk betwixt the two conſuls.*

nibus

nibus: quos decreto quoq; senatus non præmiis modo ingentibus, sed et quæstoriis prætoriisq; ornamentis ornari libenter passus est: tantum præterea acquirere et rapere, ut, querente eo quondam de fisci exiguitate, non absurde fit dictum, *Abundaturum, si a duobus libertis in consortium reciperetur.*

But above all others, Narcissus his secretary, and Pallas the comptroller of his household, were highly in favour with him. These he not only suffered to be honoured with immense presents, but with the Quæstorian and Prætorian ornaments too, by a decree of the senate, and indulged them in so large a liberty of amassing treasure together, and plundering the publick, that upon his complaining once of the lowness of his exchequer, it was very wittily said, it will be full enough, if these two freedmen of his would but take him into partnership with them.

29. His, ut dixi, uxoribusq; addictus, non principem se sed ministrum egit. Compendio cujusq; horum, vel etiam studio ac libidine, honores, exercitus, impunitates, supplicia largitus est: et quidem insciens plerumque et ignarus. Ac ne sigillatim minima quæq; enumerem, revocatas liberalitates ejus, judicia rescissa, suppositos aut etiam palam immutatos datorum officiorum codicillos, App. Silanum consocerum suum, Juliasque, alteram Drusi, alteram Germanici filiam, crimine incerto, nec defensione ulla data, occidit. Item Cn. Pompejum, majoris filiæ virum, et L. Silanum minoris sponsum. Ex quibus Pompejus in concubitu dilecti adolescentuli confossus est. Silanus abdicare se prætura ante quartum Kal. Januarias, moriq; initio anni coactus, die ipso Claudii et Agrippinæ nuptiarum. In quinq; et triginta senatores, trecentosq; amplius equites Rom. tanta facilitate animadvertit, ut de nece consularis viri renuntiante centurione, *Factum esse quod imperasset*, negaret, *quidquam se imperasse, nihilo minus rem comprobaret*; affirmantibus libertis, officio milites functos, quod ad ultionem imperatoris ultro procurrissent. Nam illud omnem fidem excesserit, quod nuptiis, quas Mes-

29. *Being entirely led by these his favourites and wives together, as I have already said, he was a mere tool more like than a prince: he disposed of offices, or the command of armies, pardoned or punished, according as it suited their interest, humour or fancy, and for the most part without perceiving or being sensible of what he did. And not to reckon up every little thing separately relating to the revoking his grants, the setting aside his judgments, the putting of false patents for offices upon him to sign, or the bare-faced alteration of them after signing; he put to death App. Silanus his daughter's husband's father, and the two Julias the daughters of Drusus and Germanicus, without any sufficient proof of the crimes charged upon them, or allowing them the liberty of making their defence. The same he did too by Cn. Pompey, his eldest daughter's husband, and L. Silanus that was contracted to the younger. Of which Pompey was stabbed in the act of unnatural lewdness with a young fellow he was fond of: Silanus was obliged to quit the office of prætor, upon the fourth of the Kalends of January, and to kill himself in the beginning of the year following, upon the very day of the wedding of Claudius and Agrippina. He sentenced to death five and thirty senators, and above three hundred Roman knights, with so little regard to what he did, that when a centurion brought him word of the death of a consular gentleman who was one of them, and told him* that he had executed his order, *he declared,* he had ordered no such thing, but approved of it however, *because his freedmen, it seems, said the soldiers had but done their duty, in*

salina

salina cum adultero Silio fecerat, tabellas dotis et ipse consignaverit: inductus, quasi de industria simularentur, ad avertendum transferendumq; periculum quod imminere ipsi per quædam ostenta portenderetur.

running of their own accord to revenge the emperor of his enemies. But this is beyond all belief, that he himself, at the marriage of Messalina with Silius should sign the writings relating to her fortune, being drawn into it, it is said, by a pretence, that the whole affair was only a contrivance to divert and transfer upon another that danger, which from some ill boding omens seemed to threaten himself.

30. Auctoritas dignitasq; formæ non defuit vel stanti, vel sedenti, ac præcipue quiescenti. Nam et prolixo nec exili, corpore erat: et specie canitieque pulcra, opimis cervicibus. Cæterum et ingredientem destituebant poplites minus firmi, et remisse quid vel serio agentem multa dehonestabant. Risus indecens: ira turpior, spumante rictu, humentibus naribus: præterea linguæ titubantia, caputque cum semper, tum in quantulocumq; actu vel maxime tremulum.

30. He had a majestick and graceful appearance, either standing or sitting, and especially when he was asleep; for he was tall, but not slender. His grey locks became him very well, and he had a fat neck. But his hams were feeble, and failed him in walking, and his action whether in mirth or business was very ungraceful; his laughter unbecoming, and his passion still more so; for then he would froth at the mouth, and his nose would drop. Besides he had a stammering in his speech, and a tremulous motion in his head, at all times, but especially when he was engaged in action, though never so little.

31. Valetudine sicut olim gravi, ita princeps perprospera usus est, excepto stomachi dolore. Quo se correptum etiam de consciscende morte cogitasse dixit.

31. Though in the former part of his life he had but a very crazy constitution, yet upon his advancement to the empire he enjoyed a good state of health, excepting only a pain at his stomach he was subject to; in a fit of which, he said, he had thoughts of killing himself.

32. Convivia agitavit et ampla et assidua, ac fere patentissimis locis, ut plerumq; sexcenteni simul discumberent: convivatus et super emissarium Fucini lacus, ac pæne submersus, cum emissa impetu aqua redundasset. Adhibebat omni cœnæ et liberos suos cum pueris, puellisq; nobilibus, qui more veteri ad fulcra lectorum sedentes vescerentur. Convivæ, qui pridie scyphum aureum surripuisse existimabatur, revocato in diem posterum, calicem fictilem apposuit. Dicitur etiam meditatus edictum, *quo veniam daret flatum crepitumq; ventris in convivio emittendi*, cum periclita-

32. He was very frequent and splendid in his entertainments, which he commonly made in places so very spacious, that he had usually six hundred guests at his table. Upon his feasting close by the cut made for draining the Fucine lake, he had like to have been drowned, the water at its discharge pouring out with that violence, that it flew over the canal. He had always his own children with others of the nobility at supper with him, who, according to an antient custom, sat at the feet of the several couches. A guest of his that was believed to have stolen a golden cup, he invited again the day after, but served him with an earthen jug. It is said too he designed to have published a proclamation, allowing to all people the liberty of breaking wind and f——g at table, upon hearing of a person, whose

tum

tum quendam præ pudore ex continentia reperiſſet.

33. Cibi viniq; quocumq; et tempore et loco appetentiſſimus. Cognoſcens quodam in Auguſti foro, ictuſq; nidore prandii, quod in proxima Martis æde Saliis apparabatur, deſerto tribunali adſcendit ad ſacerdotes unaq; diſcubuit Nec temere unquam triclinio abſceſſit, niſi diſtentus ac madens: et ut ſtatim ſupino, ac per ſomnum hianti, penna in os indueretur, ad exonerandum ſtomachum. Somni breviſſimi erat. Nam ante mediam noctem plerumq; evigilabat, ut tamen interdiu nonnunquam in jure dicendo obdormiſceret, vixq; ab advocatis de inductria vocem augentibus excitaretur. Libidinis in fœminas profuſiſſimæ, marium omnino expers. Aleam ſtudioſiſſime luſiit: de cujus arte librum quoq; emiſit: ſolitus etiam in geſtatione ludere, ita eſſedo alveoq; adaptatis ne luſus confunderetur.

34. Sævum et ſanguinarium natura fuiſſe, magnis minimiſq; apparuit rebus. Tormenta quæſtionum, pœnaſq; parricidarum repræſentabat, exigebatq; coram. Cum et ſpectare antiqui moris ſupplicium Tiburi concupiſſet, et deligatis ad palum noxiis carnifex deeſſet, accitum ab urbe veſperam uſq; opperiri perſeveravit. Quocumq; gladiatorio munere, vel ſuo, vel alieno, etiam forte prolapſos jugulari jubebat: maxime retiarios, ut expirantium facies videret. Cum par quoddam mutuis ictibus concidiſſet, cultellos ſibi parvulos ex utroq; ferro in uſum fieri ſine mora juſſit. Beſtiariis meridianiſq; adeo delectabatur, ut etiam prima luce ad ſpectaculum deſcenderet: et

modeſty in that matter had like to have coſt him his life.

33. *He would eat and drink very heartily at any time, or in any place. As he was ſitting for the tryal of cauſes in the forum of Auguſtus, upon ſmelling the dinner which was preparing for the Salii in the temple of Mars adjoining, he quitted the bench, and went to make one amongſt them. He ſcarce ever left the table, 'till he was thoroughly crammed and drunk withal; after which he would immediately fall aſleep, lying upon his back with his mouth open; whereupon a feather was put down his throat to make him diſgorge again. He was no ſound ſleeper, uſually awoke before midnight, but then he would ſometimes ſleep in the day time and upon the bench too, that the advocates had much ado to awake him, tho' they exalted their voices on purpoſe for it. He was very lewd in his inclinations for the fair ſex, but had nothing to do with males. He loved gaming, and publiſhed a book upon the ſubject; and was uſed to play as he rid in his chariot, having the tables ſo fitted thereto, that his game was not diſturbed by the motion thereof.*

34. *The ſavage cruelty of his temper betrayed itſelf in many things both great and ſmall. When any were to be put to the torture or puniſhed for parricide, he was impatient for the execution, and would have it performed before his eyes. And when he was at Tibur, being very deſirous of ſeeing an example of the old way of putting malefactors to death, ſome were immediately tied to a ſtake for the purpoſe, but there being no executioner to be had in the place, he ſent for one from Rome, and ſtaid for his coming 'till night. In any ſhew of gladiators either preſented by himſelf or others, if any of the combatants chanced to fall, he ordered them to be butchered; eſpecially the Retiarii, that he might ſee the faces of them as they expired. Two gladiators happening to kill one another, he ordered immediately ſome little knives to be made of their ſwords for his own uſe. He was much delighted with ſeeing men engage with wild beaſts, and the*

meridie, dimisso ad prandium populo, persederet: præterque destinatos, etiam levi subitaq; de caussa, quosdam committeret de fabrorum quoq; ac ministrorum, atq; id genus numero, si αὐτόματον, vel pegma, vel quid tale aliud parum cessisset. Induxit et unum ex nomenclatoribus suis, sicut erat, togatum.

combatants that perform their parts at noon, so that he would come to the theatre by break of day, and at noon would dismiss the people to dinner, but continue sitting himself, and besides such as were appointed for that bloody work, he would match others with the beasts or one another, upon slight or sudden occasions, as the carpenters and their assistants, if a machine or any thing of that nature they had been employed in, about the theatre, did not answer the purpose it was designed for. He likewise obliged one of his nomenclators to that cruel drudgery, and in his toga too.

35. Sed nihil æque quam timidus ac diffidens fuit. Primis imperii diebus, quamquam, ut diximus, jactator civilitatis, neque convivia mire ausus est, nisi ut spiculatores cum lanceis circumstarent, militesque vice ministrorum fungerentur; neq; ægrum quemquam visitavit nisi explorato prius cubiculo, culcitisque, et stragulis prætentatis, et excussis: reliquo autem tempore salutatoribus scrutatore semper apposuit, et quidem omnibus, et acerbissimos. Sero enim, ac vix remisit, ne fœminæ prætextatique pueri et puellæ contrectarentur, et ne cuivis comiti aut librario calamariæ aut graphiariæ thecæ adimerentur: Motu civili, cum eum Camillus non dubitans etiam citra bellum posse terreri, contumeliosa et minaci et contumaci epistola cedere imperio juberet, vitamque otiosam in privata re agere: dubitavit, adhibitis principibus viris, an obtemperaret.

35. But the infirmities most predominant in him were fear and distrust: In the beginning of his reign, tho' he much affected a lowly humble appearance as has been already remarked, yet he durst not venture himself at an entertainment without his guard of lances to attend him, and soldiers to wait upon him at table. Nor did he ever visit a sick person, 'till his chamber had been first searched, and the bed and bedding thoroughly examined and at other times, all persons whatever that came to pay their respects to him, were very strictly searched by officers appointed for that purpose. For it was a long time first, and with much ado, that he was prevailed upon to excuse women, boys and girls from the rude handling they underwent upon those occasions, or suffer their attendants or writing masters to keep their cases for pens and stiles, which used to be taken from them. When Camillus entered upon his design against him, not doubting but he might be frighted out of his imperial dignity without a war, he writ him an abusive saucy threatning letter, commanding him to resign the government, and betake himself to a private life; upon which he summoned together the principal men of the city, to advise with them, whether he should not comply.

36. Quasdam insidias temere delatas adeo expavit, ut deponere imperium tentaverit. Quodam, ut supra retuli, cum ferro circa sacrificantem se deprensо, senatum per præcones propere convocavit, lacrymisq; et voci-

36 He was so terribly alarmed with the information given him, tho' without any sufficient foundation, of conspiracies formed against him, that he was for laying down the government upon it. And when, as I have above related, one was discovered with a sword near his person, as he was at sacri-

ferationе

feratione miseratus est conditionem suam, cui nihil tuti usquam esset: ac diu publico abstinuit. Messalinæ quoq; amorem flagrantissimum, non tam indignitate contumeliarum, quam periculi metu abjeci, cum adultero Silio acquiri imperium credidisset: quo tempore fœdum in modum trepidus ad castra confugit, nihil tota via, quam *essetne sibi salvum imperium* requirens.

37. Nulla adeo suspicio, nullus auctor tam levis exstitit, a quo non, mediocri scrupulo injecto, ad cavendum ulciscendumq; compelleretur. Unus ex litigatoribus, seducto in salutatione affirmavit se vidisse per quietem, occidi eum a quodam: deinde paulo post, quasi percussorem agnosceret, libellum tradentem adversarium suum demonstravit: confestimq; is pro deprehenso ad pœnam raptus est. Pari modo oppressum ferunt App. Silanum: quem cum Messalina et Narcissus conspirassent perdere, divisis partibus, alter ante lucem similis attonito, patroni cubiculum irrupit, affirmans somniasse se, vim ei ab Appio illatam: altera in admirationem formata, sibi quoq; eandem speciem aliquot jam noctibus obversari retulit. Nec multo post ex composito irrumpere Appius nuntiatus, cui pridie ad id temporis ut adesset præceptum erat quasi plane repræsentaretur somnii fides, arcessi statim ac mori jussus est. Nec dubitavit postero die Claudius ordinem rei gestæ perferre ad senatum, ac liberto gratias agere, quod pro salute sua etiam dormiens excubaret.

fice, he immediately summoned the senate together by the publick criers, and with tears, and a terrible tone lamented his condition, that could be secure no where; and for a long time after, he declined coming abroad. He withdrew his ardent passion for Messalina, not so much upon account of her base and abominable behaviour towards him, as from an apprehension of danger, because he believed she had a design to make Silius her gallant emperor, at which time he run in a great fright, and a very shameful manner, to the camp, asking all the way as he went, if his government was secure.

37. *The most trifling suspicion, let the person it came from be never so contemptible, always put him in a deadly fright, and was reason enough with him to proceed to punishment, as necessary to his own security. One that had a suit to come before him, at his waiting upon him, took him aside, and told him he dreamed he was murthered, and presently after when his adversary came to present his libel to the emperor, as if he had discovered the murtherer, he told him that was the man; whereupon, as if he had been seized in the attempt, he was hurried away to execution. In the same manner they tell us App. Silanus was taken off, by a contrivance betwixt Messalina and Narcissus. The latter bolted into his lord's chamber before day, seemingly in a great fright, and told him he had dreamt Appius had murthered them. The empress upon that putting on a shew of surprise, declared she had the like dream for some nights together. Presently after word being brought in, that Appius was come to court, who had received orders the day before, to be there at that time, as if the truth of the dream was sufficiently confirmed by his appearance at that juncture, he was immediately ordered to be prosecuted and put to death. And the day following Claudius related the whole affair to the senate, and acknowledged his great obligation to his freedman for watching even in his sleep for his security.*

38 Iræ atq; iracundiæ conscius sibi, utrumq; excusavit edicto: distinxitque, pollicitus *alteram quidem brevem et innoxiam, alteram non injustam fore.* Ostiensibus, quia sibi subeunti Tiberim scaphas obviam non miserint, graviter correptis, eaque cum invidia, ut in ordinem se coactum conscriberet, repente tantum non satisfacienti modo veniam dedit. Quosdam in publico parum tempestive adeuntes manu sua repulit. Item scribam quæstorium, itemq; prætura functum senatorem, inauditos et innoxios, relegavit: quod ille adversus privatum se intemperantius affuisset: hic, in ædilitate inquilinos prædiorum suorum contra vetitum coacta vendentes multasset, villicumq; intervenientem flagellasset. Qua de causa etiam coercitionem popinarum ædilibus ademit. Ac ne stultitiam quidem suam reticuit, simulatamq; a se ex industria sub Caio, quod aliter eversurus perventurusq; ad susceptam stationem non fuerit, quibusdam oratiunculis testatus est. Nec ante persuasit, quam intra breve tempus liber editus sit, cui index erat μωρῶν ἀνάσασις, argumentum autem, *stultitiam neminem fingere.*

38. *He was sensible of his being subject to passion and resentment, but excused himself therein by proclamation, assuring the publick*, that the one should be short and harmless; and the other never without good cause. *After he had severely reprimanded the Ostiensians for not sending some boats to meet him upon his entering the mouth of the Tiber, and as if he had a mind to expose them to the resentment of the publick for it, writ word to Rome, that he had been treated by them like a private person; yet he immediately pardoned them, and in a way, that looked like making them satisfaction, or begging pardon for some injury he had done them. Some people that addressed him unseasonably in publick, he pushed away with his own hand. He likewise banished one that had been secretary to a quæstor, and a senator that had been prætor, unheard and innocent: the former, only because he had appeared with great heat in a cause against him, before he came to be emperor; and the other, because in his ædileship he had fined some tenants of his, for selling dressed victuals contrary to law; and ordered a bailiff of his that interposed in the affair, to be whipped. For which reason likewise, he took from the ædiles the jurisdiction they had over the victualling-houses. He took notice to own his folly too, and declared in some short speeches he published, that he had only counterfeited himself a fool in the reign of Caius, because otherwise it would have been impossible to have escaped him, and arrive at the station he was then in. However, he could never bring the world to believe him; for a short time after, a book was published under the title of,* The resurrection of fools, *the design of which was to shew* that no body ever counterfeited folly.

39 Inter cætera in eo mirati sunt homines & oblivionem & inconsiderantiam; vel, ut Græce dicam, μεθεωρίαν καὶ ἀλεψίαν. Occisa Messalina, paulo post quam in triclinio decubuit, *cur domina non veniret*, requisivit. Multos ex iis quos capite damnaverat, postero statim die et in convivium et ad aleæ lusum admoveri jussit: et

39. *Amongst other things, people admired in him his forgetfulness and want of thought; or, to express it in Greek,* his μεθεωρία *and* ἀλεψία. *Placing himself at table a little after he had put Messalina to death, he enquired* why the empress came not? *Many of those he had condemned to death, he ordered the day after to be invited to his table, and to game with him, and sent to reprimand them as dreaming fellows, for making no more haste.*

quasi

quasi morarentur, ut somniculosos per nuntium increpuit. Ducturus contra fas Agrippinam uxorem. non cessavit omni ratione *filiam et alumnam, et in gremio suo natam atq; educatam* prædicare. Adsciturus in nomen familiæ suæ Neronem, quasi parum reprehenderetur, quod adulto jam filio privignum adoptaret, identidem divulgavit, *neminem unquam per adoptionem familiæ Claudiæ insertum.*

When he was about his incestuous marriage with Agrippina, he was perpetually calling her, his daughter, his nurse, born and brought up upon his lap. *And when he was going to adopt Nero, as if he was not sufficiently censured for adopting his son in law, when he had a son of his own at man's estate, he now and then declared publickly,* that no body had ever been taken by adoption into the Claudian family.

40. Sermonis vero rerumq; tantam sæpe negligentiam ostendit, ut nec quis, nec inter quos quove tempore, ac loco verba faceret, scire ac cogitare existimaretur. Cum de laniis ac vinariis ageretur, exclamavit in curia, *Rogo vos, quis potest sine offula vivere?* descripsitq; abundantiam veterum tabernarum, unde solitus esset vinum olim et ipse petere. De quæstore quodam candidato inter causas suffragationis suæ posuit, *quod pater ejus frigidam ægro sibi tempestive dedisset.* Inducta teste in senatu, *Hæc,* inquit, *matris meæ liberta et ornatrix fuit: sed me patronum semper existimavit. Hoc ideo dixi, quod quidam sunt adhuc in domo mea, qui me patronum non putant.* Sed et pro tribunali, Ostiensibus quiddam publice orantibus, cum exclamasset, *Nihil habere se vociferatus est, quare eos demereatur: si quem alium et se liberum esse.* Nam illa ejus quotidiana, et plane omnium horarum et momentorum erant, *Quid, ego tibi Theogonius videor? et λαλει και μη συγγανε:* multaq; talia etiam privatis deformia, nedum principi, neq; infacundo, neq; indocto, imo etiam pertinaciter liberalibus studiis dedito.

40. *He frequently appeared so careless in what he said, so regardless of circumstances, that it was believed he never reflected or considered who he himself was, or amongst whom, or at what time, or in what place he spoke. Upon a debate in the senate about the butchers and vintners, he cried out,* I beseech you, who can live without a good bit now and then? *And then recounted to them the great plenty of the old taverns, from whence he himself used formerly to have his wine. Amongst other reasons of his favouring with his interest a certain gentleman that stood candidate for the questorship, this he gave for one,* that his father had once seasonably given him a draught of cold water when he was sick. *Upon bringing a woman as an evidence in some cause before the senate, he expressed himself in these words,* This woman was my mother's freed-woman and dresser, but she always looked upon me as her patron. And this, I say, because there are some still in my family that do not look upon me as such. *The Ostiensians addressing him in open court with a petition, he flew into a rage at them, and said,* That he had no reason to oblige them, if any one else was free to do what he pleased, surely he was. *The following sayings he had in his mouth every day, and at all hours and seasons,* What! do you take me for a Theogonius? *And in Greek,* Speak, but do not touch me; *besides several other such sayings, below the dignity of a private person, much more of an emperor, that neither wanted eloquence nor learning, as having applied himself very closely to the liberal sciences.*

41. His-

41. Historiam in adolescentia, hortante T Livio, Sulpicio vero Flavo etiam adjuvante, scribere aggressus est. Et cum primum frequenti auditorio commisisset, ægre perlegit, refrigeratus sæpe a semetipso. Nam cum initio recitationis defractis compluribus subselliis, obesitate cujusdam, risus exortus esset, ne sedato quidem tumultu temperare potuit, quin ex intervallo subinde fact reminiscereturque cachinnosq; revocaret. In principatu quoq; et scripsit plurimum et assidue recitavit per lectorem. Initium autem sumpsit historiæ post cædem Cæsaris dictatoris. Sed et transiit ad inferiora tempora, cœpitq; a pace civili: cum sentiret neq; libere neq; vere sibi de superioribus tradendi potestatem relictam, correptus sæpe et a matre et ab avia. Prioris materiæ duo volumina, posterioris unum et quadraginta reliquit. Composuit et *De vita sua* octo volumina, magis inepte quam ineleganter. Item *Ciceronis defensionem adversus Asinii Galli libros*, satis eruditam. Novas etiam commentus est literas tres, ac numero veterum quasi maxime necessarias addidit. De quarum ratione cum privatus adhuc volumen edidisset, mox princeps non difficulter obtinuit ut in usu quoq; promiscuo essent. Exstat talis scriptura in pleriq; libris, ac diurnis, tituliſq; operum.

42. Nec minore cura Græca studia secutus est, amorem præstantiamq; linguæ occasione omni professus. Cuidam barbaro Græce et Latine differenti, *Cum utroque*, inquit, *sermone nostro sis peritus.* Et in commendanda patribus conscriptis Achaia, *gratam sibi provinciam* ait, *communium studiorum com-*

41. *By the encouragement of T. Livius, and with the assistance of Sulpicius Flavus, he undertook the writing of a history, and calling together a numerous auditory, to hear and give their judgment about it, he read it over with much ado, being several times interrupted therein by himself. For as he set forward, a great laugh arising amongst the company, upon occasion of several benches breaking with the weight of a fat overgrown fellow, after the bustle was over, he could not forbear bursting out now and then into a violent fit of laughter, at the remembrance of the accident. In his reign too he writ a great deal, which he constantly had rehearsed to his friends by a reader. He begun his history after the death of Cæsar the dictator: but afterwards he came lower down, and begun at the conclusion of the civil wars, because he found he could not speak his mind with freedom, and a due regard to truth, about the transactions of the time foregoing, having been frequently chid for his freedom, both by his mother and grand mother. Upon the former subject, he left two books; but of the latter one and forty. He compiled too the history of* his own life, *in eight books, full of impertinence, but in no bad stile; as also a* defence of Cicero against the books of Asinius Gallus, *that was learned enough. He invented likewise three new letters, and added them to the old ones, as highly necessary; concerning which he published a book whilst he was as yet but a private person; and after his advancement to the empire, easily prevailed with the publick, for their admission to common use; and that sort of writing, is still extant in a great many books, registers, and inscriptions upon buildings.*

42. *He likewise applied himself with no less care to the study of the Grecian literature, declaring his love of that language, and the excellency thereof upon all occasions. A certain stranger holding a discourse both in greek and latin, he replied to him in these words,* since you are skilled in both our tongues. *And recommending Achaia to the favour of the senate, he told them,* That he had a particular kindness for that pro-

mercio.

mercio. Ac sæpe in senatu legatis perpetua oratione respondit. Multum vero pro tribunali etiam Homericis locutus est versibus. Quoties quidem hostem vel insidiatorem ultus esset, excubitori tribuno signum de more poscenti, non temere aliud dedit quam,

vince, upon account of their common studies. *And he oftentimes harangued by way of answer to the embassadors for a long time together in that language before the senate. Upon the bench he frequently made use of the verses of Homer. As oft as he had revenged himself upon an enemy, or a conspirator, he scarce ever gave to the tribune upon the guard, when he came to him according to custom for the word, any other but this,*

Ανδρ' ἐπαμύνασθαι, ὅτε τις πρότερος κακὰ ῥέξῃ.

Revenge is just against an Enemy.

Deniq; et Græcas scripsit historias, Τυρρηνικῶν XX. Καρχηδονιακῶν VIII. Quarum causa veteri Alexandriæ Museo alterum additum ex ipsius nomine: inst tutumq; ut quotannis in altero Τυρρηνικῶν libri, altero Καρχηδονιακῶν diebus statutis, velut in auditorio, recitarentur toti a singulis per vices.

To conclude, he writ some histories too in Greek as twenty books of the Thuscan affairs, eight of the Carthaginian: upon account of which another Musæum was added to the old one at Alexandria, called by his name; and an order made, that upon certain days yearly, his Thuscan history should be read over in the one, and his Carthaginian in the other, as in an auditory, each of them by their several readers in turns.

43. Sub exitu vitæ, signa quædam nec obscura pœnitentis de matrimonio Agrippinæ, deq; Neronis adoptione dederat. Siquidem commemorantibus libertis, ac laudantibus cognitionem, qua pridie quandam adulterii ream condemnaverat: *sibi quoque in fatis esse* jactavit *omnia impudica, sed non impunita matrimonia.* Et subinde obvium sibi Britannicum arctius complexus, hortatus est, *ut cresceret, rationemq; a se omnium factorum acciperet,* Græca insuper voce prosecutus, ὃ τρώσας ἰάσεται. Cumq; impubi teneroq; adhuc, quando statura permitteret, togam dare destinasset, adjecit: *ut tandem populus Romanus verum Cæsarem habeat.*

43. *About the latter end of his life, he gave some manifest indications of repenting his marriage with Agrippina, and his adoption of Nero. For some of his freedmen taking notice of his having condemned the day before a woman accused of adultery, and applauding him for it, he said upon it,* That it had been his misfortune to light upon wives that had all been unfaithful to his bed, but they would not at all go unpunished. *And now and then, when Britannicus came in his way, he would embrace him very tenderly, and express a desire* that he might grow apace, and receive an account of all his actions from him. *Using an expression in Greek to this sense,* he that has wounded will heal thee. *And designing to give him the manly habit, whilst he was yet but a tender youth, and under age, because the forwardness of his stature would allow of it, he added,* he did so, that the Roman people might have a true genuine Cæsar.

44. Non multoq; post testamentum etiam conscripsit, ac

44. *Not long after he made his will too, and had it signed by all the magistrates as*

signis

ſignis omnium magiſtratuum obſignavit. Prius igitur quam ultra progrederetur, præventus eſt ab Agrippina, quam præter hæc, conſcientia quoque, nec minus delatores multorum criminum arguebant. Et veneno quidem occiſum convenit: ubi autem et per quem dato, diſcrepat. Quidam tradunt, epulanti in arce cum ſacerdotibus, per Halotum ſpadonem præguſtatorem: alii, domeſtico convivio, per ipſam Agrippinam, quæ boletum medicatum avidiſſimo ciborum talium obtulerat. Etiam de ſubſequentibus diverſa fama eſt. Multi ſtatim hauſto veneno obmutuiſſe aiunt, excruciatumq; doloribus nocte tota, defeciſſe prope lucem. Nonnulli inter initia conſopitum, deinde cibo affluente evomuiſſe omnia repetitumq; toxico, incertum pultine addito, cum velut exhauſtum refici cibo opporteret, an immiſſo per clyſterem, ut quaſi abundantia laboranti etiam hoc genere egeſtionis ſubveniretur.

45. Mors ejus celata eſt, donec circa ſucceſſorem omnia ordinarentur. Itaq; et quaſi pro ægro adhuc vota ſuſcepta ſunt, et inducti per ſimulationem comœdi, qui velut deſiderantem oblectarent. Exceſſit III. Idus Octobris. Aſinio Marcello, Acilio Aviola COSS. LXIV. ætatis, imperii XIV. anno. Funeratus eſt ſolemni principum pompa, et in numerum deorum relatus. Quem honorem, a Nerone deſitum abolitumque, recepit mox per Veſpaſianum.

46. Præſagia mortis ejus præcipua fuerunt, exortus crinitæ ſtellæ, quam cometen vocant: tactumq; de cœlo monumentum Druſi patris: et quod eodem anno ex omnium magiſtratuum genere, pleriq; mortem obierant. Sed ipſe nec ignoraſſe, aut diſſimulaſſe ultima vitæ ſuæ tempora videtur, aliquot qui-

witneſſes. But before he went further, he was prevented by Agrippina, whom beſides theſe alarms, her own guilty conſcience, and ſeveral informers, charged with variety of crimes. It is agreed he was taken off by poiſon; but where and by whom given, is not agreed. Some authors ſay, it was given him as he was feaſting with the prieſts in the capitol, by the eunuch Halotus his taſter. Others ſay by Agrippina at his own table in a muſhroom, which was a ſort of meat he was a great lover of. There are likewiſe different accounts given of what followed: ſome ſay he immediately became ſpeechleſs upon it, was racked with pain all night long, and died about day. Some, that at firſt he fell into a ſound ſleep; and after ſome time his ſtomach heaving, he threw all up again, but had another doſe given, whether in pulſe under pretence of refreſhment after his diſcharge, or in a cliſter, as if deſigned to relieve nature overcharged by that kind of evacuation, is uncertain.

45 *His death was concealed, 'till all things were ſettled relating to his ſucceſſor: accordingly vows were made for his recovery, and comedians were brought to court to divert him, as was pretended, at his own deſire. He died upon the third of the ides of October, in the conſulſhip of Aſinius Marcellus and Acilius Aviola, in the ſixty fourth year of his age, and fourteenth of his reign. His funeral was celebrated with all the magnificence uſual upon ſuch an occaſion, and he himſelf ranked amongſt the gods. Which honour was taken from him by Nero, but reſtored him by Veſpaſian.*

46. *The principal preſages of his death, were the appearance of a comet, his father Druſus's monument being ſtruck with lightning, and the death of moſt of the magiſtrates of all denominations that year. And by ſeveral things it appears he was ſenſible of his approaching diſſolution, and made no ſecret of it. For when he nominated the conſuls, he nominated none to fill that office beyond the month he died in. And at the laſt aſſembly of the ſenate he appeared in,*

dem

dem argumentis. Nam et cum COSS. designaret, neminem ultra mensem, quo obiit, designavit: et in senatu, cui novissime interfuit, multum ad concordiam liberos suos cohortatus, utriusque ætatem suppliciter patribus commendavit. Et in ultima cognitione pro tribunali, *accessisse ad finem mortalitatis*, quamquam abominantibus qui audiebant, semel atq; iterum pronuntiavit.

he earnestly exhorted his two sons to a good agreement betwixt themselves; and with importunate entreaties recommended the protection of their youth to the house. And the last time he sat in judgment, he once and again declared openly to the court, That he was now arrived at the last stage of mortality, *whilst all that heard it, expressed their abhorrence of the omen.*

C. SUETONII TRANQUILLI

NERO CLAUDIUS CÆSAR VI.

CHAP. I.

EX gente DOMITIA duæ familiæ floruerunt, CALVINORUM et ÆNOBARBINORUM. Ænobarbi auctorem originis itemq; cognominis habent L. Domitium: cui rure quondam revertenti, juvenes gemini augustiore forma ex occursu imperasse traduntur, nuntiaret senatui ac populo victoriam, de qua incertum adhuc erat: atq; in fidem majestatis, adeo permulsisse malas, ut e nigro rutilum æriq; assimilem capillum redderent. Quod insigne mansit et in posteris ejus, ac magna pars rutila barba fuerunt. Functi autem consulatibus VII, triumpho, censuraq; duplici, et inter patricios allecti perseverarunt omnes in eodem cognomine. Ac ne prænomina quidem ulla, præterquam Cnæi et Lucii usurparunt: eaq; ipsa notabili varietate, modo continuantes

FROM the house of the Domitii sprung two celebrated families of the Calvini and Ænobarbi. The Ænobarbi derive their extraction and cognomen too from one L. Domitius, who they tell you, as he was returning out of the Country for Rome, was met by two young men of a most august appearance, who commanded him to carry the senate and people the news of a victory, concerning which they had not at that time received any certain advice; and to assure him of their being more than men, stroaked his chaps, and thereby altered the colour of his beard from black to ruddy, resembling that of brass, which mark of distinction descended to his posterity, for they had generally red beards. The family had after this the honour of seven consulships, one triumph, and two censorships; and being advanced to the rank of the nobility, all continued the use of the same cognomen, and used no other prenomina than those of Cnæus and Lucius, and with a remarkable variety, sometimes adhering to one of them for three persons successively, and then again changing

unumquodq; per ternas perſonas, modo alternantes per ſingulas. Nam primum ſecundumque ac tertium Ænobarborum Lucios: rurſus ſequentes tres ex ordine Cnæos accepimus: reliquos nonniſi viciſſim, tum Lucios tum Cnæos. Plures e familia cognoſci referre arbitror; quo facilius appareat ita degeneraſſe a ſuorum virutibus Neronem, ut tamen vitia cujuſq; quaſi tradita et ingenita retulerit.

2. Ut igitur paulo altius repetam, atavus ejus Cn. Domitius in tribunatu pontificibus offenſior, quod alium quam ſe in patris ſui locum cooptaſſent, jus ſacerdotum ſubrogandorum a collegiis ad populum tranſtulit: ac in conſulatu Allobrogibus Arverniſq; ſuperatis, elephanto per provinciam vectus eſt: turba militum, quaſi inter ſollennia triumphi, proſequente. In hunc dixit Licinius Craſſus orator, *Non eſſe mirandum quod æneam barbam haberet, cui eſſet os ferreum, cor plumbeum.* Hujus filius prætor C. Cæſarem abeuntem conſulatu, quem adverſus auſpicia legeſq; geſſiſſe exiſtimabatur, ad diſquiſitionem ſenatus vocavit: mox conſul imperatorem ab exercitibus Gallicis retrahere tentavit: ſucceſſorq; ei per factionem nominatus, principio civilis belli ad Corfinium captus eſt. Unde dimiſſus, Maſſilienſes obſidione laborantes cum adventu ſuo confirmaſſet, repente deſtituit. Acieq; demum Pharſalica occubuit. Vir neq; ſatis conſtans, et ingenio truci: in deſperatione rerum, mortem timore appetitam ita expavit, ut hauſtum venenum pœnitentia evomuerit, medicumq; manumiſerit qui id ſibi prudens ac ſciens minus noxium temperaſſet. Conſultante autem

them alternately. For the firſt, ſecond, and third of the Ænobarbi had that of Lucius, and again the three following ſucceſſively that of Cnæus, but thoſe that came after were called one Lucius and another Cnæus by turns. I judge it proper to give a little account of ſeveral of the family, that the reader may ſee, that Nero ſo far degenerated from the noble qualities of his anceſtors, that he retained only the vices of the family, as if thoſe alone had been tranſmitted to him by his deſcent.

2. *To take our riſe therefore from the days of old, his great grandfather's grandfather, when he was tribune of the commons, being offended with the high prieſts, for chooſing another and not himſelf into their number, in the room of his father, got a law paſt for transferring the right of making that choice for the future from the high prieſts to the people. And in his conſulſhip having conquered the Allobroges and the Arverni, made a tour about the province mounted upon an elephant, with a great number of ſoldiers attending him in a ſort of triumphal pomp. Of this gentleman the orator Licinius Craſſus ſaid,* It was no wonder he had a brazen beard, who had a face of iron, and a heart of lead. *His ſon in his pretorſhip, was for calling C. Cæſar after his conſulſhip, to an account before the ſenate, for his management in that office, which was ſuppoſed to be contrary to the auſpicia and the laws too. And afterwards, when he was conſul, he attempted to have him recalled from the army: and being in a factious way of proceeding appointed his ſucceſſor, he was in the beginning of the civil war taken priſoner at Corfinium; and being diſmiſſed from thence, went ſome time after to Maſſilia then beſieged, where after he had by his preſence animated the people to hold out, he on a ſudden left them again, and at laſt fell in the battle of Pharſalia. He was a man of no great reſolution, and of a ſower temper. Having once in a great fright and deſpair taken poiſon, he was immediately upon it ſo terrified with the thoughts of dying, that he took a vomit to throw it up again, and*

autem Cn. Pompejo de mediis ac neutram partem ſequentibus, ſolus cenſuit hoſtium numero habendos.

3. Reliquit filium omnibus gentis ſuæ proculdubio præferendum. Is inter conſcios Cæſarianæ necis, quamquam inſons, damnatus lege Pedia, cum ad Caſſium Brutumq; ſe, propinqua ſibi cognatione junctos, contuliſſet, poſt utriuſq interitum claſſem olim commiſſam retinuit; auxit etiam, nec niſi partibus ubiq; profligatis, M. Antonio ſponte, et ingentis meriti loco, tradidit, ſoluſq; omnium ex iis qui pari lege damnati erant, reſtitutus in patriam, ampliſſimos honores percucurrit. Ac ſubinde redintegrata diſſentione civili, eidem Antonio legatus, delatam ſibi ſummam imperii ab iis quos Cleopatræ pudebat, neq; ſuſcipere neq; recuſare fidenter, propter ſubitam valetudinem auſus, tranſiit ad Auguſtum: et in diebus paucis obiit, nonnulla et ipſe infamia adſperſus. Nam Antonius eum deſiderio amicæ Serviliæ Naidis transfugiſſe jactavit.

4. Ex hoc Domitius naſcitur, quem emtorem familiæ pecuniæq; in teſtamento Auguſti fuiſſe, mox vulgo notatum eſt: non minus aurigandi arte in adoleſcentia clarus, quam deinde ornamentis triumphalibus ex Germanico bello. Verum arrogans, profuſus, immitis cenſorem L. Plancum vi ſibi decedere ædilis coegit: præturæ conſulatuſq; honore equites R. matronaſq; ad agendum mimum produxit in ſcenam: venationeſq; et in circo et in omnibus urbis regionibus dedit. Munus etiam

manumiſed his phyſician, for having purpoſely and deſignedly given him but a very gentle doſe of the poiſon. And when Cn. Pompey was in debate how to carry towards ſuch as ſtood neuter, and ſided with neither party, he alone adviſed to treat them as enemies.

3. *He left behind him a ſon, who was unqueſtionably the beſt man of the family. He was by the Pedian law condemned, tho' innocent, amongſt others that were concerned in the death of Cæſar, upon which he went over to Brutus and Caſſius his near relations; and after their death not only kept the fleet, the command of which had been given him ſome time before, but encreaſed it too. At laſt when the party had been every where defeated, he voluntarily ſurrendered it up to M. Anthony, reckoning it a piece of ſervice he was not a little obliged to him for. And was the only man of all thoſe that were condemned by that law, that was reſtored to his country, and run through the ſeveral great offices of ſtate: and a freſh difference breaking out ſoon after, he had a lieutenant-general's commiſſion under the ſame Anthony, and was offered the chief command in that war, by ſuch as were aſhamed of Cleopatra; but not daring, by reaſon of a ſudden indiſpoſition he was ſeiſed with, either to accept or refuſe it, he went over to Auguſtus, and died a few days after, not without an oſperſion caſt upon his memory. For Anthony gave out that his changing ſides was occaſioned by his impatience to be with his Miſs Servilia Nais.*

4. *This gentleman was the father of that Domitius, who was afterwards well known, as the purchaſer of his family in Auguſtus's will, being no leſs famous in his youth, for his dexterity in chariot driving, than he was afterwards for the triumphal ornaments which he obtained in the German war. But he was a man of great arrogance, prodigality and cruelty. When he was ædile he obliged L. Plancus the cenſor to give him the way: and in his pretorſhip and conſulſhip, he brought upon the ſtage Roman knights and married women to act a mimick piece. He gave chaces of wild beaſts both in the circus, and in all the wards of the city, as alſo a ſhow of gladiators, but with that*

gladiatorium, ſed tanta ſævitia, ut neceſſe fuerit Auguſto clam fruſtra monitum edicto coercere.

5. Ex Antonia majore patrem Neronis procreavit, omni parte vitæ deteſtabilem. Siquidem comes ad orientem C. Cæſaris juvenis, occiſo liberto ſuo, quod potare quantum jubebatur recuſarat, dimiſſus e cohorte amicorum nihilo modeſtius vixit. Sed et in viæ Appiæ vico repente puerum citatis jumentis haud ignarus obtrivit: et Romæ, medio foro cuidam equiti Ro. liberius jurganti oculum eruit: perfidiæ vero tantæ, ut non modo argentarios pretiis rerum coemtarum, ſed et in prætura mercede palmarum aurigarios fraudaverit: notatus ob hæc et ſororis joco, querentibus dominis factionum, *repræſentanda præmia in poſterum* ſanxit. Majeſtatis quoq; et adulteriorum, inceſtiq; cum ſorore Lepida ſub exceſſu Tiberii reus, mutatione temporum evaſit: deceſſitq; Pyrgis morbo aquæ intercutis, ſublato filio Nerone ex Agrippina Germanico genita.

6. Nero natus eſt Antii poſt ix menſes quam Tiberius exceſſit, xviii kalendas Januarias: tantum quod exoriente ſole, pæne ut radiis prius quam terra contingeretur. De genitura ejus ſtatim multa et formidoloſa multis conjectantibus, præſagio fuit etiam Domitii patris vox, inter gratulationes amicorum, negantis quidquam ex ſe et Agrippina niſi deteſtabile et malo publico naſci potuiſſe. Ejuſdem futuræ infelicitatis ſignum evidens die luſtrico exſtitit: nam C. Cæſar, rogante ſorore ut infanti quod vellet, nomen daret,

barbarity, that Auguſtus having given him a private reprimand for it to no purpoſe, was obliged to lay a reſtraint upon him by proclamation.

5. *He had by the elder Antonia, the father of Nero, in every part of life an execrable villain: for in his attendance upon C. Cæſar into the eaſt he killed a freed man of his, becauſe he refuſed to drink as much as he bid him; and being thereupon diſcarded by Caius, he mended not his manners at all. For in a village upon the Appian road he wilfully gallopped his chariot over a poor boy and cruſhed him all to pieces. And at Rome he ſtruck out an eye of a Roman knight in the forum, only for ſome free language he gave him in a wrangle that happened betwixt them. He was too ſo very knaviſh, that he not only cheated ſome bankers of the price of goods he bought of them; but in his pretorſhip, he defrauded the furniſhers of chariots for the Circenſian games of the prizes due to them for the victory. And being bantered by his ſiſter about it, upon a complaint made by them, he got a law paſſed,* That for the future they ſhould always be immediately paid them. *A little before the death of Tiberius he was proſecuted for treaſon, adultery with ſeveral women, and inceſt with his ſiſter Lepida; but eſcaped by a change of the times, and died of a dropſy at Pyrgi, leaving behind him his ſon Nero, which he had by Agrippina the daughter of Germanicus.*

6. *Nero was born at Antium, nine months after the death of Tiberius, upon the eighteenth of the calends of January, juſt as the ſun roſe, that the beams thereof reached him, before they could well reach the earth. Whilſt many people made many and diſmal conjectures from his nativity about his future fortune, a ſaying of his father Domitius was looked upon as an ill preſage, who told his friends congratulating him upon the occaſion,* That nothing but what was deteſtable, and pernicious to the Publick, could ever be bred of him and AGRIPPINA. *There was another manifeſt prognoſtick of his future unhappineſs upon his luſtration-day. For C. Cæſar being requeſted by his ſiſter, to give the*

intu-

intuens Claudium patruum ſuum, a quo mox principe Nero adoptatus eſt, ejus ſe dixit dare: neq; id ipſe ſerio, ſed per jocum, et aſpernante Agrippina, quod tum Claudius inter ludibria aulæ erat. Trimulus patrem amiſit: cujus ex parte tertia heres, ne hanc quidem integram cepit, correptis per coheredem Cajum univerſis bonis, et ſubinde matre etiam relegata, pæne inops atq; egens apud amitam Lepidam nutritus eſt, ſub duobus pædagogis, ſaltatore atq; tonſore. Verum Claudio imperium adepto, non ſolum paternas opes recuperavit, ſed et Criſpi Paſſieni vitrici ſui hereditate ditatus eſt. Gratia quidem et potentia revocatæ reſtitutæq; matris uſq; eo floruit, ut emanaret in vulgus, miſſos a Meſſalina uxore Claudii, qui eum meridiantem quaſi Britannici æmulum ſtrangularent. Additum fabulæ eſt, eoſdem draconе e pulvino ſe proferente conterritos refugiſſe. Quæ fabula exorta eſt, deprehenſis in lecto ejus circum cervicalia ſerpentis exuviis: quas tamen aureæ armillæ ex voluntate matris incluſas dextro brachio geſtavit aliquandiu: ac tædio tandem maternæ memoriæ abjecit: rurſuſq; extremis ſuis rebus fruſtra requiſivit.

7. Tener adhuc, nec dum matura pueritia, Circenſibus ludis Trojum conſtantiſſime favorabiliterq; luſit. Undecimo ætatis anno a Claudio adoptatus eſt, Annæoq; Senecæ jam tunc ſenatori in diſciplinam traditus. Ferunt Senecam proxima nocte viſum ſibi per quietem, C. Cæſari præcipere: et fidem ſomnio Nero brevi fecit, prodita immanitate naturæ, quibus primum potuit experimentis. Namque

child what name he thought proper, looking upon his uncle Claudius, who was afterwards emperor, and adopted him, ſaid he gave him his; and this not ſeriouſly, but only in jeſt, Agrippina rejecting it with indignation, becauſe Claudius at that time was a meer laughing-ſtock in the court. He loſt his father when he was three years old, being left heir to a third part of his eſtate, which he never got, the whole being ſeiſed by his coheir Caius: and his mother being ſoon after baniſhed, he lived with his aunt Lepida in a poor needy condition, under two tutors, a dancing-maſter and a barber. But after Claudius came to the empire, he not only recovered his father's eſtate, but was enriched too with the inheritance of that of his ſtepfather Criſpus Paſſienus. Upon the recalling of his mother from baniſhment, by the means of her intereſt and ſway with the emperor he made ſuch a figure at court, that it was commonly reported, that ſome aſſaſſins were employed by Meſſalina Claudius's wife, to ſtrangle him in taking his uſual nap at noon, as the rival of Britannicus. This addition too was made to the ſtory, that they were frighted by a ſerpent that crept from under his pillow, and ran away. Which tale was occaſioned by the finding the ſkin of that ſort of animal in his bed by the bolſter, which by his mother's order he wore for ſome time upon his right arm, incloſed in a bracelet of gold; which at laſt from an averſion to her memory he laid aſide, but ſought for again in vain in the time of his extremity.

7. *Whilſt he was yet but a tender ſtripling, much ſhort of the years of manhood, at the Circenſian games, he performed his part in the Trojan diverſion with great firmneſs, and mighty applauſe. In the eleventh year of his age, he was adopted by Claudius, and put under the tuition of Annæus Seneca at that time a ſenator. It's ſaid that Seneca dreamed the night after, that he was giving a lecture to Caius Cæſar: and Nero quickly verified his dream, betraying preſently by all the means in his power the ſavage cruelty of his nature; for*

Britan-

Britannicum fratrem, quod se post adoptionem ÆNOBARBUM ex consuetudine salutasset, ut subditivum apud patrem arguere conatus est. Amitam etiam Lepidam, ream testimonio coram affixit, gratificans matri, a qua rea premebatur. Deductus in forum toro, populo congiarium, militi donativum proposuit: indictaq; decursione prætorianis, scutum sua manu prætulit: exinde patri gratias in senatu egit. Apud eundem consulem pro Bononiensibus Latine, et pro Rhodiis atq; Iliensibus Græce verba fecit. Auspicatus est et jurisdictionem præfectus urbis sacro Latinarum, celeberrimis patronis, non translatitias, ut assolet, et breves, sed maximas plurimasque postulationes certatim ingerentibus: quamvis interdictum a Claudio esset. Nec multo post duxit uxorem Octaviam; ediditque pro Claudii salute circenses, et venationem.

he attempted to persuade his father that his brother Britannicus was a supposititious brat, only because he had saluted him after his adoption, by the name of Ænobarbus as usual. And when his aunt Lepida was brought upon her tryal, he appeared in court as an evidence against her to humour his mother, who was a bitter enemy to the poor lady. Upon his solemn introduction into the forum he gave a largess to the people and soldiers; for the guards he appointed a solemn procession under arms, and marched at the head of them, with a shield in his hand; after which he went to give thanks to his father in the senate. Before the same when consul he made a speech for the Bononians in Latin, and for the Rhodians and Ilienſians in Greek. He sat for the first time as a judge for the hearing of causes, when he was made prefect of the city in the Latin holidays, at which time, the most celebrated pleaders plied him off, not with common short tryals, as usual in that case, but with tryals of importance, and many of them, although they had been forbid so to do by Claudius. Not long after he married Octavia, and presented the people with Circenſian games, and a hunting of wild beasts, for the health of Claudius.

8. Septemdecim natus annos, ut de Claudio palam factum est, inter horam sextam septimamq; processit ad excubitores: cum ob totius diei diritatem non aliud auspicandi tempus accommodatius videretur: proq; Palatii gradibus IMPERATOR consalutatus, lectica in castra, et inde, raptim appellatis militibus, in curiam delatus est: discessitq; jam vesperi: ex immensis quibus cumulabatur honoribus, tantum PATRIS PATRIÆ nomine recusato, propter ætatem.

8. *He was seventeen years old at the death of that prince, and as soon as the same was made publick, he went out to the soldiers upon the guard before the palace, betwixt the hours of six and seven; for no time of the day before that was judged proper for his entering upon the imperial dignity, by reason of the direful omens that appeared. Upon the steps before the palace gate, he was unanimously saluted by the soldiers there present as their emperor, and then carried in a chair into the camp, and from thence, after he had made a short speech to the troops, into the senate house, where he continued 'till the evening: of all the immense honours that were heaped upon him, refusing none but the title of* Father of his country, *because of his youth.*

9. Orsus hinc a pietatis ostentatione, Claudium apparatissimo funere elatum laudavit, confecravitque. Memoriæ Do-

9. *He begun his reign with a mighty shew of dutiful regard to the memory of his deceased father, whom he buried with the utmost pomp and magnificence, pronouncing*

mitii

mitii patris honores maximos habuit. Matri ſummam omnium rerum publicarum privatarumq; permiſit. Primo etiam imperii die ſignum excubanti tribuno dedit, *Optimam matrem:* ac deinceps ejuſdem ſæpe lectica per publicum ſimul vectus eſt. Antium coloniam deduxit, adſcriptis veteranis e prætorio, additiſq; per domicilii tranſlationem ditiſſimis primipilarium, ubi et portum operis ſumtuoſiſſimi fecit.

10. Atque, ut certiorem adhuc indolem oſtenderet, *ex Auguſti præſcripto imperatum ſe* profeſſus, neq; liberalitatis, neq; clementiæ, nec comitatis exhibendæ, ullam occaſionem omiſit. Graviora vectigalia abolevit, aut minuit. Præmia delatorum Papiæ legis ad quartas redegit, diviſis populo viritim quadringenis nummis. Senatorum nobiliſſimo cuiq; ſed a re familiari deſtituto, annua ſalaria, et quibuſdam quingena conſtituit. Item prætorianis cohortibus frumentum menſtruum gratuitum. Et cum de ſupplicio cujuſdam capite damnati ut ex more ſubſcriberet, admoneretur, *Quam vellem,* inquit, *neſcire literas.* Omnes ordines ſubinde, ac memoriter, ſalutavit. Agenti ſenatui gratias, reſpondit, *Cum meruero.* Ad campeſtres exercitationes ſuas admiſit et plebem. Declamavit et ſæpius publice. Recitavit et carmina, non modo domi, ſed in theatro, tanta univerſorum lætitia, ut ob recitationem ſupplicatio decreta ſit, eaque pars carminum aureis literis Jovi Capitolino dicata.

the funeral oration himſelf, and then had him enrolled among ſt the gods. He paid the higheſt honours too to the memory of his father Domitius. The management of affairs both publick and private, he left to his mother. The word too that he gave on the firſt day of his reign to the tribune upon the guard, was the beſt of mothers, *and afterwards he frequently appeared in the ſtreets of Rome along with her in her chair. He ſettled a colony at Antium, wherein he provided for the veteran ſoldiers belonging to the guards, ſeveral of the richeſt among the moſt honourable centurions, being obliged to ſettle and live there, where he likewiſe made a fine harbour at a vaſt expence.*

10. *And to give the publick ſtill further aſſurance of his good diſpoſition, he declared* that he deſigned to govern according to the model of Auguſtus; *and omitted no opportunity of ſhewing his generoſity, clemency and complaiſance. The heavier taxes he either quite took away or lowered. The rewards appointed for informers by the Papian law he reduced to a fourth part; and diſtributed to the people four hundred ſeſterces a man. To the nobleſt of the ſenators that were much reduced in their circumſtances, he granted yearly ſalaries, and to ſome five hundred thouſand ſeſterces; and to the pretorian battalions a monthly allowance of corn gratis. And when the warrant for the execution of a criminal condemned to die, was brought him to ſign, according to cuſtom,* I wiſh, *ſaid he,* I had never learnt to read nor write. *He now and then ſaluted the ſeveral orders of the people by name, without a prompter. And when the ſenate returned him their thanks for his good behaviour, he replied to them,* it will be time enough ſo to do, when I deſerve it. *He admitted the common people too to ſee him perform his exerciſes in the field of Mars. He very frequently declaimed likewiſe in publick, and recited verſes of his own compoſing, not only at home, but in the theatre too, ſo much to the joy of all the people, that publick prayers were appointed to be put up to the gods upon that account, and the verſes publickly read, writ in gold letters, were conſecrated to Jupiter Capitolinus.*

11. Spec-

11. Spectaculorum plurima et varia genera edidit: Juvenales, Circenses, scenicos ludos, gladiatorium munus. Juvenalibus senes quoq; consulares, anusquem atronas recepit ad lusum. Circensibus loca equiti secreta a cæteris tribuit: commisitq; etiam camelorum quadrigas. Ludis, quos pro æternitate imperii susceptos appellari *Maximos* voluit, ex utroque ordine et sexu pleriq; ludicras partes sustinuerunt. Notissimus eques Romanus elephanto superfedens per catadromum decucurrit. Inducta est et Afranii togata, quæ *Incendium* inscribitur: concessumque ut scenici ardentis domus supellectilem diriperent, ac sibi haberent. Sparsa et populo missilla omnium rerum per omnes dies singula quotidie millia. Avium cujusq; generis multiplex penus, tesseræ frumentariæ, vestis, aurum, argentum, gemmæ, margaritæ, tabulæ pictæ, mancipia, jumenta, atq; etiam mansuetæ feræ: novissime naves, insulæ, agri.

12. Hos ludos spectavit e proscenii fastigio. Munere quod in amphitheatro ligneo, in regione Martii campi, intra anni spatium fabricato, dedit, neminem occidit, ne noxiorum quidem. Exhibuit autem ad ferrum etiam quadringentos senatores, sexcentosque equites Romanos, et quosdam fortunæ atq; existimationis integræ ex iisdem ordinibus, confectoresq; ferarum, et ad varia arenæ ministeria. Exhibuit et naumachiam marina aqua innantibus belluis, item Pyrrichas quasdam e numero epheborum: quibus post editam operam diplomata civitatis Romanæ singulis obtulit. Inter Pyrricharum argumenta, taurus Pasi-

11. *He presented the people with abundance of publick diversions, and of various kinds, as the Juvenal and Circensian games, stage plays, and a show of gladiators. And in the Juvenal, he admitted senators, and aged matrons to perform their parts. In the Circensian games he assigned the equestrian order seats apart from the rest of the people, and had races performed by chariots drawn by four camels apiece. And in the games he instituted for the eternal continuance of the empire, and therefore ordered to be called* Maximi, *a great many gentlemen and ladies of the senatorian and equestrian order acted their parts. A noted Roman knight rid down a rope upon an elephant. A Roman play too, composed by Afranius, was brought upon the stage, entitled,* The Fire, *wherein the actors were allowed to carry off, and keep to themselves, the furniture of the house, that, as the nature of the play required, was burnt down in the theatre. And every day during the solemnity, a great variety of things, and a thousand of every several sort, were thrown the people to scramble for; as fowl of divers kinds, corn, tickets, cloaths, gold, silver, gems, pearls, pictures, slaves, beasts of burthen, wild beasts tamed; at last, ships, large houses, and lands.*

12. *These games he beheld from the top of the Proscenium. In the show of gladiators which he exhibited in a wooden amphitheatre, that was built within a year in the ward of the field of Mars, he ordered none to be slain, not even the criminals employed on that occasion. He likewise engaged four hundred senators, and six hundred Roman knights, and some too of a very fair fortune, and as fair a character, to engage as gladiators. And from the same orders, he had persons to encounter wild beasts, and for various other services in the theatre. He likewise presented the publick with the representation of a sea-fight, upon sea-water, with great fish swimming in it, as also with the Pyrrhick dance performed by certain youths, to each of which, after the performance was over, he granted patents for their freedom of Rome. And during this diversion, a bull leaped Pasiphae, con-*

phaen

phaen ligneo juvencæ simulacro abditam iniit, ut multi spectantium crediderunt. Icarus primo statim conatu juxta cubiculum ejus decidit, ipsumq; cruore respersit. Nam perraro præsidere, cæterum accubans primum parvis foraminibus, deinde toto podio adaperto, spectare consueverat. Instituit et quinquennale certamen primus omnium Romæ, more Græco triplex musicum, gymnicum, equestre, quod appellavit NERONIA. Dedicatisq; thermis atq; gymnasio, senatui quoq; et equiti oleum præbuit. Magistros toti certamini præposuit consulares sorte, sede prætorum. Deinde in orchestram senatumq; descendit, et orationis quidem carminisq; Latini coronam, de qua honestissimus quisq; contenderat, ipsorum consensu concessam sibi recepit. Citharam autem a judicibus ad se delatam adoravit, ferriq; ad Augusti statuam jussit. Gymnico, quod in Septis adebat, inter buthysiæ apparatum, barbam primam posuit, conditamq; in auream pyxidem, et pretiosissimis margaritis adornatam, Jovi Capitolino consecravit. Ad athletarum spectaculum invitavit et virgines Vestales: quia Olympiæ Cereris sacerdotibus spectare conceditur.

13. Non immerito inter spectacula ab eo edita, et Tiridatis in urbem introitum retulerim. Quem Armeniæ regem magnis pollicitationibus sollicitarum, cum destinato per edictum die ostensurus populo propter nubilum distulisset, produxit, quo opportunissime potuit: dispositis circa fori templa armatis cohortibus, curuli residens apud rostra triumphantis habitu, in-

cealed within a wooden statue of a cow, as many of the spectators believed. Icarus, upon his first attempt, fell down close by his seat, and bespattered him with his blood; for he very rarely presided in the games, but used to see them, lying on a couch, thro' some little holes at first, but afterwards with the whole podium quite open. He was the first too that instituted, in imitation of the Greeks, a trial of skill in the three several exercises of musick, wrestling, and horse-racing, to be performed every five years in Rome, which he called Neronia. *And upon the first opening of a hot bath, and a school of exercise, which he built, he furnished the senate and the equestrian order with oil. And he appointed, as judges of the trial, consular gentlemen, chosen by lot, who sat with the pretors. At which time he took his seat in the orchestra among the senators, and received the crown designed for the best performer in Latin prose and verse, which several persons of the highest quality put in for, but by unanimous consent yielded up to him. And the crown for the best performer on the harp, being likewise given him by the judges in that dispute, he adored it, and ordered it to be carried to Augustus's statue. And in the Gymnick exercise, which he presented in the Septa, during the preparations for sacrificing an ox upon that occasion, he shaved his beard for the first time, and putting it up in a box, adorned with pearls of great price, he consecrated it to Jupiter Capitolinus. He invited too the Vestal ladies to see the wrestlers perform, because at Olympia the priestesses of Ceres are allowed the privilege of seeing that diversion.*

13. *Amongst the fine sights presented by him, the entrance of Tiridates into the city, may very well deserve a place. This gentleman being king of Armenia, he by very large promises invited to Rome. But being prevented from shewing him to the people upon the day fixt for it by proclamation, because of the badness of the weather, he took the first opportunity after, that presented for it; posting several battalions under arms about the temples of the forum, and sitting himself upon an ivory seat in the rostra, in a*

ter signa militaria, atq; vexilla: et primo per devexum pulpitum subeuntem admisit ad genua, allevatumq; dextra exosculatus est: dein precanti, tiara deducta, diadema imposuit, verba supplicis interpretata prætorio viro multitudini pronuntiante. Perductum deinde in theatrum ac rursus supplicantem juxta se latere dextro collocavit. Ob quæ imperator consalutatus, laurea in capitolium lata, Janum geminum clausit, tam nullo quam residuo bello.

triumphal dress, amidst the military standards and banners; and upon the king's advancing up to him on a stage made shelving for the purpose, permitted him to throw himself at his feet, but quickly raised him with his right-hand, and kissed him; and then upon his humble supplication, taking his turban from his head, put him on a diadem, whilst a pretorian gentleman proclaimed in Latin the words, wherein the prince made his address to the emperor. Being after this brought into the theatre, and there again renewing his address, he seated him upon his right hand. For which being universally complimented with the title of imperator, *and sending his laurel crown into the capitol, he shut the temple of double-faced Janus, as tho' there was no war now remaining throughout the Roman empire.*

14. Consulatus quatuor gessit: primum bimestrem, secundum et novissimum semestres, tertium quadrimestrem: medios duos continuavit, reliquos inter annua spatia variavit.

14. *He had four consulships; the first for two months, the second and last for six, and the third for four; the two middlemost he held successively one after the other, but the rest at some distance of time from them.*

15. In jurisdictione postulatoribus, nisi sequenti die, ac per libellos, non temere respondit. In cognoscendo morem eum tenuit, ut continuis actionibus omissis, sigillatim quæq; per vices ageret. Quoties autem ad consultandum secederet, neq; in commune quidquam, neq; propalam deliberabat: sed et conscriptas ab unoquoq; sententias tacitus ac secreto legens, quod ipsi licuisset, perinde atq; pluribus idem videretur, pronuntiabat. In curiam libertinorum filios diu non admisit: admissisq; a prioribus principibus honores denegavit. Candidatos qui supra numerum essent, in solatium dilationis ac moræ, legionibus præposuit. Consulatum in senos plerumq; menses dedit. Defuncto; circa kal. Januarias altero e COSS. neminem substituit: improbans exemplum vetus Caninii Rebili, uno die consulis. Triumphalia

15. *In the administration of justice, he scarce ever gave an answer to such as preferred their causes to him for trial, 'till the day after, and in writing. His manner of hearing causes was not to allow the parties to plead their causes in long harangues, but to dispatch the several particulars thereof in their order, in the way of debate. As oft as he withdrew to consult his assessors in any cause, he did not debate the matter openly and in common with them; but silently and privately reading over their opinions, which they every one gave in writing, he gave sentence upon the bench, as he thought proper, as if the same was the opinion of the majority. For a long time he would not admit the sons of freed men into the senate; and such as had been admitted by former princes, he excluded from all publick offices in the government. The supernumerary candidatis, to comfort them under the delay of their hopes, he put into some command of the legions. The consulship he commonly gave for six months; and one of the two consuls dying a little before the first of January, he substituted no other in his room; disliking what had been formerly done for Cani-*

orna-

ornamenta, etiam quæstoriæ dignitatis, et nonnullis ex equestri ordine tribuit: nec utiq; de causa militari. De quibusdam rebus orationes ad senatum missas, præterito quæstoris officio, per COSS. plerumq; recitabat.

16. Formam ædificiorum urbis novam excogitavit: et ut ante insulas ac domos porticus essent, de quarum solariis incendia arcerentur: easq; sumptu suo exstruxit. Destinarat etiam Ostia tenus mœnia promovere, atq; inde fossa mare veteri urbi inducere. Multa sub eo et animadversa severe, et coercita, nec minus instituta: adhibitus sumptibus modus: publicæ cœnæ ad sportulas redactæ: interdictum ne quid in popinis cocti præter legumina aut olera veniret; cum ante nullum non opsonii genus proponoretur: afflicti suppliciis CHRISTIANI, genus hominum superstitionis novæ ac maleficæ: vetiti quadrigariorum lusus, quibus inveterata licentia passim vagantibus fallere ac furari per jocum jus erat; pantomimorum factiones cum ipsis simul relegatæ.

17. Adversus falsarios tunc primum repertum, ne tabulæ nisi pertusæ, ac ter lino per foramina trajecto, obsignarentur. Cautum ut in testamentis primæ duæ ceræ, testatorum modo nomine inscripto, vacuæ signaturis ostenderentur: ac ne quis alieni testamenti scriptor legatum sibi adscriberet. Item ut litigatores pro patrociniis certam justamq; mercedem, pro subselliis nullam omnino darent, præbente ærario gratuita: utq; rerum actu ab ærario causæ ad forum, ac recuperatores transferrentur:

nius Rebilus upon the same occasion, who was consul for one day only. He allowed the triumphal ornaments to gentlemen only of questorian dignity, and to some of the equestrian order; and that too not upon any military account. And instead of the questors, whose office it properly was, he commonly ordered the consuls to read some speeches of his he sent to the senate upon some certain occasions.

16. *He contrived a new model for building in the city, ordering piazzas to be erected before all houses great and small, that from the top of them, if any fire happened, its spreading might the more easily be prevented; and these he built at his own expence. He likewise designed to carry the walls of Rome as far as Ostia, and to bring from thence the sea by a canal into the old city. A great many severe regulations and new orders were made in his time. A sumptuary law was enacted. Public suppers were reduced to the sportulæ; and victualling-houses restrained from selling any dressed victuals, besides pulse and herbs; whereas before they sold all kinds of meat whatever. The Christians too were severely punished, a sort of people given up to a new and mischievous superstition. The sports of the quadrigarii were forbid, who had long taken the liberty of strolling about, and establish'd for themselves a sort of right by prescription to cheat and thieve in jest. The parties of the pantomimicks were banished together with themselves.*

17. *Against the forgers of writings, the contrivance was then first found out, to have the tables bored, and run through three times with a thread, and then sealed. It was likewise enacted that in wills, the two first pages, with only the testator's name upon them, should be presented blank to such as were to seal it as witnesses; and that no one that writ a will for another, should put down therein any legacy for himself: as also that clients should pay their advocates a certain reasonable fee, but nothing for the benches, the charge of which was to be allowed out of the publick treasury; and that causis which before belonged to the commissioners of the treasury to hear and decide,*

ferrentur: et ut omnes appelationes a judicibus ad senatum fierent.

18. Augendi, propagandiq; imperii neq; voluntate ulla neq; spe motus unquam, etiam ex Britannia deducere exercitum cogitavit: nec nisi verecundia, ne obtrectare parentis gloriæ videretur, destitit. Ponti modo regnum concedente Polemone, item Alpium, defuncto Cottio, in provinciæ formam redegit.

19. Peregrinationes duas omnino suscepit Alexandrinam et Achaicam: sed Alexandrina ipso profectionis die destitit, turbatus religione simul ac periculo. Nam circuitis templis, cum in æde Vestæ resedisset, consurgenti ei primum lacinia obhæsit: deinde tanta oborta caligo est, ut despicere non posset. In Achaja Isthmum perfodere aggressus, prætorianos pro concione ad inchoandum opus cohortatus est: tubaq; signo dato, primus rastello humum effodit, et corbulæ congestam humeris extulit. Parabat et ad Caspias portas expeditionem, conscripta ex Italicis senum pedum tyronibus nova legione, quam Magni Alexandri phalangem appellabat. Hæc partim nulla reprehensione partim etiam non mediocri laude digna, in unum contuli: ut secernerem a probris ac scelcribus ejus, de quibus dehinc dicam.

20. Inter cæteras disciplinas pueritiæ tempore imbutus et musica, statim ut imperium adeptus est, Terpnum citharœdum vigentem tunc præ er alios, accersit: die ulq; continuis post cœnam canenti in multam noctem assidens, paulat m et ipse meditari exercerq; cœpit: nec eorum quidquam omittere, quæ generis ejus artifices, vel conser-

should be removed to the forum, and the Recuperatores; *and that all appeals should be to the senate.*

18. *He never had the least ambition or hope of enlarging and advancing the empire; so far from it, that he had thoughts of withdrawing his troops out of Britain; and was only restrained by the fear of being thought to detract from the glory of his father. He only reduced the kingdom of Pontus, yielded up to him by Polemon, into the form of a province, as also that of the Alps, upon the death of Cottius*

19. *He twice took up a design of visiting foreign parts, Alexandria and Achaia; but was prevented in the former, upon the very day fixt for his departure, by some ill omens, and the hazard of the voyage together. For in going round the temples, happening to sit down in that of Vesta, when he came to rise again, the lap of his coat stuck fast; and immediately he was seised with such a dimness in his eyes, that he could not see before him. In Achaia he attempted to make a cut through the isthmus, and encouraged the guards, in a speech he made them, to begin the work; and upon a signal given by sound of trumpet, he first broke ground with a spade, and carried off a basket full of earth upon his shoulders. He made preparations too for an expedition to he Caspiæ portæ, forming a new legion out of his late levies in Italy, of men all six foot high, which he called the phalanx of Alexander the Great. These things in part innocent, part highly commendable, I have thought proper to lay before the reader in one view, that they might not interfere with his scandalous and villainous behaviour, which I shall now give an account of.*

20. *Amongst the rest of the liberal arts he was taught in his youth, he was too instructed in musick; and immediately upon his advancement to the empire, he sent for the harper Terpnus, who at that time bore a mighty character beyond all of the profession; and for several days together sat by him as he played after supper, till late at night. At last by degrees he begun to practise and exercise in that way himself. Nor did he omit any of those things, which your artists*

vandæ

vandæ vocis, causa vel augendæ factitarent. Sed et plumbeam chartam supinus pectore sustinere: et clystere vomituq; purgari: et abstinere pomis cibisq; officientibus: donec blandiente profectu (quamquam exiguæ vocis, et fuscæ) prodire in scenam concupivit: subinde inter familiares Græcum proverbium jactans, *occultæ musicæ nullum esse respectum.* Et prodiit Neapoli primum: ac ne, concusso quidem repente motu terræ theatro, ante cantare destitit quam inchoatum absolveret νόμον. Ibidem sæpius et per complures cantavit dies: sumpto etiam ad reficiendam vocem brevi tempore, impatiens secreti a balneis in theatrum transiit, mediaq; in orchestra frequente populo epulatus *si paullum subbibisset, aliquid se sufferti tinniturum* Græco sermone promisit. Captus autem modulatis, Alexandrinorum laudationibus qui de novo commeatu Neapolim confluxerant, plures Alexandria evocavit. Neq; eo segnius adolescentulos equestris ordinis, et quinq; amplius millia e plebe robustissimæ juventutis undiq; elegit, qui divisi in factiones, plausum genera condiscerent, (*bombos*, et *imbrices*, et *testas* vocabant) operamq; navarent cantanti sibi insignes pinguissima coma, et excellentissimo cultu pueri, nec sine annulo lævis: quorum duces quadragena millia H. S. merebant.

21. Cum magni æstimaret cantare etiam Romæ, Neronem agona ante præstitutam diem revocavit. Flagitantibusq; cunctis *cælestem vocem* respondit, quidem, *in hortis se copiam vo-*

in that sort of musick, make use of for the preservation and improvement of their voices; but would lie upon his back with a sheet of lead upon his breast, clear his bowels and stomach both by clysters and vomits, and forbear the eating fruit, or victuals prejudicial to the voice; 'till encouraged by his proficiency, (tho' his voice was naturally neither loud nor clear) he was desirous of appearing upon the stage, frequently throwing out amongst his friends a Greek proverb to this effect, that no regard was had for musick unheard. *Accordingly he made his first publick appearance at Naples; and notwithstanding the whole theatre was shaken by a sudden shock of an earthquake, yet he gave not over, 'till he had finished the piece of musick he had before him. He played and sung in the same place several times first, and for several days together, taking only now and then a little respite for the recruiting of his voice; 'till at last being weary of private practice, he past from the bath into the theatre; and after a refreshment in the orchestra, amidst a crowded assembly of the people, he promised them in Greek,* that by the benefit of a little tippling, he would make their ears ring for them again. *And being charmed with the songs that were sung to his praise by some Alexandrians belonging to the fleet just then arrived, he sent for more of the like songsters from Alexandria. And notwithstanding he chose young gentlemen of the Equestrian order, and above five thousand robust young fellows out of the commonality, on purpose to learn various kinds of applause (called* bombi, imbrices *and* testæ) *which they were to make use of in his favour, as oft as he performed upon the harp, being divided into several parties for the purpose, and all remarkable for delicate heads of hair, and boys very finely dressed with rings upon their left hands; whose leaders had salaries of forty thousand sesterces allowed them.*

21. *Being infinitely desirous of shewing his art in Rome too, he ordered the games called Neronia to be celebrated before the time fixed for their return. And all being mighty importunate to hear his heavenly voice, he told them,* he would gratify such

lentibus

lentibus facturum: sed adjuvante vulgi preces etiam ſtatione militum, quæ tunc excubabat, repræſentaturum ſe pollicitus eſt libens: ac ſine mora nomen ſuum in albo profitentium citharœdorum juſſit adſcribi: ſortieulaq; in urnam cum cæteris demiſſa intravit ordine ſuo, ſimulq; præfecti prætorii citharam ſuſtinentes, poſt tribuni militum, juxtaq; amicorum intimi. Utq; conſtitit peracto principio, Nioben ſe cantaturum per Cluvium Rufum conſularem pronuntiavit, et in horam fere decimam perſeveravit: coronamq; eam, et reliquam certaminis partem in annum ſequentem diſtulit, ut ſæpius canendi occaſio eſſet. Quod cum tardum videretur, non ceſſavit identidem ſe publicare. Non dubitavit etiam privatis ſpectaculis operam inter ſcenicos dare, quodam prærorum H. S. decies offerente. Tragœdias quoq; cantavit perſonatus; heroum Deorumque, item heroidum ac Dearum perſonis effictis ad ſimilitudinem oris ſui, et fœminæ, prout quamq; diligeret. Inter cætera cantavit *Canacen parturientem, Oreſtem matricidam, Oedipodem excæcatum, Herculem inſanum.* In qua fabula fama eſt, tirunculum militem poſitum ad cuſtodiam aditus, cum eum ornari ac vinciri catenis, ſicut argumentum poſtulabat, videret, accurriſſe ferendæ opis gratia.

22. Equorum ſtudio vel præciq; ab ineunte ætate flagravit, plurimuſque illi ſermo, quamquam vetaretur, de Circenſibus erat. Et quondam tractum Praſinum agitatorem inter condiſcipulos querens, objurgante magiſtro, de Hectore ſe loqui

as deſired it in the gardens. *But the ſoldiers then upon the guard ſeconding the importunity of the people, he promiſed to comply with their requeſt immediately, and with all his heart; and without more ado he ordered his name to be entered upon the liſt of muſicians that put in; and caſting in his lot among the reſt, came up in his turn, attended by the commanders of the prætorian battalions bearing his harp, who were followed by the tribunes of the ſoldiers, and ſeveral of his intimate friends. After he had taken his ſtand, and made the uſual flouriſh, he commanded Cluvius Rufus to proclaim to the theatre, that he intended to ſing the ſtory of Niobe; which he accordingly did, and continued it 'till ten o'clock; but deferred the diſpoſal of the crown, and the remaining part of the ſolemnity, 'till the next year, that he might have the more frequent opportunities of performing in the ſame way. But that being too long a time for him to baulk his inclinations, he could not forbear ſhewing his art now and then in publick, before it came. Nor did he make any ſcruple to appear upon the ſtage amongſt other performers, even in the games preſented to the people by the magiſtrates; and was offered by one of the pretors upon that account, no leſs than a million of ſeſterces. He likewiſe ſung tragedies maſked; the vizors of the heroes and gods, as alſo of the heroines and goddeſſes, being formed into a reſemblance of his own face, and that of any woman he was in love with. Amongſt the reſt he ſung* Canace in labour, Oreſtes the murtherer of his mother, Oedipus blinded, *and* Hercules mad. *In which laſt tragedy, they tell you, a young centinel, poſted at the entrance of the theatre, ſeeing him attired and bound with chains, as the nature of the play required, ran to his aſſiſtance.*

22. *He was extravagantly fond of horſes from his infancy, and was continually talking of the Circenſian races, tho' he was forbid ſo to do. And lamenting once among his ſchool fellows, the caſe of a driver of the green party, that was dragged about the Circus at the tail of his chariot, and being reprimanded by his maſter for it, he pre-*

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ementitus est. Sed cum inter initia imperii eburneis quadrigis quotidie in abaco luderet, ad omnes etiam minimos Circenses commeabat e secessu, primo clam, deinde propalam: ut nemini dubium esset eo die utique affuturum. Neq; dissimulabat velle se palmarum numerum ampliare: quare spectaculum multiplicatis missibus in serum protrahebatur, ne dominis quidem jam factionum dignantibus, nisi ad totius diei cursum, greges ducere. Mox et ipse aurigare, atq; etiam spectari sæpius voluit: positoq; in hortis inter servitia et sordidam plebem rudimento, universorum se oculis in Circo Maximo præbuit, aliquo liberto mittente mappam, unde magistratus sol ent. Nec contentus harum artium experimenta Romæ dedisse, Achajam ut diximus, petit, hinc maxime motus. Instituerant civitates, apud quas musici agones edi solent, omnes citharœdorum coronas ad ipsum mittere. Eas adeo grate recipiebat, ut legatos, qui pertulissent, non modo primos admitteret, sed etiam familiaribus epulis interponeret. A quibusdam ex his rogatus, ut cantaret super cœnam, exceptusq; effusius, *solos scire audire Græcos, soloſq; se & studiis suis dignos ait.* Nec profectione dilata, ut primum Cassiopen trajecit, statim ad aram Jovis Cassi cantare auspicatus est.

tended he was talking of Hector. In the beginning of his reign, he used to play every day with chariots and four horses in them, made of ivory, upon a table. And as oft as there was any thing to do in the Circus, he would come at first privately, but at last, openly, that no body ever doubted, but he would certaminlybe there upon those occasions. Nor did he conceal his desire to have the number of the prizes doubled; and the number of races being augmented accordingly, the diversion continued 'till it was late, the masters of the several parties refusing now to furnish chariots for any time less than the whole day. Presently upon this he took up a fancy for driving the chariot himself, and publickly too. Accordingly, after he had made his first essays in the gardens, amidst crowds of slaves and other rabble, he at length performed, in view of all the people in the Circus Maximus, whilst one of his freed men gave the usual signal by the tossing up of a napkin in the place where the magistrates are used to do it. And not satisfied with giving various specimens of his dexterity in these ways at Rome, he went over to Achaia, as I said above; the chief occasion whereof was this. The several cities, wherein solemn publick trials of skill in musick used to be performed, had resolved to send him the crowns that were wont to be given to such as bore away the prize upon those occasions. These he accepted so very kindly, that he not only gave the deputies that brought them, an immediate audience before others that waited for it, but likewise admitted them to his table. And being by some of them requested to sing at supper, and prodigiously applauded upon it, he said, The Greeks alone had an ear for musick, were alone proper judges of him and his attainments, *And immediately putting himself upon his journey, after he was arrived at Cassiope, he made his first musical performance immediately before the altar of Jupiter Cassius.*

23. Certamina deinceps obiit omnia. Nam et quæ diversissimorum temporum sunt, cogi in unum annum, quibusdam etiam iteratis, jussit. Olympiæ quoq; præter consuetudinem musicum agona commisit.

23. *After this he appeared at all the solemnities of publick games in Greece; for such as fell in different years, he brought within the compass of one, and some he ordered to be celebrated a second time in the same year. At Olympia too, contrary to custom, he appointed a publick performance in*

Ac,

Ac, ne quid circa hæc occupatum avocaret, detineretve, cum præsentia ejus urbicas res egere a liberto Helio admoneretur, rescripsit his verbis, *Quamvis nunc tuum consilium sit & votum, celeriter reverti me: tamen suadere & optare potius debes ut Nerone dignus revertar.* Cantante eo, ne necessaria quidem causa excedere theatro licitum erat. Itaq; et enixæ quædam in spectaculis dicuntur, et multi tædio audiendi laudandique clausis oppidorum portis, aut furtim desiluisse de muro, aut morte simulata funere elati. Quam autem trepide anxieq; certaverit, quanta adversariorum æmulatione, quo metu judicum, vix credi potest. Adversarios quasi plane conditionis ejusdem, observare, captare, infamare secreto, nonnunquam ex occursu mal dictis incessere, ac, si qui arte præcellerent, corrumpere etiam solebat. Judices autem, prius quam inciperet, reverentissime alloquebatur: *omnia se facienda fecisse, sed eventum in manu esse fortunæ: illos, ut sapientes & doctos viros fortuita debere excludere:* atq; ut auderet hortantibus, æquiore animo recedebat: ac ne sic quidem sine sollicitudine taciturnitatem pudoremque quorundam pro tristitia ac malignitate arguens, suspectosq; sibi dicens.

musick; and that he might not be taken off or diverted from this worthy employment, when he was informed by his freedman Helius, that the affairs of the town required his presence, he writ to him again in these very words, Tho' you advise and wish for my speedy return, yet you ought rather to advise and wish for my return with a character worthy of Nero. *During the time of his musical performance, no body was allowed to stir out of the theatre upon any account, how necessary soever; insomuch that it is said, some women with child were delivered there; and many being quite tired out with hearing and applauding him, because the town gates were shut, slipt privately over the walls; or counterfeiting themselves dead, were carried out in order to their funeral. With how much concern and anxiety he engaged upon these occasions, with what keen desire to carry away the prize from his adversaries, and with how much awe of the judges, appointed in those solemnities, is hardly to be believed. And as if his adversaries had been upon a level with him, he would watch them narrowly, lie at catch, defame them privately, and sometimes upon meeting them, rail at them in very foul language; or bribe them too, if they were better artists than himself. He always addressed the judges with the profoundest reverence, before he begun, telling them,* He had done all things that were necessary, by way of preparation, but that the issue of the approaching trial was in the hand of fortune; that they, as wise and skilful men, ought not to have any regard to things merely accidental. *And upon their encouraging him to have a good heart, he went off with more assurance; but not quite free from all concern, interpreting the silence and modesty of some of them, for sourness and ill nature, and saying that he was suspicious of them.*

24. Incertando vero ita legi obediebat, ut nunquam excreare ausus, sudorem quoq; frontis brachio detergeret: atque etiam in quodam tragico actu, cum elapsum baculum cito resumpsisset, pavidus et metuens, ne ob delictum certamine sub-

24. *In these contests he kept so strictly up to the rules thereof, that he never durst spit, or wipe the sweat from his forehead any other ways than with his arm. And having in a tragick performance dropped his staff, but quickly recovered it, he was notwithstanding in a great fright and apprehension upon it, lest he should be set aside*

moveretur,

moveretur, non aliter confirmatus est, quam adjurante hypocrita non animadversum id inter exsultationes succlamationesq; populi. Victorem autem se ipse pronuntiabat. Qua de causa et præconio ubiq; contendit. Ac ne cujus alterius hieronicarum memoria, aut vestigium exstaret usquam, subverti et unco trahi, abjiciq; in latrinas omnium statuas et imagines imperavit. Aurigavit quoq; plurifariam, Olympiis vero etiam decemjugem: quamvis idipsum in rege Mithridate, carmine quodam suo reprehendisset. Sed excussus curru, ac rursus repositus, cum perdurare non posset, destitit ante decursum: nec eo secius coronatus est. Decedens deinde, provinciam universam libertate donavit: simulque judices civitate Romana, et pecunia grandi. Quæ beneficia e medio stadio Isthmiorum die sua ipse voce pronuntiavit.

for his carriage, and could not recover his assurance, till an actor by him swore, he was sure it had not been in the least regarded, amidst the exultations and acclamations of the people. When the prize was adjudged him, he always proclaimed the same himself, and put in amongst the publick criers in their contests for the mastery. And that no memory or the least monument might remain of any of the victors in the sacred Grecian games, he ordered all their statues and images to be pulled down, dragged away with hooks, and thrown into the jakes. He rid the chariot too with various sets of horses, and at the Olympick games, with no fewer than ten, tho' in a poem of his he had reflected upon the memory of Mithridates for the same. But being tossed out of the chariot, he was again replaced, yet could not hold it, and was obliged to desist, before he came to the end of the race, but was crowned notwithstanding. At his quitting the province, he declared it a free country, and conferred upon the judges in the several games the freedom of Rome, with vast sums of money. All which favours he proclaimed himself with his own voice, from the middle of the stadium, during the solemnity of the Isthmian games.

25. Reversus e Græcia in Neapolim, quod in ea primum artem protulerat, albis equis introiit, disjecta parte muri, ut mos hieronicarum est. Simili modo Antium, inde Albanum, inde Romam. Sed et Romam eo curru quo Augustus olim triumphaverat, et in veste purpurea, distinctaque stellis aureis chlamyde, coronamque capite gerens Olympicam, dextra manu Pythiam, præunte pompa cæterarum cum titulis, *ubi*, et *quos, quo cantionum, quove fabulorum argumento vicisset*: sequentibus currum ovantium ritu plausoribus, *Augustianos militesq; se triumphi ejus* clamitantibus. Dehinc diruto Circi maximi arcu, per velabrum forumque, palatium et Apolli-

25. In his return from Greece arriving at Naples, because he had first entered upon the publick practice of his art in that city, he made his entrance in a chariot drawn by white horses through a breach in the town-wall, according to the practice of such as come off conquerors in the sacred Grecian games. In the like manner he entered Antium, Albanum and Rome. Into the last place he made his entry, mounted upon the same chariot wherein Augustus had triumphed, in a scarlet-coat, and a cloak embroidered with golden stars, with the crown won at Olympia upon his head, and that given him at the Pythian games in his right hand, the rest being carried in a pompous manner before him, with inscriptions signifying the places were they had been won, from whom, and in what musical performances, *whilst persons followed him with loud acclamations of applause, crying out,* that they were the

nem petiit. Incedenti passim victimæ cæsæ, sparso per vias identidem croco, ingestæq; aves, ac lemniſci. ac bellaria. Sacras coronas in cubili circum lectos posuit. Item statuas suas citharœdico habitu: qua nota etiam nummum percussit. Ac post hæc tantum abfuit a remittendo laxandoq; studio, ut conservandæ vocis gratia, neq; milites unquam, nisi absens, aut alio verba pronuntiante, appellaret: neque quidquam serio jocove egerit, nisi adstante phonasco, qui moneret, parceret arteriis, ac sudarium ad os applicaret: multisq; vel amicitiam suam obtulerit, vel simultatem indixerit, prout quisq; se magis parciusve laudasset.

emperor's attendants, and the soldiers of his triumph. *And then having caused an arch of the great Circus to be taken down, he passed through the breach, as also thro' the velabrum and the forum, to the palace and the temple of Apollo. Every where as he marched along, victims were slain, whilst the streets were strewed with saffron, and birds, ribbons, and sweet-meats thrown upon him. He hung the sacred crowns in his chamber about his beds. He likewise caused statues to be erected for him in the attire of a harper, and had the like stamped upon his coin. And after this he was so far from abating any thing of his application to musick, that for the preservation of his voice, he never addressed himself to the soldiers, but by messages, or with some body to deliver his speeches for him, when he thought fit to appear amongst them himself. Nor did he ever do any thing either in jest or earnest, without a voice-master standing by him to caution him against the over-straining of his wind pipe, and to clap a handkerchief to his mouth when he did. And offered his friendship, or proclaimed open enmity to many, according as they were more lavish or sparing in their applause of him.*

26. Petulantiam, libidinem, luxuriam, avaritiam, crudelitatem sensim quidem primo et occulte, velut juvenili errore, exercuit: sed ut tunc quoq; dubium nemini foret, naturæ illa vitia non ætatis esse. Post crepusculum statim arrepto pileo vel galero, popinas inibat: circumq; vicos vagabatur ludibundus, nec sine pernicie tamen. Siquidem redeuntes a cœna verberare, ac repugnantes vulnerare, cloaciſq; demergere assueverat: tabernulas etiam effringere et expilare: quintana domi constituta, ubi partæ et ad licitationem dividendæ prædæ pretium assumeretur. Ac sæpe in ejusmodi rixis, oculorum et vitæ periculum adiit, a quodam laticlavio, cujus uxorem attrectaverat, prope ad necem cæsus. Quare nunquam postea se publico illud horæ sine tribunis commisit, procul et occulte subse-

26. *The vices of petulancy, lust, luxury, avarice, and cruelty, he practised at first sparingly and privately, as if prompted thereto only by the folly of youth, yet so that even then the world was of opinion, they were the faults of his nature, and not of his age. After it was dark, he would enter the taverns disguised in a cap or a hat, and stroll about the streets, playing abundance of wild mischievous pranks. For he used to beat such as he met coming home from supper; and if they made any resistance, would wound them too, and sink them in the jakes. He broke and robbed shops likewise, appointing a mart at home for the selling off his booty. And in the scuffle upon these occasions, he often run the hazard of losing his eyes, and his life too; being almost thumped to death by a senator, whose lady he had been rude to. After which bout, he never more ventured abroad at that time of night, without some tribunes following him at a distance. In the day-time too, he would be carried in a chair incognito into the theatre; and posting himself upon the upper part of the proscenium,*

quentibus

quentibus. Interdiu quoq; clam gestatoria sella delatus in theatrum, seditionibus pantomimorum ex parte proscenii superiori, signifer simul ac spectator aderat. Et cum ad manus ventam esset, lapidibusq; et subselliorum fragminibus decerneretur, multa et ipse jecit in populum, atque etiam prætoris caput consauciavit.

27. Paulatim vero invalescentibus vitiis, jocularia et latebras omisit, nullaq; dissimulandi cura, ad majora palam erupit. Epulas a medio die ad mediam noctem protrahebat: refotus sæpius calidis piscinis, ac tempore æstivo nivatis. Cœnitabatque nonnunquam et in publico, Naumachia præcluſa, vel Martio campo, vel Circo maximo, inter scortorum totius urbis ambubajarumq; ministeria. Quoties Ostiam Tiberi defluēret, aut Bajanum sinum præternavigaret, dispositæ per littora et ripas diversoriæ tabernæ parabantur, insignes ganeæ et matronarum institorio copas imitantium, atq; hinc inde hortantium ut appelleret. Indicebat et familiaribus cœnas, quorum uni mitellita quadragies H. S. constitit, alteri pluris aliquanto rosaria.

28. Super ingenuorum pædagogia, et nuptarum concubinatus, Vestali virgini Rubriæ vim intulit. Acten libertam paulum abfuit quin justo matrimonio sibi conjungeret: submissis consularibus viris qui regio genere ortam pejerarent. Puerum Sporum, exsectis testibus, etiam in muliebrem naturam transfigurare conatus, cum dote et flammeo, persollenni nuptiarum celeberrimo officio, deductum ad se pro uxore habuit. Exstatq; cujusdam non inscitus jocus, *Bene agi potuisse cum rebus humanis, si Domitius*

was not only a spectator of the quarrels arising upon the account of the pantomimicks, but an encouruger of them too. And when they came to blows, and stones, and pieces of broken benches begun to fly about, he played them off very plentifully amongst the people, and once broke a prætor's head for him.

27. *But his vices by degrees working more strongly in him, he laid aside his jocular pranks, and all disguise, breaking out into crimes of a more enormous nature, without the least concern to conceal them. He would continue his revels from mid-day to mid night, being frequently refreshed by warm baths, and in the summer time, in such as were cooled with snow. He frequently supped in publick, as in the Naumachia with the sluices shut, or in the field of Mars, or the great Circus, being waited upon at table by the strumpets of the town, and those from Syria. As oft as he went down the Tiber to Ostia, or coasted it by the bay of Baiæ, booths furnished with all conveniences for drinking and whoring were set up all along the shores and banks, before which stood matrons, that like kind landladies, invited him a-shore. He would invite himself to supper with his friends, one of which cost no less than four millions of sesterces in choice crowns, and another something more in roses.*

28. *Besides his abuse of boys freeborn, and his freedom with other men's wives, he committed a rape upon the Vestal virgin Rubria. He had like to have married Acte his freed woman, having suborned some consular gentlemen to swear that she was of royal descent. He gelt the boy Sporus, and endeavoured to transform him into a woman; nay, he married him too with all the usual formality of marriage-writings, the veil, and a huge deal of company at the wedding; and when he had done, had him conducted like a bride to his own house, and treated him as his wife. And there goes a good jest enough upon it,* that it would have been happy for mankind, if his father Domitius had such a wife. *This Sporus*

pater talem habuisset uxorem. Hunc Sporum Augustarum ornamentis excultum, lecticaque vectum, et circa conventus mercatusque Græciæ, ac mox Romæ circa Sigillaria, comitatus est, identidem exosculans. Nam matris concubitum appetisse, et ab obtrectatoribus ejus, ne ferox et impotens mulier et hoc genere gratiæ prævaleret, deterritum nemo dubitavit: utique postquam meretricem, quam fama erat Agrippinæ similliмam, inter concubinas recepit. Olim etiam quoties lectica cum matre veheretur, libidinatum incesse, ac maculis vestis proditum affirmant.

he carried about with him in a chair round the solemn assemblies and marts of Greece, and afterwards at Rome through the Sigillaria, dressed up in all the finery of an empress, and now and then kissed him as they rode together. That he was passionately desirous to lie with his mother, but was dissuaded from it by her enemies, for fear the haughty insolent woman should, by such a favour, get him entirely into her power, and carry all before her, was universally believed, especially after he entertained amongst his concubines, a strumpet, who was reported to be very like Agrippina. Nay, and before this, as often as he rid in the same chair with his mother, he used to practice an incestuous sort of self-pollution, as appeared by the spots upon his cloaths.

29. Suam quidem pudicitiam usq; adeo prostituit, ut contaminatis pæne omnibus membris, noviſſime quasi genus luxus excogitaret quo feræ pelle contectus emitteretur e cavea, virorumq; ac fœminarum ad stipitem deligatorum inguina invaderet: et cum affatim desæviſſet, conficeretur a Doryphoro liberto: cui etiam, sicut ipsi Sporus, ita ipse denupsit; voces quoq; et ejulatus vim patientium virginum imitatus. Ex nonnullis comperi, persuasiſſimum habuiſſe eum, meminem hominem pudicum, aut ulla corporis parte purum esse: verum plerosq; dissimulare vitium, et calliditate obtegere: ideoq; profeſſis apud se obscœnitatem, cætera quoq; concesſisse delicta.

29. *He prostituted his own chastity to that degree, that after he had defiled every part about him with some unnatural pollution, or other, he at last invented a strange kind of diversion, which was to be let out of a den covered over with a wild beast's skin, and to seize upon the privities of both men and women tied to a stake for that purpose; and after he had sufficiently spent his fury upon them, had his own job done by his freed man Doryphorus, to whom he was married in the same manner Sporus had been married to himself before, imitating the cries and shrieks of young virgins, when they are deflowered. I have been informed, by several, that he firmly believed not one man in the world was chaste, or undefiled in any part of him; but that most men concealed that vice, and had the cunning to keep it private; and therefore to such as frankly owned their unnatural lewdness, he forgave all their other crimes.*

30. Divitiarum et pecuniæ fructum non alium putabat quam profusionem: sordidos ac deparcos esse quibus ratio impensarum constaret: prælautos vereq; magnificos qui abuterentur ac perderent. Laudabat mirabaturq; avunculum Cajum, nullo magis nomine, quam quod

30. *He knew no other use of riches and money, than to squander them away profusely, looking upon all those as sordid, sneaking wretches, that in their expences kept within due bounds, whilst he cried up those as truly noble and generous souls, that lavished away and wasted all before them. He magnified and admired his uncle Caius, upon no account, more than his consuming,*

ingentes

ingentes a Tiberio relictas opes in brevi spatio prodegisset. Quare nec largiendi nec absumendi modum tenuit. In Tiridatem, quod vix credibile videatur, octingena nummum millia diurna erogavit, abeuntiq; super H. S. millies contulit. Menecratem citharœdum et Spicillum mirmillonem triumphalium virorum patrimoniis ædibusq; donavit. Cercopithecum Panerotem fœneratorem, et urbanis rusticisq; prædiis locupletatum, prope regio extulit funere. Nullam vestem bis induit. Quadringenis in punctum H. S. aleam lusit. Piscatus est rete aurato, purpura coccoq; funibus nexis. Nunquam carrucis minus mille feciſſe iter traditur, soleis mularum argenteis, cànusinatis mulionibus, armillata et phalerata cum Mazacum turba, atq; cursorum.

31. Non in alia re damnosior quam in ædificando. Domum a Palatio Esquilias usq; fecit. Quam primo *Transitoriam*, mox, incendio absumtam, restitutamque, *Auream* nominavit. De cujus spatio atq; cultu sufficerit hoc retulisse. Vestibulum ejus fuit, in quo colossus centum viginti pedum staret ipsus effigie: tanta laxitas, ut porticus triplices milliarias haberet: item stagnum maris instar, circumseptum ædificiis ad urbium speciem. Rura insuper arvis atq; vinetis et pascuis, silvisque, varia cum multitudine omnis generis pecudum ac ferarum. In cæteris partibus cuncta auro lita, distinctis gemmis uniomumq; conchis erant. Cœnationes laqueatæ tabulis eburneis versatilibus, ut flores, fistulatis, ut unguenta desuper spargerentur.

in a short time, the vast treasure left him by Tiberius. Accordingly he was himself profuse and extravagant, beyond all measure. He spent upon Tiridates eight hundred thousand sesterces a day, a sum almost incredible; and at his departure presented him with above a million. He likewise bestowed upon Menecrates, the harper, and Spicillus a gladiator, the estates and houses of gentlemen, that had had the honour of a triumph. He enriched the usurer Cercopithecus Panerotes with estates both in town and country; and gave him a funeral, in pomp and magnificence almost equal to that of princes. He never wore the same garments twice. He would game for four hundred thousand sesterces for every spot that came up upon the tali. He used to fish with a golden net, drawn by silken cords of the finest scarlet colour. It is said, he never travelled with less than a thousand carts attending him with his baggage; the mules being all shod with silver, and their driver dressed in scarlet cloaths of the finest wool; and a numerous train of footmen, and Africans, with bracelets on their arms, and mounted upon horses in very fine trappings.

31. *He was in nothing more prodigal than building. He raised an house that reached from the palace to the Esquiliæ, which he at first called* Transitoria; *but after it was burnt down and rebuilt,* The golden house; *concerning the largeness and furniture of which it may suffice to say thus much. The porch was so high, that there stood in it a monstrous statue of himself, an hundred and twenty foot in height, and the extent of it such, that it had triple porticos a mile in length, and a pond like a sea, surrounded with buildings that looked like a city. Besides this, there was within the compass of it, corn-fields, vineyards, pastures and woods, with a vast number of beasts of all sorts, both wild and tame. It was in all the parts of it overlaid with gold, and finely adorned with jewels and mother of pearl. The rooms of entertainment were arched, with vaults of ivory, that turned round and scattered flowers about the rooms, and were besides furnished with pipes for the dropping of unguents upon the guests.*

tur.

tur. Præcipua cœnationum rotunda, quæ perpetuo diebus ac noctibus vice mundi circumageretur: balineæ marinis et Albulis fluentes aquis. Ejusmodi domum cum absolutam dedicaret, hactenus comprobavit, ut se diceret *quasi hominum tandem habitare cœpisse*. Præterea inchoabat piscinam a Miseno ad Avernum lacum, contectam, porticibus concluſam, quo quicquid totis Bajis calidarum esset converteretur. Fossam ab Averno Ostiam usque, ut navibus nec tamen mari iretur, longitudinis per centum sexaginta millia, latitudinis, qua contrariæ quinqueremes commearent. Quorum operum perficiendorum gratia, quod ubiq; esset custodiæ in Italiam deportari, etiam scelere convictos, non nisi ad opus damnari, præceperat. Ad hunc impendiorum furorem super fiduciam imperii, etiam spe quadam repentina immensarum et reconditarum opum impulsus est, ex indicio equitis Romani pro comperto pollicentis, thesauros antiquissimæ gazæ, quos Dido regina fugiens Tyro secum extulisset, esse in Africa vastissimis specubus abditos, ac posse emi parvula molientium opera.

The chief banqueting room was round, and perpetually turning about night and day, in imitation of the motions of the heavens. The baths were provided with water from the sea and Albula. Upon the first opening of the house after its being finished, he gave it a slight approbation in these words, that he had now got a lodging fit for a man to live in. *He likewise begun a pond for the reception of all the warm rivulets from Baiæ, which he designed to have carried on from Misene to the Avernian lake, under a cover, and inclosed within porticos; as also a canal from Avernum to Ostia, for the convenience of passing betwixt those two places by shipping, and yet not by sea, an hundred and sixty miles in length, and of a breadth sufficient to let ships with five banks of oars pass one another. For the carrying on of which designs, he ordered all prisoners, every where, to be brought into Italy; and that such as were convicted of the most heinous crimes, should only be condemned to work therein. He was encouraged to all this wild expence, not only by the great revenue of the empire, but the sudden hopes given him of an immense hidden treasure, viz that which queen Dido, upon her flight from Tyre, had brought along with her into Africa, which a Roman knight pretended to assure him, upon good information, was still hid there in some lonely caves, which might, by a little labour, be dug up again.*

32. Verum ut spes fefellit, destitutus, atq; ita jam exhaustus et egens, ut stipendia quoque militum, et commoda veteranorum protrahi ac differri necesse esset, calumniis rapinisq; intendit animum. Ante omnia instituit ut e libertorum defunctorum bonis pro semisse dodrans cogeretur ei, si qui sine probabili caussa eo nomine essent, quo fuissent illæ familiæ quas ipse contingeret: deinde ut ingratorum in principem testamenta ad fiscum pertinerent:

32. But being baulked in his expectations of this supply, and quite exhausted and reduced to those difficulties, for want of money, that he was obliged to suspend the payment of his troops, and the advance of the præmiums due to the veterans; he resolved upon the supply of his necessities, in the way of false accusation and rapine. In the first place he ordered, that if any freed man bore the name of any family he was allied to, without sufficient reason, at his decease, instead of half, three fourths of his estate should be brought into the exchequer, as also that the estates of such as had not, in their wills, been grateful to their prince, should

ac

ac ne impune esset studiosis juris qui scripsissent vel dictassent ea: tum ut lege majestatis facta dictaq; omnia, quibus modo delator non deesset, tenerentur. Revocavit et præmia coronarum, quæ unquam sibi in certaminibus civitates detulissent. Et cum interdixisset usum Amethystini ac Tyrii coloris, submisissetq; qui nundinarum die pauculas uncias venderet, præclusit cunctos negotiatores. Quinetiam inter canendum animadversam matronam e spectaculis, vetita purpura cultam, demonstrasse procuratoribus suis creditur, detractamq; illico, non veste modo sed et bonis exuit. Nulli delegavit officium, ut non adjiceret: *scis quid mihi opus sit, et, hoc agamus, ne quis quidquam habeat.* Ultimo, templis compluribus dona detraxit, simulacarq; ex auro vel argento fabricata conflavit: in his Penatium deorum, quæ mox Galba restituit.

33. Parricidia et cædes a Claudio exorsus est: cujus necis, etsi non auctor, at conscius fuit: neq; dissimulanter, ut qui boletos, in quo cibi genere venenum is acceperat, quasi deorum cibum, posthac proverbio Græco collaudare sit solitus. Certe omnibus rerum verborumque contumeliis mortuum insectatus est, modo stultitiæ, modo sævitiæ arguens. Nam et *morari* eum inter homines desiisse, producta prima syllaba jocabatur: multaq; decreta et constituta, ut insipientis atq; deliri, pro irritis habuit. Denique bustum ejus consepiri, nisi humili leviq; materia, neglexit. Britannicum, non minus æmulatione vocis, quæ illi jucundior suppetebat, quam metu ne quandoque apud hominum gratiam

be all confiscated; and that the lawyers, who had drawn, or dictated, such wills, should be liable to a fine: and that all words and actions, that any informer could but ground an action upon, should pass for treason. He likewise demanded the value of the crowns, which the cities of Greece had at any time offered him in the solemn games there. And having forbid the use of the Amethystine and Tyrian scarlet, he privately sent one to sell a few ounces thereof upon the day of the Nundinæ, and then shut up all the merchants' shops for them. It's said too, that as he was playing and singing in the theatre, observing a married lady dressed in that kind of scarlet he had forbid the use of, he pointed her out to his procurators; upon which she was immediately dragged out of her seat, and not only stripped of her cloaths, but her estate too. He never nominated a person to any office, without saying to him, You know what I want; and let us take care to leave no body any thing. *At last he rifled abundance of temples of the rich offerings that had been depositted therein, and melted down all the gold and silver statues, and amongst them those of the Penates, which afterwards Galba restored.*

33. *He begun the practice of parricide and murder with Claudius himself; for tho' he was not the contriver of his death; yet he was privy to the design upon him, nor did he make any secret of it, but used afterwards to commend by a Græcian proverb mushrooms as food fit for gods, because he had been poisoned with one. He abused his memory both by word and deed in the grossest manner, one while railing at him for his folly, another while for his cruelty. For he used by way of jest to say that he had given over* morari *amongst men, pronouncing the first syllable of the word long; and repealed many of his decrees and constitutions, as made by a doating old blockhead. He made but an ordinary low fence about the place where his body was burnt. He attempted to poison Britannicus, as much out of envy, because he had a sweeter voice, as for fear of his proving too strong for him, by reason of the respect the people had for the memory of father. The person em-*

paterna

paterna memoria prævaleret, veneno aggressus est. Quod actum a quadam Locusta, venenariorum indice, cum opinione tardius cederet, ventre modo Britannici moto, accersitam mulierem sua manu verberavit, arguens pro veneno remedium dedisse. Excusantiq; minus datum ad occultandam facinoris invidiam, *Sane*, inquit, *legem Juliam timeo:* coegitq; se coram in cubiculo quam posset velocissimum ac præsentaneum coquere. Deinde in hædo expertus, postquam is quinq; horas protraxit, iterum ac sæpius recoctum, porcello objecit. Quo statim exanimato, inferri in triclinium dariq; cœnanti secum Britannico imperavit. Et cum ille ad primum gustum concidisset, comitiali morbo ex consuetudine correptum apud convivas ementitus, postero die raptim inter maximos imbres translatitio extulit funere. Locustæ pro navata opera, impunitatem prædiaq; ampla, sed et discipulos dedit.

34. Matrem dicta factaq; sua exquirentem acerbius et corrigentem, hactenus primo gravabatur, ut invidia identidem oneraret, quasi cessurus imperio, Rhodumq; abiturus: mox et honore omni et potestate privavit: abductaque militum et Germanorum statione, contubernio quoq; ac palatio expulit. Neq; in divexanda quidquam pensi habuit: submissis et qui Romæ morantem, litibus, et in secessu quiescentem, per convitia et jocos, terra mariq; prætervehentes inquietarent. Verum minis ejus ac violentia territus perdere statuit. Et cum veneno ter tentasset, sentiretq; antidotis præmunitam, lacunaria,

ployed for the purpose was one Locusta, an evidence against some that had been guilty of the practice of that horrid wickedness. But the poison he had from her, working more slowly than he expected, and only giving him for the present a looseness, he sent for the woman and beat her with his own hand, charging her with giving him an antidote instead of poison; and upon her alledging in excuse for herself, that she had given him but a gentle mixture, to prevent suspicion, what, *says he,* I warrant you, I am afraid of the Julian law; *and obliged her to prepare upon the spot before his eyes as quick and strong a dose as possible. This he tried upon a kind, but he lingering for five hours before he expired, he ordered her to go to work again, and when she had done, gave the poison to a pig, which dying immediately, he ordered it to be brought in, and given Britannicus, as he was at supper with him. And he falling down immediately at the first tasting of it, pretending to the company, that it was only a fit of the falling sickness which he had been used to be troubled with, he buried him the day following, in a very poor manner, and a vast hurry, during a very rainy season. He gave Locusta for her service, a pardon, with a vast estate in land, and put some disciples to her for the learning of her trade.*

34. *His mother was used to enquire very strictly into every thing he said or did, and to reprimand him very freely; which gave him so much disturbance, that he endeavoured to expose her to the resentment of the publick, by frequently pretending to quit the government, and retire to Rhodes; and soon after deprived her of all honour and power; and taking from her, her guard of Roman and German soldiers, he banished her the palace, plagued and tormented her by all the ways he could think of, employing persons to persecute her when at Rome with law-suits, and to disturb her in her retirements from town, with foul language and banter, as they passed either by land or sea. But being terrified with her threats and violent spirit, he resolved upon her destruction; and thrice attempting it by poison, but finding her secured beforehand by anti-*

ria,

ria, quæ noctu super dormientem laxata machina deciderent, paravit. Hoc consilio per conscios parum celato, solutilem navem, cujus vel naufragio vel cameræ ruina periret, commentus est. Atque ita reconciliatione simulata, jucundissimis litteris Bajas evocavit ad solennia Quinquatrium simul celebranda: datoque negotio trierarchis qui Liburnicam, qua advecta erat, velut fortuito concursu confringerent, protraxit convivium. Repetentiq; Baulos, in locum corrupti navigii, machinosum illud obtulit, hilare prosecutus: atq in digressu papillas quoq; exosculatus, reliquum temporis cum magna trepidatione vigilavit cœptorum opperiens exitum. Sed ut diversa omnia, nandoque evasisse eam, comperit, inops consilii, L. Agerinum, libertum ejus, salvam et incolumem cum gaudio nuntiantem, objecto clam juxta pugione, ut percussorem sibi subornatum arripi constringiq; jussit, matremq; occidi, quasi deprehensum crimen voluntaria morte vitasset. Adduntur his atrociora, nec incertis auctoribus, ad visendum interfectæ cadaver accurrisse, contrectasse membra, alia laudasse sitiq; interim oborta, bibisse. Neq; tamen sceleris conscientiam, quamquam et militum et senatus populique gratulationibus confirmaretur, aut statim aut unquam postea ferre potuit: sæpe confessus exagitari se materna specie, verberibus Furiarum, ac tædis ardentibus. Quin et facto per Magos sacro, evocare Manes, et exorare tentavit. Peregrinatione quidem Græciæ, Eleusiniis sacris, quorum initiatione impii et scelerati voce præconis submove-

dotes, he provided a contrivance to let loose the floor above her bed-chamber, upon her as she was asleep in the night. But this design being not kept close enough by those concerned in it, he contrived a ship that would easily fall to pieces, in hopes of destroying her either by the dissolution of it, or the falling in of the cabin upon her. Accordingly under the cover of a pretended reconciliation, he writes her a mighty civil letter, inviting her to Baiæ, to celebrate there together with himself the festival of Minerva, and having given private orders to the captains of the triremes that were to attend her, to shatter her ship to pieces, by falling foul upon it, but in such a manner as to make the thing appear accidental only, he prolonged the entertainment for the better convenience of doing it in the night, and at her return from Bauli, instead of an old ship, she came in, offered her that he had contrived for her destruction, and waited upon her very chearfully to the vessel, and at parting with her kissed her breasts, after which he sat up very late in the night, waiting in terrible concern to hear the issue of his project. But being informed that all things had fallen out quite contrary to his wish, and that she had saved herself by swimming, not knowing now what course to take, upon her freedman L. Agerinus bringing word with a great deal of joy, that she was safe and well, he privately dropped a ponyard by him, and then commanded him to be seised and clapped in chains, under pretence of his being employed by his mother to assassinate him; at the same time ordering her to be put to death, and giving out that to avoid the resentment of her intended plot, she had laid violent hands upon herself. There are some circumstances related about this affair still more horrid, and upon very good authority, as that he went to view her corpse, and handling her limbs, disparaged some and commended others, and growing thirsty during this survey, called for drink. Yet he was not able to bear either then, or at any time after, the reproaches of his own conscience for this villainy, tho' he was encouraged by the congratulatory addresses of both soldiery, senate, and people, frequently

 rentur,

rentur, intereſſe non auſus eſt. Junxitq; parricidio matris amitæ necem. Quam cum ex duritia alvi cubantem viſitaret, et illa tractans lanuginem ejus, ut aſſolet, jam grandis natu, per blanditias forte dixiſſet, *Simul hanc excepero, mori volo*, converſus ad proximos, confeſtim ſe poſiturum velut irridens ait: præcepitq; medicis ut largius purgarent ægram. Nam nec dum defunctæ bona invaſit, ſuppreſſo teſtamento ne quid abſcederet.

confeſſing that he was haunted by his mother's ghoſt, and perſecuted with the whips and burning torches of the furies. Nay he attempted too by a magick ſacrifice to fetch up her ghoſt from below, in order to mollify her rage againſt him. When he was in Greece, he durſt not preſume to attend at the performance of the Eleuſinian rites, upon hearing the cryer diſcharge all impious and wicked villains from approaching. To the murther of his mother he joined that of his aunt, for being obliged to keep her bed upon account of an indiſpoſition occaſioned by a coſtive neneſs, he paid her a viſit and the good old lady ſtroking his downy chin, and ſaying,, may I but live to ſee the firſt ſhaving of this, I ſhall then be content to die. *He turned to thoſe about him, and by way of jeſt upon it, ſaid, that he would have his beard immediately taken off; and then ordered the phyſicians to purge her more ſtrongly; and ſeized upon her eſtate before ſhe was dead, ſuppreſſing her will, that he might ſweep all.*

35. Uxores præter Octaviam duas poſtea duxit, Poppæam Sabinam, quæſtorio patre natam, et equiti Romano ante nuptam: deinde Statiliam Meſſalinam Tauri bis conſulis ac triumphalis abneptem. Qua ut potiretur, virum ejus Atticum Veſtinum COS. in honore ipſo trucidavit. Octaviæ conſuetudinem cito aſpernatus, corripientibus amicis, *ſufficere illi debere*, reſpondit, *uxoria ornamenta*. Eandem mox ſæpe fruſtra ſtrangulare meditatus, dimiſit ut ſterilem: ſed improbante divortium populo, nec parcente convitiis, etiam relegavit. Deniq; occidit ſub crimine adulteriorum, adeo impudenti falſoque, ut in quæſtione pernegantibus cunctis, Anicetum pædagogum ſuum indicem ſubjecerit, qui dolo ſtupratum a ſe fateretur. Poppæam duodecimo die poſt divortium Octaviæ in matrimonium acceptam dilexit unice. Et tamen ipſam quoq; ictu calcis occidit: quod ſe ex aurigatione ſero reverſum, gravida et ægra convitiis inceſſerat. Ex hac filiam

35. *He had two wives beſides Octavia, Poppæa Sabina the daughter of a gentleman, that had been queſtor, who had been married before to a Roman knight, and after her, Statilia Meſſalina, great grand daughter to Taurus who was twice conſul, and had the honour of a triumph; in order to enjoy whom he put to death her huſband Atticus Veſtinus, at that time conſul. He was ſoon weary of Octavia's bed, and being cenſured by his friends for it, he replied* the marks of diſtinction belonging to an empreſs ought to ſuffice her. *Soon after he attempted ſeveral times, but in vain, to ſtrangle her, and then divorced her as being barren. But the people expreſſing their diſlike of it, and giving their tongues a great deal of liberty upon the occaſion, he baniſhed her too. And at laſt put her to death, upon a charge of adultery ſo very impudent and apparently falſe, that when all that were examined by torture about it abſolutely denied their knowledge of any ſuch thing of her, he was forced to ſuborn his pædagogue Anicetus to confeſs that he had by a trick prevailed upon her to ſubmit to his luſt. He married Poppæa twelve days after the divorce of Octavia, and loved her entirely; and yet killed her with a kick he gave her, when ſhe was big with child and indiſpoſed, only becauſe ſhe took the liberty to chide him for coming*

am

am tulit Claudiam Auguſtam, amiſitq; admodum infantem. Nullum adeo neceſſitudinis genus eſt quod non ſcelere perculerit. Antoniam Claudii filiam recuſantem poſt Poppææ mortem nuptias ſuas, quaſi molitricem novarum rerum, interemit. Similiter interemit cæteros, aut affinitate aliqua ſibi aut propinquitate conjunctos. In quibus Aulum Plautium juvenem: quem cum ante mortem per vim conſtupraſſet. *Eat nunc,* inquit, *mater mea, et ſucceſſorem meum oſculetur:* jactans dilectum ab ea, et ad ſpem imperii impulſum. Privignum Rufinum Criſpinum, Poppæa natum, impuberem adhuc, quia ferebatur ducatus et imperia ludere, mergendum mari, dum piſcaretur, ſervis ipſius demandavit. Tuſcum nutricis filium relegavit, quod in procuratione Ægypti, balneis in adventum ſuum exſtructis laviſſet. Senecam præceptorem ad necem compulit; quamvis ſæpe commeatum petenti, boniſq; cedenti, perſancte juraſſet, *ſuſpectum ſe fruſtra, periturumq; potius quam nocituru ei.* Burro præfecto remedium ad fauces pollicitus, toxicum miſit. Libertos, divites et ſenes olim adoptionis, mox dominationis ſuæ fautores, atque rectores, veneno partim cibis, partim potionibus indito, intercepit.

36. Nec minore ſævitia foris et in exteros graſſatus eſt. Stella crinita, quæ ſummis poteſtatibus exitium portendere vulgo putatur, per continuas noctes oriri cœperat. Anxius ea re, ut ex Babilo aſtrologo didicit, ſolere reges talia oſtenta cæde aliqua illuſtri expiare, atq; a ſemet in capita procerum depel-

late home from his exerciſe of driving the chariot. He had by her a daughter Claudia Auguſta, that died an infant. There was indeed no kind of relations that did not feel the effects of his cruelty to their deſtruction. He put to death Antonia Claudius's daughter, who refuſed to marry him after the death of Poppæa, under pretence of her being engaged in a plot againſt him. In like manner did he deſtroy all the reſt that were any ways allied to him either by blood or marriage, amongſt whom was young Aulus Plautius. He firſt obliged him to ſubmit to his unnatural luſt, and then ordered him to be executed, crying out, now let my mother go kiſs my ſucceſſor, *pretending he had been his mother's gallant, and by her encouraged to aſpire to the empire. His ſtepſon Rufinus Criſpinus, Poppæa's ſon, tho' a minor, he ordered to be drowned in the ſea, as he was fiſhing, by his own ſlaves, becauſe he was reported to act frequently among his playfellows the part of a general or an emperor. He baniſhed Tuſcus his nurſe's ſon, for preſuming when he was procurator of Egypt, to waſh in the baths provided againſt his coming. His maſter Seneca he forced to kill himſelf, altho' upon his deſiring leave to withdraw from court, and offering to reſign up to him his eſtate, he ſolemnly ſwore,* that there was no foundation for his ſuſpicion of him, and that he would periſh himſelf rather than hurt him. *Having promiſed Burrus the commander of the guards a remedy for a ſwelling in in his throat, he ſent him poiſon. Some old rich freedmen of Claudius, that had been formerly the promoters of his adoption by that prince, and very inſtrumental in his advancement to the empire, and were his governors too, he took off by poiſon given them in their meat or drink.*

36. *Nor did he proceed with leſs cruelty againſt thoſe that were not of his family. A blazing ſtar, which is vulgarly ſuppoſed to portend deſtruction to kings and princes, appeared above the horiſon ſeveral nights together. This he was in a mighty concern about, and being informed by one Babylus an aſtrologer, that princes uſed to ſtave off the danger threatned them by ſuch prodigies, by ſhedding the blood of illuſtrious perſons, and*

lere: nobiliſſimo cuiq; exitium deſtinavit. Enimvero multo magis et quaſi per juſtam cauſam duabus conjurationibus promulgatis, quarum prior majorq; Piſoniana Romæ, poſterior Viniciana Beneventi conflata atq; detecta eſt. Conjurati e vinculis triplicium catenarum dixere cauſam: cum quidam crimen ultro faterentur, nonnulli etiam imputarent tanquam aliter illi non poſſent niſi morte ſuccurrere, dedecorato flagitiis omnibus. Damnatorum liberi urbe pulſi, enectiq; veneno aut fame. Conſtat quoſdam cum pædagogis et capſariis uno prandio pariter necatos, alios diurnum victum prohibitos quærere.

ſo divert the miſchief foreboded from themſelves upon their grandees, he reſolved upon the deſtruction of the prime nobility in Rome, and the rather, becauſe he ſeemed to have ſome plauſible pretence for it, from the diſcovery of two conſpiracies againſt him; the firſt and more dangerous of which was that formed by Piſo and diſcovered at Rome, the other was that of Vinicius at Beneventum. The conſpirators were brought upon their tryals loaded with treble irons. Some frankly confeſſed the charge, nay ſome reckoned their deſign upon his life as a favour he was obliged to them for, as if it was impoſſible any other ways than by death to relieve ſuch a wretched ſcandalous villain as he was. The children of ſuch as were condemned, were baniſhed the city, and afterwards either poiſoned or ſtarved to death. It's certain ſome with their pædagogues and ſlaves that bore the books after them, were all poiſoned together at one dinner, and others not ſuffered to ſeek their daily bread.

37. Nullus poſthac adhibitus delectus aut modus interimendi quoſcumq; libuiſſet, quacumque de cauſa. Sed ne de pluribus referam, Salvidieno Orſito objectum eſt quod tabernas tres de domo ſua circa forum civitatibus ad ſtationem locaſſet: Caſſio Longino juriſconſulto, ac luminibus orbato, quod in vetere gentili ſtemmate C. Caſſii percuſſoris Cæſaris imagines reſtituiſſet: Pæto Thraſeæ, triſtior et pædagogi vultus. Mori juſſis non amplius quam horarium ſpatium dabat. Ac ne quid moræ interveniret, medicos admovebat, *qui cunctantes continuo curarent*. Ita enim vocabat, venas mortis gratia inſidere. Creditur etiam polyphago cuidam Ægyptii generis, crudam carnem et quidquid daretur mandere aſſueto, concupiſſe vivos homines laniandos abſumendoſq; objicere. Elatus inflatuſq; tantis velut ſucceſſibus, negavit *quemquam princi-*

37. *From this time he butchered without diſtinction or quarter all he pleaſed upon any idle pretence. To mention only a few. It was laid to the charge of Salvidienus Orſitus, that he had let out three ſhops belonging to his houſe in the forum to ſome cities for the uſe of their deputies at Rome. The charge againſt Caſſius Longinus a blind lawyer was, that he kept amongſt the buſts of his anceſtors that of C. Caſſius, who had a hand in the death of Julius Cæſar. And the only thing objected againſt Pætus Thraſeas was a cloudy countenance, like that of a pædagogue. He allowed no more than an hour's time to thoſe he obliged to kill themſelves; and to prevent delay, he ſent them phyſicians* to cure them immediately, if they lingered beyond the time allowed them. *For ſo he called bleeding them to death. There was in thoſe days an Egyptian of a moſt voracious ſtomach, that would digeſt raw fleſh, or any thing elſe that was given him. It is credibly reported he was mighty deſirous to furniſh him with living men to tear and devour. Being wonderfully elated and puffed up with his mighty ſucceſs in barbarous villainy, he declared upon it,* that no prince before himſelf ever knew

pum

pum sciſſe quid ſibi liceret. Multaſq; nec dubias ſignificationes ſæpe jecit, ne reliquis quidem ſe parſurum ſenatoribus, eumq; ordinem ſublaturum quandoq; e republica, ac provincias et exercitus equiti Romano ac libertis permiſſurum. Certe neq; adveniens, neque proficiſcens, quemquam oſculo impertivit, ac ne reſalutatione quidem. Et in auſpicando opere Iſthmi, magna frequentia clare, *Ut ſibi ac populo Romano bene res verteret*, diſſimulata ſenatus mentione.

38. Sed nec populo aut mœnibus patriæ pepercit. Dicente quodam in ſermone communi,

the extent of his power. *And gave many pretty plain intimations, that he would not ſpare the ſenators that were left; and would ſometime or other quite extirpate that order of the people, and put the provinces and armies into the hands of the Roman knights, and his freed men. It's certain that he never would, either upon his coming to town, or leaving it, vouchſafe any one of them the civility of a kiſs, or the return of a ſalute. And in entering upon his project of making a cut through the Iſthmus, he with a loud voice amidſt a vaſt concourſe of people, wiſhed* the buſineſs might prove fortunate for himſelf and the Roman people, *without taking any notice of the ſenate at all.*

38. *But however, he ſpared neither the people, nor the city itſelf. And ſomebody in converſation ſaying,*

Ἐμοῦ θανόντος γαῖα μιχθήτω πυρί.

When I am dead, let Fire devour the World.

Immo, inquit, ἐμοῦ ζῶντος. Planeq; ita fecit: nam quaſi offenſus deformitate veterum ædificiorum, et anguſtiis flexuriſq; vicorum, incendit urbem tam palam, ut plerique conſulares, cubicularios ejus, cum ſtupa tædaque, in prædiis ſuis deprehenſos non attigerint: et quædam horrea circa domum Auream, quorum ſpatium maxime deſiderabat, ut bellicis machinis labefactata, atque inflammata ſint, quod ſaxeo muro conſtructa erant. Per ſex dies, ſeptemq; noctes ea clade ſævitum eſt, ad monumentorum buſtorumq; diverſoria plebe compulſa. Tunc præter immenſum numerum inſularum, domus priſcorum ducum arſerunt, hoſtilibus adhuc ſpoliis adornatæ, deorumq; ædes ab regibus, ac deinde Punicis ac Gallicis bellis votæ dedicatæque: et quidquid viſendum atq; memorabile ex antiquitate duraverat. Hoc incen-

Nay, *ſaid he,* let it be whilſt I am living. *And he acted accordingly; for pretending to take offence at the uglineſs of the old buildings, with the narrowneſs and winding of the ſtreets, he ſet the city on fire in ſo bare-faced a manner, that a great many conſular gentlemen, catched thoſe of his bed chamber with tow, and torches for lighting, in their own houſes, but durſt not meddle with them. And ſome granaries nigh his golden houſe, the ground-plot of which he very much longed to come at, were battered with rams, and then ſet on fire, becauſe the walls were all of ſtone. For ſix days, and ſeven nights, was this terrible devaſtation made, the poor common people being obliged to fly to the tombs and monuments for lodging and ſhelter. At that time, beſides a prodigious number of ſtately buildings, the houſes of generals, that had been of old men of renown, even then finely beautified with the ſpoils of war, were all laid in aſhes; as alſo the temples of the gods, that had been vowed and dedicated by the kings of Rome, and afterwards in the wars with the Carthaginians and Gauls; and, in ſhort, every thing of antiquity, that was remarkable and worth*

dium

dium e turri Mæcenatiana prospectans, lætusq; *flammæ*, ut ajebat, *pulcritudine*, ἄλωσιν Ilii in illo suo scenico habitu decantavit. Ac ne non hinc quoq; quantum posset prædæ et manubiarum invaderet, pollicitus cadaverum et ruderum gratuitam egestionem, nemini ad reliquias rerum suarum adire permisit: collationibusque non receptis modo, verum et efflagitatis, provincias privatorumque census prope exhausit.

39. Accesserunt tantis ex principe malis, probrisque, quædam et fortuita: pestilentia unius autumni, qua triginta funerum millia in rationem Libitinæ venerunt: cladesBritannica, qua duo præcipua oppida, magna civium sociorumq; cæde, direpta sunt: ignominia ad Orientem legionibus in Armenia sub jugum missis, ægreq; Syria retenta. Mirum, et vel præcipue notabile inter hæc fuit, nihil eum patientius quam maledicta et convitia hominum tulisse: neq; in ullos leniorem, quam qui dictis aut carminibus lacessissent, extitisse. Multa Græce Latineq; proscripta, aut vulgata sunt, sicut illa.

seeing. This fire he beheld from a tower on the top of Mæcenas's house, and being hugely diverted, *as he said,* with the beauty of the flame, *he sung the ditty of the destruction of Troy, in the dress used by him upon the stage. And to make his advantage of this calamity, in the way of plunder and rapine, he promised to bring off the bodies of such as had perished in the fire, and remove the rubbish at his own expence; and so suffered no body to come at the remains of their houses or goods. Yet he not only received, but demanded contributions upon the account, 'till he had exhausted both the provinces and private persons.*

39. *These terrible and shameful calamities brought upon the publick by their prince, were attended with some from fortune too; as a plague, by which, within the compass of one autumn, no less than thirty thousand people died, as appeared by the books of the temple of Libitina; a terrible loss in Britain, where two of the principal towns belonging to the Romans, were plundered with miserable havock of our troops and allies both. A shameful baffle of our army in the East,* viz. *Armenia, where our legions were obliged to pass under the yoke; and it was with great difficulty we kept Syria. Amidst all these things it was strange, and indeed extremely remarkable, that he took nothing more patiently, than foul language and railing; and used none with more gentleness, than such as traduced him by rude reflections and lampoons. Many things of that nature were posted up in the town, or otherways spread amongst the people, both in Greek and Latin, as these:*

Νέρων, Ὀρέστης, Ἀλκμαίων, Μητροκτόνος,
Νέρωνα Νέρων, ἰδίαν μητέρ' ἀπέκτεινεν.

Nero, Oreſtes, and Alcmæon, ſlew
Their Mothers, Nero the worſt of all the Crew.

Quis negat Æneæ magna de ſtirpe Neronem?
Suſtulit hic matrem, ſuſtulit ille patrem.

That Nero from the great Æneas came
Who can deny? the one amidſt the flame
Of Troy bore off his aged Sire; the other,
Like a good loving Son, took off his Mother.

Dam

Dum tendit citharam noſter, dum cornua Parthus,
Noſter erit Pæan, ille Ἑκατηβελέτης.

Our's ſtrings the lyre, the Parthian ſtrings his bow,
Our's Pæan call, the other Hekatebeleto.

Roma domus fiet: Vejos migrate Quirites,
Si non & Vejos occupat iſta domus.

Rome will be all one houſe, to Veii fly;
If that houſe reach not thither by and by.

Sed neq; auctores requiſivit: et quoſdam per indicem delatos ad ſenatum, affici graviore pœna prohibuit. Tranſeuntem eum Iſidorus Cynicus in publico clara voce corripuerat, quod Nauplii mala bene cantitaret, ſua bona male diſponeret. Et Datus Atellanarum hiſtrio in cantico quodam, ὑγίαινε πατὴρ, ὑγίαινε μῆτερ, ita demonſtraverat, ut bibentem natantemq; faceret, exitum C. Claudii Agrippinæq; ſignificans: et in noviſſima clauſula:

But he neither made any enquiry after the authors, nor would he ſuffer a ſevere ſentence to paſs upon ſome that were informed of to the ſenate. Iſidorus the Cynick philoſopher, told him with a loud voice, as he was paſſing along the ſtreets, that he ſung the misfortunes of Nauplius well, but behaved badly himſelf. *And Datus, an actor of farces, in repeating theſe words of a ſong,* Health attend you father, Health attend you mother, *did by his geſtures repreſent one drinking and ſwimming; putting the people thereby in mind of the deaths of Claudius and Agrippina; and at uttering the laſt clauſe,*

Orcus vobis ducit pedes.

Orcus now has you by the heels.

Senatum geſtu notaret: hiſtrionem et philoſophum Nero nihil amplius quam urbe Italiaq; ſubmovit, vel contemptu omnis infamiæ, vel ne fatendo dolorem, irritaret ingenia.

By his action he plainly intimated his application thereof to the ſenate, yet Nero only baniſhed the player and philoſopher from the city and Italy, either from a real contempt of infamy, or for fear of bringing the wits of the times more upon him, by diſcovering his great uneaſineſs.

40. Talem principem paulo minus XIV annos perpeſſus terrarum orbis, tandem deſtituit: initium facientibus Gallis, duce Julio Vindice, qui tum eam provinciam pro prætore obtinebat prædictum a mathematicis Neroni olim erat, fore ut quandoq; deſtitueretur: unde illa vox ejus celeberrima, τὸ τέχνιον πᾶσα γαῖα τρέφει. Quo majore venia meditaretur citharœdicem artem principi ſibi

40. *The world having born with ſuch an emperor as this little leſs than fourteen years, at laſt forſook him; and firſt the Gauls with Julius Vindex at the head of them, who at that time governed the province as a proprætor. Nero had been formerly told by aſtrologers, that it would be his fortune to be at laſt forſaken by all the world; which occaſioned that famous ſaying of his,* An artiſt may live in any country, *deſigned to inſinuate ſome ſort of an excuſe for his practice in the muſical art, ſince it was entertaining to him, now he was a*

gratam,

gratam, privato neceſſariam. Spoſponderunt tamen quidam deſtituto ei ordinationem Orientis, nonnulli nominatim regnum Hieroſolymorum, plures omnis priſtinæ fortunæ reſtitutionem. Cui ſpei pronior, Britannia Armeniaq; amiſſa, ac rurſus utraq; recepta, defunctum ſe fatalibus malis exiſtimabat. Ut vero conſulto Delphis Apolline, ſeptuageſimum ac tertium annum cavendum ſibi audivit, quaſi eo demum obiturus, ac nihil conjectans de ætate Galbæ, tanta fiducia, non modo ſenectam, ſed etiam perpetuam ſingularemq; concepit felicitatem, ut amiſſis naufragio pretioſiſſimis rebus, non dubitaverit inter ſuos dicere, *piſces eas ſibi relaturos*. Neapoli de motu Galliarum cognovit die ipſo quo matrem occiderat: adeoq; lente ac ſecure tulit, ut gaudentis etiam ſuſpicionem præberet, tamquam occaſione nata ſpoliandarum jure belli opulentiſſimarum provinciarum. Statimq; in gymnaſium progreſſus, certantes athletas protuſiſſimo ſtudio ſpectavit. Cœnæ quoq; tempore interpellatus, tumultuoſioribus litteris, hactenus exeanduit, ut malum iis qui deſciſſent, minaretur. Denique per octo continuos dies non reſcribere cuiquam, non mandare quid aut præcipue conatus, rem ſilentio obliteravit.

41. Edictis tamen Vindicis contumelioſis, et frequentibus permotus, ſenatum epiſtola in ultionem ſui reiq; publicæ adhortatus eſt: excuſato languore faucium, propter quem non adeſſet. Nihil autem æque doluit quam ut citharœdum malum ſe increpitum, ac pro Nerone Ænobarbum appellatum. Et nomen quidem gentile, quod

prince, and would be neceſſary for him when reduced to a private fortune. Yet ſome of the aſtrologers promiſed him after his forlorn condition, the government of the eaſt, and ſome expreſsly the kingdom of Jeruſalem. But the moſt part of them flattered him with aſſurances of his being reſtored to his former fortune. And being moſt inclinable to believe the latter prediction upon loſing Britain and Armenia, and recovering them again, he fancied he had run through all the misfortunes the fates had decreed for him. But when upon conſulting Apollo at Delphi, he was adviſed to have a care of the ſeventy-third year, as if he was to die in that year, and dreaming nothing of Galba's age, he conceived ſuch mighty hopes, not only of living to old age, but alſo of conſtant and uncommon good fortune, that having loſt ſome things of great value by ſhipwreck, he ſcrupled not to ſay amongſt his friends, that the fiſhes would bring him them again. *At Naples he heard of the inſurrection in Gaul, upon the very day on which he ſlew his mother, and bore it with that eaſineſs and ſecurity, that he gave ground for ſuſcipion, that he was really glad of it, as if he had now a fine opportunity put into his hands of plundering thoſe wealthy provinces by right of war; and immediately entering the Gymnaſium, he beheld the wreſtlers exerciſe with a great deal of pleaſure. And being interrupted at ſupper with letters, that brought ſtill worſe news, he reſented matters no further, than only to threaten the rebels. Finally, for eight days together, he neither attempted to anſwer any letters, nor give any orders, but buried the whole affair in profound ſilence.*

41. *At laſt being rouſed by the many abuſive declarations of Vindex, he in a letter to the ſenate entreated them to ſtand by him and the publick, deſiring them to excuſe his not appearing in the houſe, becauſe he had got cold. But nothing galled him ſo much as to find himſelf railed at for a pitiful harper, and inſtead of Nero ſtiled Ænobarbus, Which name being that of his family, ſince he was upbraided with it, he declared he would reſume, and lay aſide*

ſibi

sibi per contumeliam exprobraretur, resumturum se professus est, depositio adoptivo. Cætera convitia ut falsa, non alio argumento refellebat, quam quod etiam inscitia tantopere laboratæ perfectæq; a se artis objiceretur: singulos subinde rogitans, *nossentne quemquam præstantiorem*. Sed urgentibus aliis super alios nuntiis, Romam prætrepidus rediit. Leviterque modo in itinere frivolo auspicio mente recreata, cum annotasset insculptum monumento, militem Gallum ab equite Romano oppressum, trahi crinibus, ad eam speciem exiluit gaudio cœlumq; adoravit. Ac ne tunc quidem aut senatu, aut populo coram appellato, quosdam e primoribus viris domum evocavit: transactaq; raptim consultatione, reliquam diei partem per organa hydraulica novi et ignoti generis circumduxit. ostendensq; singula, de ratione ac difficultate cujusq; disserens, jamq; se etiam prolaturum omnia in theatrum affirmavit, si per Vindicem liceat.

42. Postquam deinde etiam Galbam et Hispanias desciviſſe cognovit, collapsus, animoque male fracto, diu et sine voce et prope intermortuus jacuit. Utque resipuit, veste discissa, capite converberato, *actum de se* pronuntiavit. Consolantiq; nutriculæ, et aliis quoq; jam principibus similia accidisse memoranti, *Se vero præter cæteros inaudita et incognita pati*, respondit qui *suum imperium vivus amitteret*. Nec eo secius quidquam ex consuetudine, luxus atq; desidiæ omisit vel imminuit. Quinimo, cum prosperi quiddam ex provinciis nuntiatum esset, super abundantissimam cœnam jocularia in defectionis duces carmina,

that he had by adoption. In his endeavour to confute the other crimes he was reproached with, he insisted upon no argument, but that of his being upbraided with want of skill in an art he had spent so much pains upon, and had arrived at such a perfection in asking now and then those about him, if they knew any one that excelled him in that way. *But being alarmed with messengers after messengers of ill news from Gaul, he returned in great consternation to Rome. And being somewhat comforted upon the road by the observation of the frivolous omen, of a gallick soldier defeated by a Roman knight, and dragged along by the hair, carved upon a monument, he jumped again for joy at the sight of it, and adored the heavens. Yet even then he made no personal application either to the senate or the people, but calling together some of the principal persons in town to his own house, he held with them a short hasty consultation upon the present state of his affairs, and then during the remaining part of the day, carried them about with him to view some musical instruments of a new invention that were played by water; shewing them every thing about them, and discoursing upon the reason and difficulty of the contrivance, all which he told them he designed to produce in the theatre, if Vindex would give him leave.*

42. *Soon after he was advised that Galba and Spain had declared against him; upon which falling down under a terrible dejection of mind, he laid a long time speechless, and in a manner dead. As soon as he came to himself, he tore his cloaths, and beat his head, crying out,* that he was ruined. *His nurse endeavouring to comfort him, and telling him that the like things had happened to other princes before him, he replied,* he was beyond all example miserable, who lost an empire whilst he was living. *But notwithstanding he did not omit or abate any thing of his usual way of living, being as luxurious and negligent of business as ever. Nay, upon the arrival of some good news from the provinces, he at a sumptuous entertainment, sung with an air of wantonness some jocular verses upon the leaders of the revolt, which were made publick; and set*

mina, lasciveq; modulata, quæ vulgo innotuerunt, etiam gesticulatus est: ac spectaculis theatri clam illatus, cuidam scenico placenti nuntium misit, *abuti eum occupationibus suis.*

43. Initio statim tumultus, multa et immania, verum non abhorrentia a sua natura, creditur destinasse. Successores, percussoresq; submittere exercitus et provincias regentibus quasi conspiratis, idemq; et unum sentientibus, quidquid ubiq; exsulum, quidquid in urbe hominum Gallicanorum esset, contrucidare: illos, ne desciscentibus aggregarentur: hos, ut conscios popularium suorum, atq; fautores. Gallias exercitibus diripiendas permittere: senatum universum veneno per convivia necare, urbem incendere feris in populum immissis, quo difficilius defenderetur. Sed absterritus, non tam pœnitentia quam perficiendi desperatione, credensque expeditionem necessariam, COSS. ante tempus privavit honore: atq; in utriusque locum solus iniit consulatum, quasi fatale esset, non posse Gallias debellari nisi a consule. Ac susceptis fascibus, cum post epulas triclinio digrederetur, innixus humeris familiarum, affirmavit, simul ac primum provinciam attigisset, inermem se in conspectum exercituum prodituru, nec quidquam aliud quam fleturum. Revocatisq; ad pœnitentiam defectoribus, sequenti die lætum inter lætos cantaturum epinicia, quæ jam nunc sibi componi oporteret.

44. In præparanda expeditione primam curam habuit deligendi vehicula, portandis scenicis organis, concubinasque, quas secum educeret, tondendi ad virilem modum, et securibus

them off with proper gestures. And being privately brought into the theatre, he sent word to an actor that pleased the company, that he made too free with the emperor's employment.

43. *At the first breaking out of these troubles, it is believed he had formed many bloody projects, but agreeable enough to his temper; to give out new commissions for the government of the provinces, and command of the armies; and to send assassins to butcher all the former governors and commanders, as all unanimously engaged in a conspiracy against him; to massacre all the exiles, and all the Gauls in Rome; the former, lest they should join the revolters; the latter as privy to the designs of their countrymen, and favourers of them; to deliver up Gaul to be wasted and plundered by his armies; to poison the whole senate at a feast; to fire the city, and then let out the wild beasts upon the people, to divert them from stopping the progress of the flames: But being deterred from the execution of these designs, not so much by remorse of conscience, as despair of being able to go through with them; and judging an expedition into Gaul necessary, he removed the consuls from their office, before their time in it was up; and in their room, bore the consulship himself alone; as if the fates had resolved Gaul should not be conquered, but by a consul. Upon taking the fasces, after an entertainment in the palace, he walked out of the room, leaning upon some of his friends, and declared, that as soon as he arrived in the province, he would make his appearance among the troops unarmed, and do nothing but weep; and after he had thus brought the rebels to repentance, would the next day, at the publick rejoicing upon the occasion, sing songs of triumph; which ought immediately to be composed for his use.*

44. *In his preparation for this expedition, his first care was to provide carriages for his musical instruments to be used upon the stage; and to trim the concubines, he carried along with him, like men; and furnish them with battle-axes, and Amazo-*

peltisq;

peltisq; Amazonicis instruendi. Mox tribus urbanas ad sacramentum citavit: ac nullo idoneo respondente, certum dominis servorum numerum indixit: nec nisi ex tota cujusq; familia probatissimos, ne dispensatoribus quidem, aut amanuensibus exceptis, recepit. Partem etiam census omnes ordines conferre jussit: et insuper inquilinos privatarum ædium atq; insularum, pensionem annuam repræsentare fisco, exegitq; ingenti fastidio et acerbitate nummum asperum, argentum pustulatum, aurum ad obrussam: ut pleriq; omnem collationem palam recusarent, consensu flagitantes, a delatoribus potius revocanda præmia quæcunq; cepissent.

45. Ex annonæ quoq; caritate lucrantium accrevit invidia. Nam et forte accidit, ut in publica fame Alexandrina navis nuntiaretur pulverem luctatoribus aulicis advexisse. Quare omnium in se odio concitato, nihil contumeliarum defuit quin subiret. Statuæ ejus a vertice currus appositus est cum inscriptione Græca, *Nunc demum agona esse, et, traheret tandem.* Alterius collo et ascopera deligata, simulq; titulus, *Ego quid potui? sed tu culeum meruisti.* Adscriptum et columnis, *Etiam gallos eum cantando excitasse.* Jam noctibus jurgia cum servis pleriq; simulantes, crebro Vindicem poscebant.

46. Terrebatur ad hæc evidentibus portentis somniorum et auspiciorum, et ominum, tum veteribus tum novis. Numquam ante somniare solitus, occisa demum matre, vidit per quietem, navem sibi regenti extortum gubernaculum, trahique se ab Octavia uxore in arc-

nian targets. Upon this he summoned the city tribes to list; but nobody of any account appearing, he ordered all masters to send a certain number of slaves, and the choicest they had too, not excepting their stewards and secretaries. He commanded likewise all the several orders of the people to bring in a certain proportion of their estates, as they stood in the censor's books; and moreover, all tenants of houses, great or small, to pay one year's rent forthwith into the exchequer; and with wondrous niceness and strictness, would receive only new coin of the choicest silver and the finest gold; insomuch, that most people openly refused to pay, crying out by consent, that he ought to squeeze the informers, and oblige them to give up again their præmiums.

45. *The publick hatred of him received no small addition from the great scarcity of corn, and an accident that happened upon it. For just at that time a ship arrived from Alexandria, which was said to be freighted with dust for the wrestlers about court. This did so inflame the publick rage against him, that he was treated with all the abuse and scurrility imaginable. A chariot was placed upon the top of a statue of his, with a Greek inscription,* Now he had a race to run indeed, now he ought to lug away. *A budget was tied about the neck of another, and an inscription added to these words,* What could I do? but thou hast deserved a sack. *Some body writ too, upon the pillars in the forum,* That he had awakened the cocks with his singing. *And a great many people, in the night-time, pretending to quarrel with their servants, frequently called for a Vindex.*

46. *He was besides terrified with manifest presages, both old and new, arising from dreams, auspices, and omens. He had never been used to dream, before the murther of his mother: after that, he fancied in his sleep he was steering a ship, and that the rudder was forced from him; and that he was dragged by his wife Octavia into a prodigious dark place; and was one while cover-*

tissimas tenebras, et modo pennatarum formicarum multitudine oppleri: modo a simulacris gentium ad Pompeii theatrum dedicatarum circuiri, arcerique progressu. Asturconem, quo maxime lætabatur, posteriore corporis parte in simiæ speciem transfiguratum, ac tantum capite integro hinnitus edere canoros. De Mausoleo sponte foribus patefactis exaudita vox est, nomine eum cientis. Kalendis Januarii exornati Lares in ipso sacrificii apparatu conciderunt. Auspicanti Sporus annulum muneri obtulit: cujus gemmæ sculptura erat *Proserpinæ raptus*. Votorum nuncupatione magna jam ordinum frequentia vix repertæ capitolii claves. Cum ex oratione ejus, qua in Vindicem perorabat, recitaretur in senatu, *daturos pœnas scelerato, ac brevi dignum exitum facturos*, conclamatum est ab universis, *Tu facies Auguste*. Observatum etiam fuerat, noviss imam fabulam cantasse eum publice *Oedipodem exsulem*, atq; in hoc decidisse versu.

ed over with a vast swarm of winged ants, and another surrounded by the images of the nations erected nigh Pompey's theatre, and hindred from advancing further. That a Spanish gennet he was fond of, had his hinder parts so changed, as to resemble those of an ape; and having only his head left unaltered, neighed very harmoniously. The doors of the Mausoleum flying open of themselves, a voice was heard from thence, calling upon him by his name. The Lares being trimmed up with new garlands upon the first of January, fell down, during the preparations for a sacrifice to them. And as he was taking of omens, Sporus presented him with a ring, the stone whereof had carved upon it the rape of Proserpine. *And when a vast multitude of the several orders were gathered together, to attend at the solemnity of making vows to the gods, it was a long time before the keys of the capitol could be found. And when in a speech of his to the senate against Vindex, those words were read,* that the villains should be punished, and in a short time meet with a death suitable to their deserts, *they all cried out upon it,* you will effect it Augustus. *It was observed too that the last tragick piece he sung was* Oedipus in exile, *and that he fell as he was repeating this verse:*

Θανεῖν μ' ἄναγε σύγγαμος, μήτης, πατήρ.

Wife, mother, father, force me to my end.

47. Nuntiata interim etiam cæterorum exercituum defectione, litteras prandenti sibi redditas concerpsit, mensam subvertit: duos scyphos gratissimi usus, quos Homericos a cælatura carminum Homeri vocabat, solo illisit: ac sumto a Locusta veneno, et in auream pyxidem condito, transiit in hortos Servilianos. Ubi præmissis libertorum fidissimis Ostiam, ad classem præparandam, tribunos centurionesq; prætorii de fugæ societate tentavit. Sed partim tergiversantibus, partim aperte

47. *In the mean time, upon the arrival of news, that the rest of the armies had declared against him, he tore the letters, that were delivered him at dinner, to pieces, overthrew the table, and dashed with violence against the ground two cups he was much pleased with, which he called Homer's, because they had some of that poet's verses cut upon them. And then taking a dose of poison from Locusta, which he put up in a golden box, he went into the Servilian gardens, and from thence dispatching some trusty freedmen of his own to Ostia to make ready a fleet, he endeavoured to prevail with some tribunes and centurions of the guards to attend him in his flight; but some* detrec-

detrectantibus, uno vero etiam proclamante,

of them shewing no great inclination to comply, and others absolutely refusing, and one of them crying out aloud,

Usque adeone mori miserum est?
Is it so sad a thing to die?

varia agitavit: Parthosne an Galbam supplex peteret, an atratus prodiret in publicum, proq; rostris quanta maxima posset miseratione veniam præteritorum precaretur: ac ni flexisset animos, vel Ægypti præfecturam concedi sibi oraret. Inventus est postea in scrinio ejus hac de re sermo formatus. Sed deterritum putant, ne prius quam in forum perveniret, discerperetur. Sed cogitatione in posterum diem delata, ad mediam fere noctem excitatus, ut comperit stationem militum recessisse, prosiluit e lecto, misitq; circum amicos. Et quia nihil a quoquam renuntiabatur, ipse cum paucis hospitia singulorum adiit. Verum clausis omnium foribus, respondente nullo, in cubiculum rediit: unde jam et custodes diffugerant, direptis etiam stragulis, amota et pyxide veneni. Ac statim Spicillum mirmillonem, vel quemlibet alium percussorem, cujus manu periret, requisivit. Et nemine reperto: *Ergo ego,* inquit, *nec amicum habeo, nec inimicum?* procurritq; quasi præcipitaturus se in Tiberim.

he was in great perplexity, whether he should submit himself to Galba, or apply to the Parthians for protection, or else appear in publick dressed in mourning, and upon the rostra, in the most piteous manner, beg pardon for his past misdemeanors, and if he could not prevail, to beg of them to grant him at least the government of Egypt. A speech of his to this purpose was afterwards found in his scrutore. But it is supposed he durst not venture upon this project, for fear of being torn to pieces, before he could get to the forum. Suspending therefore his resolution 'till the next day, he awaked about midnight, and finding the guards withdrawn, he jumped out of bed, and sent for his friends; but receiving no answer from any one of them, he went with some few attendants to their houses; but the doors being every-where shut, and none of them giving him any answer, he went back again to his bed-chamber, from whence now those too that had the charge of it, were all run, some one way, and some another, carrying off with them his bedding and box of poison. Upon which he endeavoured to find Spicillus the gladiator, or any body else to kill him; but no body being to be found, what, *says he,* have I then neither friend nor foe? *and immediately ran out, as if he would throw himself into the Tiber.*

48. Sed revocato rursus impetu, aliquid secretioris latebræ ad colligendum animum desideravit: et offerente Phaonte liberto suburbanum suum inter Salariam et Nomentanam viam circa quartum milliarium, ut erat nudo pede atq; tunicatus, pænulam obsoleti coloris superinduit, adopertoq; capite, et ante faciem obtento sudario, equum inscendit, quatuor solum comi-

48. *But this furious resolution soon ceasing, he wished for some place of privacy, where he might recollect his thoughts; and his freed-man Phaon thereupon offering him a country-house of his, betwixt the Salarian and Nomentan roads, about four miles from the town, bare foot as he was, and in his tunick, only slipping over it an old weather-beaten cloak, with his head muffled up in it, and his handkerchief clapped to his face, he mounted a horse, with four persons only to attend him, amongst whom Sporus* comi-

comitantibus, inter quos et Sporus erat. Statimq; tremore terræ, et fulgure adverso pavefactus, audiit ex proximis castris clamorem militum, et sibi adversa et Galbæ prospera ominantium: etiam ex obviis viatoribus quendam dicentem, *Hi Neronem persequuntur:* alium scisitantem, *Ecquid in urbe novi de Nerone?* Equo autem odore abjecti in via cadaveris consternato, detecta facie agnitus est a quodam Missicio prætoriano, et salutatus. Ut ad diverticulum ventum est, dimissis equis, inter fruticeta ac vepres, per arundineti semitam ægre, nec nisi strata sub pedibus veste, ad aversum villæ parietem evasit. Ibi hortante eodem Phaonte, ut interim in specum egestæ harenæ concederet, negavit *se vivum sub terram iturum:* ac paumper commoratus, dum clandestinus ad villam introitus pararetur, aquam ex subjecta lacuna potaturum manu habuit: et *Hæc est*, inquit, *Neronis decocta.* Deinde divulsa sentibus pænula, trajectos furculos rasit: atq; ita quadrupes per angustias effossæ cavernæ receptus in proximam cellam, decubuit super lectum modicella culcita, vetere pallio strato instructum. Fameq; interim et siti interpellante, panem quidem sordidum oblatum aspernatus est, aquæ autem tepidæ aliquantulum bibit.

49. Tunc unoquoq; hinc inde instante, ut quamprimum se impendentibus contumeliis eriperet, scrobem coram fieri imperavit, dimensus ad corporis sui modulum: componique simul, si qua invenirentur, frusta marmoris, et aquam simul ac ligna conferri, curando mox cadaveri, flens ad singula, atque identidem dictitans, *Qualis artifex*

was one; and being immediately much frighted with an earthquake, and a flash of lightning darting full in the face of him, he heard from the camp hard-by the shouts of the soldiers, wishing his destruction, and prosperity to Galba; as also one of the travellers they met with by the way, say, These are in pursuit of Nero; *and another ask,* Is there any news in town about Nero? *Uncovering his face upon occasion of his horse's boggling at a carcass that lay in the road, he was known by an old soldier that had been discharged out of the guards, and saluted. When they came to the lane that turned up to the house, they quitted their horses, and with much ado he got through shrubs and bushes, and a track through a piece of ground covered with reeds, over their coats spread upon the ground here and there for him to tread on, to a wall on the back side of the villa; where Phaon advising him to hide himself a while in a sand pit, he said,* he would not go under ground alive; *and staying there some little time, 'till a private passage into the villa could be made for him, he took up some water out of a ditch that was by him in his hand to drink, saying,* This is NERO's boiling water. *Then his cloak having been torn by the thorns, he pulled away the pricks that stuck in it. At last being taken in creeping upon his hands and knees, through a hole that was made for him, he laid him down in the first room he came at, upon a poor bed with an old coverlet thrown over it. And being both hungry and thirsty, he refused some coarse bread that was brought him, but drank a little warm water.*

49. *Every body about him now pressing him to save himself from the indignities that were ready to befall him, he ordered a grave to be made before his eyes, according to the dimensions of his body, and the bottom to be covered with pieces of marble put together, if any could be found about the house, and water and wood likewise to be provided in order to his funeral; weeping at every thing that was done, and frequently saying,* What an artist is now to

tifex

tifex pero! Inter moras perlatos a cursore Phaontis codicillos præripuit, legitq; *se hostem a senatu judicatum et quæri, ut puniatur more majorum.* Interrogavitq; quale id genus esset pœnæ. Et cum comperisset nudi hominis cervicem inseri furcæ, corpus virgis ad necem cædi: conterritus, duos pugiones, quos secum tulerat, arripuit: tentataq; utriusque acie, rursus condidit, caussatus nondum adesse fatalem horam. Ac modo Sporum hortabatur, ut lamentari ac plangere inciperet: modo orabat, ut se aliquis ad mortem capessendam exemplo juvaret: interdum segnitiem suam his verbis increpabat: *Vivo deformiter ac turpiter: ὐ πρέπει Νέρωνι, ὐ πρέπει, νύκτωρ δεῖ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις. ἄγε ἔγειρε σεαυτόν.* Jamque equites appropinquabant, quibus præceptum erat ut vivum attraherent. Quod ut sensit, trepidanter effatus,

perish! *In the mean time some letters being brought in by a footman of Phaon's, he snatched them out of his hand, and there found,* That he had been declared an enemy by the senate, and was sought for in order to be punished, according to antient practice amongst the Romans. *Whereupon he asked what kind of punishment that was, and being told, the way was to strip the criminal stark-naked, and lash him to death, with his neck fastened within a forked stick, he was so terrified, that he in all haste took up two daggers he had brought along with him, and feeling both their points, put them up again, saying,* the fatal hour was not yet come. *And one while he begged of Sporus to begin a wailing lamentation; another while he besought some of them would encourage him by his example to kill himself; some times again he condemned his own want of resolution in these words,* I live scandalously and shamefully, this does not become Nero, this does not become thee, thou oughtest in such circumstances to have thy wits about thee, come courage man. *And now the horsemen were approaching the house, who had been ordered to bring him away alive to town, which as soon as he perceived, uttering with a trembling voice the following verse,*

Ἱππων μ' ὠκυπόδων ὀμφὶ κτύπος ἄκλα βαλλει.

I hear the swift-heel'd prancers beat the ground.

ferum jugulo adegit, juvante Epaphrodito, a libellis. Semianimisq; adhuc interrumpenti centurioni, et pænula ad vulnus apposita, in auxilium se venisse simulanti, non aliud respondit, quam *Sero,* et *Hæc est fides.* Atq; in ea voce defecit, exstantibus rigentibusq; oculis usq; ad horrorem formidinemq; visentium. Nihil prius ac magis a comitibus exegerat, quam ne potestas cuiquam capitis sui fieret: sed ut quoquo modo, totus cremaretur. Permisit hoc Icelus Galbæ libertus, non mul-

he run a dagger into his throat, being assisted therein by Epaphroditus, his master of requests: And a centurion breaking in when he was now half dead, and with his cloak clapped to his wound, pretending he was come to his assistance, he made no other reply but this, it is too late, *and* is this your loyalty? *Immediately after which words, he died, with his eyes standing out of his head, to the fright and terror of all that beheld him. He requested of his attendants above all things, that they would not part with his head to any one, but that his body might be burnt entire by all means. And this Icelus the freed-man of Galba granted, who had but a little before been discharged*

to

to ante vinculis exſolutus, in quæ primo tumultu conjectus fuerat.

50. Funeratus eſt impenſa ducentorum millium, ſtragulis albis auro intextis, quibus uſus kalendis Januariis fuerat. Reliquias Ecloge et Alexandra nutrices cum Acte concubina gentili Domitiorum monumento condiderunt quod proſpicitur e campo Martio impoſitum colli hortulorum. In eo monumento ſolium Porphyretici marmoris, ſuperſtante Lunenſi ara, circumſeptum eſt lapide Thaſio.

51. Statura fuit pœne juſta; corpore maculoſo et fœdo: ſufflavo capillo: vultu pulchro magis quam venuſto: oculis cæſiis et hebetioribus: cervice obeſa, ventre projecto, gracillimis cruribus, valetudine proſpera. Nam qui luxuriæ immoderatiſſimæ eſſet, ter omnino per XIIII annos languit: atq; ita, ut neq; vino, neq; conſuetudine reliqua abſtineret. Circa cultum habitumq; adeo pudendus, ut comam ſemper in gradus formatam peregrinatione Achaica etiam pone verticem ſummiſerit: ac plerumq; ſyntheſinam indutus, ligato circum collum ſudario prodierit in publicum, ſine cinctu et diſcalceatus.

52. Liberales diſciplinas omnes fere puer attigit. Sed a philoſophia eum mater avertit: monens, imperaturo contrariam eſſe: a cognitione veterum oratorum Seneca præceptor, quo diutius in admiratione ſui detineret. Itaq; ad poeticam pronus carmina libenter ac ſine labore compoſuit: nec, ut quidam putant, aliena pro ſuis edidit. Venere in manus meas pugillares libelliq; cum quibuſdam

from the confinement he had been put under at the beginning of the troubles.

50. *The expences of his funeral amounted to two hundred thouſand ſeſterces; the bed upon which his body was carried to the pile and burnt, being overlaid with a white coverlet, interwove with gold, which he had made uſe of upon the calends of January before. His nurſes Ecloge and Alexandra with his concubine Acte laid up his relicks in the monument belonging to the family of the Domitii, which is on the top of the hill overlooking the gardens, and is to be ſeen from the field of Mars. In that monument a coffin with an altar of Porphyretick marble of Luna over it, is encloſed within a wall of Thaſian ſtone.*

51. *His ſtature was a little below the ordinary ſize; his body ſo ſpotted and marked as to make a vile appearance; his hair ſomewhat yellow, his countenance fair rather than handſome, his eyes grey and dull, his neck fat, his belly prominent, legs very ſlender, but his conſtitution very healthful. For tho' he was extravagantly luxurious in his way of living, yet he had but three fits of ſickneſs in a courſe of fourteen years, which were ſo gentle, that he neither forbore the uſe of wine, nor altered his uſual way of living. In his dreſs and the care of his perſon, he was ſo ſhameleſs, that he had his hair cut in rings one above another, and when he was in Achaia let it grow long behind, and appeared abroad for the moſt part in the dreſs he uſed at table, with a handkerchief about his neck, his coat looſe upon him, and without ſhoes.*

52. *He was entered when a boy in almoſt all the liberal ſciences, but his mother diverted him from the ſtudy of philoſophy, as by no means ſuitable to one that was to be emperor; and his maſter Seneca diſcouraged him from reading the old orators, that he might keep him the longer in admiration of himſelf. He was much addicted to poetry, and compoſed verſes readily and with a great deal of eaſe; nor did he, as ſome think, publiſh thoſe of other people for his own. I have had in my hands ſome little pocket-books of his, with ſome well known verſes,*

notiſſi-

notissimis versibus ipsius chirographo scriptis: ut facile appareret, non translatos, aut dictante aliquo exceptos: sed plane quasi a cogitante atq; generante exaratos: ita multa et deleta et inducta et superscripta inerant.

53. Habuit et pingendi fingendiq; maxime non mediocre studium. Maxime autem popularitate efferebatur, omnium æmulus, qui quoque modo animum vulgi moverent. Exiit opinio post scenicas coronas proximo lustro descensurum eum ad Olympia inter athletas. Nam luctabatur assidue nec aliter certamina gymnica Græcia tota spectaverat, quam brabentarum more in stadio humi assidens: ac si qua paria longius recessissent, in medium manibus suis protrahens. Destinaverat etiam qui Apollinem cantu, Solem aurigando æquiparare existimaretur, imitari et Herculis facta. Præparatumque leonem aiunt, quem vel clava, vel brachiorum nexibus in amphitheatri harena, spectante populo, nudus elideret.

54. Sub exitu quidem vitæ palam voverat si sibi incolumis status permansisset, prodituram se partæ victoriæ ludis, etiam hydraulam et choraulam, et utricularium, ac novissimo die histrionem, saltatoremq; Virgilii Turnum. Et sunt qui tradant Paridem histrionem occisum ab eo, quasi gravem adversarium.

55. Erat illi æternitatis perpetuæq; famæ cupido, sed inconsulta. Ideoq; multis rebus ac locis vetere appellatione detracta, novam induxit ex suo nomine. Mensem quoq; Aprilem, Neroneum appellavit. Destinaverat et Romam Neropolim nuncupare.

all of his own writing; and writ in such a manner, that it was very apparent, they were not transcribed from a copy, or dictated by another, but writ by the composer of them, from the blotting and interlining up and down.

53. *He had likewise a mighty fancy for painting, and image making; but above all things, an extravagant affection for popular applause; being a rival of every man, that was upon any account admired by the people. It was the general belief, that after the prizes he won by his performances upon the stage, he would the next lustrum have put in amongst the wrestlers at the Olympick games, for he was continually practising in that way. Nor did he attend in Greece that kind of solemnity, any otherwise than as the judges therein used to do, sitting upon the ground in the stadium. And if a pair of wrestlers happened to get without the limits assigned them, he would with his own hands bring them back into their proper place. And because he was thought to equal Apollo in musick, and the Sun in chariot-driving, he resolved to imitate the actions of Hercules too. And they say a lion was prepared for him to kill, either with a club, or with a close hug, in the view of the people in the amphitheatre, which he was to do naked too.*

54. *Towards the end of his life, he made a publick vow, that if he continued in the peaceable enjoyment of the empire, he would in the games he designed to give for his success against the rebels, appear upon the stage to manage the water-organ, as also to play upon the flutes and bagpipe; and upon the day concluding those diversions, would act his part in a play, and dance to the story of Turnus in Virgil. And there are some who say he put to death the player Paris as a dangerous rival.*

55. *He had a desire, but a very silly one, of perpetuating his name and memory in the world; and therefore he took from several things and places their former appellation, and gave them a new one, taken from his own name. He called the month of April too Neroneus, and had a design to call Rome Neropolis.*

56. Religionum usquequaq; contemptor, præter unius deæ Syriæ. Hanc mox ita sprevit, ut urina contaminaret: alia superstitione captus, in qua sola pertinacissime hæsit. Siquidem icunculam puellarem, cum quasi remedium insidiarum a plebeio quodam et ignoto muneri accepisset, detecta confestim conjuratione, pro summo numine triniſq; in die sacrificiis colere perseveravit: volebatque credi monitione ejus futura prænoscere. Ante paucos quam periret menses, attendit et exstispicio, nec umquam litavit.

57. Obiit secundo et trigesimo ætatis anno, die quo quondam Octaviam interemerat. Tantumque gaudium publice præbuit, ut plebs pileata tota urbe discurreret. Et tamen non defuerunt qui per longum tempus vernis æstiviſq; floribus tumulum ejus ornarent: ac modo imagines prætextatas in rostris proferrent, modo edicta, quasi viventis, et brevi magno inimicorum malo reversuri. Quinetiam Vologesus Parthorum rex, missis ad senatum legatis de instauranda societate, hoc etiam magnopere oravit, ut Neronis memoria coleretur. Deniq; cum post viginti annos, adolescente me, exstitisset conditionis incertæ, qui se Neronem esse jactaret, tam favorabile nomen ejus apud Parthos fuit, ut vehementer adjutus et vix redditus sit.

56. *He was a despiser of all religious worship, except that of the Syrian goddess; yet at last she too was in so little request with him, that he piss'd upon her; being now engaged in another piece of superstition, in which alone he constantly persisted. For having received a little image of a girl, as a preservative against plots, from some mean obscure fellow, and discovering a conspiracy immediately upon it, he constantly worshipped it, as the greatest among the gods, and with three sacrifices a day; and he was desirous to have it thought that he had by the information of that goddess a knowledge of things to come. A few months before he died, he offered several sacrifices, in order to consult the entrails of the victims; but could never meet with any favourable intimations from them.*

57. *He died the thirty-second year of his age, upon the same day whereon he had formerly put Octavia to death; and the publick joy was so great upon the occasion, that the common people run up and down with caps upon their heads. And yet there were some, who for a long time trimmed up his tomb with spring and summer flowers; and one while placed his image upon the rostra, dressed up in state robes; another while published proclamations in his name, as if he was yet alive, and would shortly come to Rome again, with a vengeance to all his enemies. And Vologesus too, king of the Parthians, when he sent embassadors to the senate, to renew the alliance betwixt that nation and the Romans, very much insisted upon it, that due honour should be paid to the memory of Nero. And to conclude, when twenty years after, at which time I was a young man, some fellow of obscure birth gave himself out for Nero, he met with such a favourable reception from the Parthians, that he was very powerfully supported by them, and it was with much ado they surrendered him up.*

C. SUETONII TRANQUILLI

SERGIUS SULPICIUS GALBA, VII.

CHAP. I.

PROGENIES Cæsarum in Nerone defecit: quod futurum compluribus quidem signis, sed evidentissimis duobus, apparuit. Liviæ olim post Augusti statim nuptias Vejentanum suum revisenti, prætervolans aquila, gallinam albam, ramulum lauri rostro tenentem, ita ut rapuerat, dimisit in gremium: cumq; nutriri alitem, pangique ramulum placuisset, tanta pullorum soboles provenit, ut hodie quoq; ea villa *ad Gallinas* vocetur: tale vero laureum, ut triumphaturi Cæsares inde laureas decerperent: fuitq; mos triumphantibus, alias confestim eodem loco pangere: et observatum est sub cujusq; obitum, arborem ab ipso institutam, elanguisse. Ergo novissimo Neronis anno, et silva omnis exaruit radicitus, et quidquid illi gallinarum erat interiit: ac subinde tacta de cœlo Cæsarum æde, capita omnibus simul statuis deciderunt: Augustiq; sceptrum e manibus excussum est.

2. Neroni Galba successit, nullo gradu contingens Cæsarum domum: sed haud dubie nobilissimus, magnaq; et vetere prosapia, ut qui statuarum titulis *PRONEPOTEM Q. CATULI CAPITOLINI* semper adscrip-

THE race of the Cæsars was extinct in Nero; which had been intimated before by various signs, but especially two that were most apparently such. Formerly as Livia after her marriage with Augustus was going to a country-seat of her's near Veii, an eagle flying by, let drop upon her lap a hen, with a sprig of laurel in her mouth, just as she had nipped her up. The lady gave order to have the hen taken care of, and the laurel sprig set; and such a numerous brood of chickens came from the hen, that the villa to this day goes by the name of the villa at the Hens; *and the laurel spread so considerably, that the Cæsars in their triumphs had their laurel crowns from thence; and it was a custom constantly observed, to plant others in the place upon that occasion; and notice was taken, that a little before the death of each prince, the tree that had been set by him died. But in the last year of Nero, the whole plantation of laurels perished to the very roots, and the hens all died; and the temple of the Cæsars being struck with lightning about the same time, the heads of all the statues therein fell at once; and Augustus's scepter was dashed out of his hands.*

2. *Nero was succeeded by Galba, who was not in the least allied to the family of the Cæsars; but without doubt of very noble extraction, being descended of a great and an antient family, as who always used to put amongst his other titles on the bases of his statues, his being great grandson to*

 serit:

ſerit: Imperator vero etiam ſtemma in atrio propoſuerit quo paternam originem ad Jovem; maternam ad Paſiphaen Minois uxorem referret.

3. Imagines et elogia univerſi generis exſequi longum eſt: familiæ breviter attingam. Qui primus Sulpiciorum cognomen Galbæ tulit, cur, aut unde traxerit, ambigitur. Quidam putant, quod oppidum Hiſpaniæ fruſtra diu oppugnatum illitis demum Galbano facibus ſuccenderit: alii, quod in diuturna valetudine Galbeo, id eſt, remediis lana involutis aſſidue uteretur: nonnulli quod præpinguis fuerit viſus, quem *Galbam* Galli vocant: vel contra, quod tam exilis, quam ſunt animalia, quæ in eſculis naſcuntur, appellanturq; Galbæ. Familiam illuſtravit Serg. Galba conſularis, temporum ſuorum eloquentiſſimus: quem tradunt, Hiſpaniam ex prætura obtinentem, xxx Luſitanorum millibus perfidia trucidati, Viriatini belli cauſſam exſtitiſſe. Ejus nepos ob repulſam conſulatus infenſus Julio Cæſari, cujus legatus in Gallia fuerat, conſpiravit cum Caſſio et Bruto: propter quod Pedia lege damnatus eſt. Ab hoc ſunt Imperatoris Galbæ avus et pater. Avus clarior ſtudiis quam dignitate: non enim egreſſus prætoræ gradum, multiplicem nec incuriosam hiſtoriam edidit. Pater conſulatu functus, quam brevi corpore, atque etiam gibber, modicæq; in dicendo facultatis, cauſas induſtrie actitavit. Uxores habuit Mummiam Achaicam, neptem Catuli, proneptem L. Mummii, qui Corinthum excidit, item Liviam Ocellinam, ditem admotum et pulchram, a qua ta-

Q. Catulus Capitolinus. *And when he came to be emperor, he ſet up the images of his anceſtors in the atrium of the palace, by the titles whereof he pretended to run up his pedigree by the father's ſide to Jupiter, and by the mother's to Paſiphae Minos's queen.*

3. *It would be very tedious to give but a ſhort account of the whole family: I ſhall therefore only touch upon that branch of it he was deſcended from. For what reaſon, or whence the firſt of the Sulpicii that had the cognomen of Galba, was ſo called, is uncertain; ſome are of opinion, it was becauſe he ſet fire to a city in Spain, after he had a long time attacked it to no purpoſe, with torches dipped in the juice of the Syrian cane called Galbanum; others ſaid, he was ſo named, becauſe, in a long indiſpoſition, he made uſe of a remedy wrapped up in wool called Galbeum; others, becauſe he was an exceeding fat man, ſuch an one being called in the Gallick tongue* Galba; *or becauſe he was the quite contrary, very ſlender, like thoſe little animals, which breed in a ſort of oaks, and are called Galbæ. Serg. Galba, a conſular gentlemen, gave a conſiderable luſtre to the family, being the moſt eloquent man of his time. Hiſtorians tell us, that when he was proprætor of Spain, he perfidiouſly put to the ſword thirty thouſand Luſitanians, and by that means gave occaſion to the war of Viriatus. His grandſon being incenſed againſt Julius Cæſar, whoſe lieutenant he had been in Gaul, becauſe by his means he was baulked of the conſulſhip, joined with Caſſius and Brutus in the conſpiracy againſt him; for which he was condemned by the Pedian law. From him were deſcended the grandfather and father of the emperor Galba. The grandfather was more famous in the world for his application to ſtudy, than for any figure he made in the government; for he roſe no higher than the pretorſhip, but publiſhed a large and a curious hiſtory. His father attained to the conſulſhip, being a very low man and hump backed withal; but a tolerable orator, and an induſtrious pleader. His wives were Mummia Achaica, grandaughter of Catulus, and great grandaughter of L. Mummius, who deſtroyed Corinth, and Livia Ocellina, a very rich*

men

men nobilitatis causa appetitus ultro existimatur, et aliquanto enixius, postquam subinde instanti vitium corporis secreto posita veste detexit, ne quasi ignaram fallere videretur. Ex Achaica liberos, Cajum et Sergium procreavit. Quorum major Cajus attritis facultatibus urbe cessit: prohibitusq; a Tiberio sortiri anno suo proconsulatum, voluntaria morte obiit.

4. Sergius Galba imperator, M. Valerio Messalla Cn. Lentulo COSS. natus est, IX kalendas Januarii, in villa colli superposita, prope Terracinam sinistrorsum Fundos petentibus. Adoptatus a noverca sua, Livii nomen, et Ocellæ cognomen assumsit, mutato prænomine. Nam et Lucium mox pro Sergio usque ad tempus imperii usurpavit. Constat Augustum puero adhuc salutanti se inter æquales, apprehensa buccula dixisse, καὶ σὺ τέκνον τῆς ἀρχῆς ἡμῶν παραλήψῃ. Sed et Tiberius, cum comperisset imperaturum eum, verum in senecta, *Vivat sane*, ait, *quando id ad nos nihil pertinet*. Avo quoq; ejus fulgur procuranti, cum exta de manibus aquila rapuisset, et in frugiferam quercum contulisset, summum sed serum imperium portendi familiæ responsum est. Et ille irridens, *Sane*, inquit, *cum mula pepererit*. Nihil æque postea Galbam tentantem res novas confirmavit, quam mulæ partus: cæteriſque ut obscœnum ostentum abhorrentibus, solus pro lætissimo accepit, memor sacrificii, dictiq; avi. Sumta virili toga, somniavit fortunam dicentem, *stare se ante fores defossam: & nisi ocius reciperetur, cuicumque obvio prædæ futuram.*

and beautiful lady, by whom it is supposed he was courted for the nobleness of his descent, and the more so, for stripping of his toga in private, and shewing her the deformity of his person, upon her pressing him with a proposal of marriage; which he did, that he might not be thought to impose upon her. He had by Achaica two sons, Caius and Sergius. The elder whereof, Caius, having very much reduced his estate, retired from town; and being not suffered by Tiberius to take his chance for the proconsulship in his year, put an end to his own life.

4. *The emperor Sergius Galba was born in the consulship of M. Valerius Messalla, and Cn. Lentulus, upon the ninth of the calends of January, in a country house upon a hill, near Terracina, on the left side of the road to Fundi. Being adopted by his stepmother, he assumed the name of Livius, with the cognomen of Ocella, and a new prænomen; for after that he made use of that of Lucius instead of Sergius, 'till he came to be emperor. It is well known that Augustus, when he came once amongst other boys of the same age with himself to pay his respects to him, took him by the cheek, and said,* and thou too child will taste of our imperial dignity. *Tiberius too being told that he would come to be emperor, but in an advanced age, said upon it,* let him live then, since that concerns not me at all. *And when his grandfather was offering sacrifice, to avert some ill omen from lightning, the entrails of the victim were snatched out of his hand by an eagle, and carried off into an oak-tree loaded with acorns; upon which the soothsayers said, the family would come to be masters of the empire, but it would be a long time first; at which he smiling said,* Ay, when a mule has a foal. *And when Galba first declared against Nero, nothing gave him so much assurance of success, as a mule's happening at that time to have a foal. And whilst all others expressed their abhorrence of it as a most unlucky prodigy, he alone looked upon it as a very happy omen, calling to mind the sacrifice and saying of his grandfather. When he took upon him the manly habit, he dreamed that the goddess Fortune said to him,* She

Utq;

Utq; evigilavit aperto atrio, simulacrum æneum Deæ cubitali majus juxta limen invenit: idque gremio suo Tusculum, ubi æstivare consueverat, avexit: et in parte ædium consecratum menstruis deinceps supplicationibus et pervigilio anniversario coluit. Quamquam autem nondum ætate constanti, veterem civitatis, exoletumq; morem, ac tantum in domo sua hærentem, obstinatissime retinuit, ut liberti serviq; bis die frequentes adessent, ac mane *salvere*, vesperi *valere* sibi singuli dicerent.

5. Inter liberales disciplinas attendit et juri. Dedit et matrimonio operam: verum amissa uxore Lepida, duobusq; ex ea filiis, remansit in cœlibatu, neq; sollicitari ulla conditione amplius potuit, ne Agrippinæ quidem viduatæ morte Domitii, quæ maritum quoq; adhuc nec dum cœlibem Galbam, adeo omnibus sollicitaverat modis, ut inter conventum matronarum correpta jurgio, atq; etiam manu pulsata sit a matre Lepidæ. Observavit ante omnes Liviam Augustam: cujus et vivæ gratia plurimum valuit, et mortuæ testamento pæne ditatus est: H. S. namq; quingenties cum præcipuum inter legatorios habuisset, quia notata non perscripta erat summa, herede Tiberio legatum ad quingenta revocante, ne hæc quidem accepit.

6. Honoribus ante legitimum tempus initis, prætor commissione ludorum floralium, novum spectaculi genus, elephantos funambulos edidit: exin provinciæ Aquitaniæ anno fere præfuit: mox consulatum per sex menses ordinarium gessit. Evestood before his door quite tired, and unless she was admitted forthwith, would be a prey to the first comer. *And upon his awaking, opening the door of his house, he found a brasen statue of the goddess, above a cubit long, close by the threshold; and carried it away with him to Tusculum, where he used to pass the summer-season; and having consecrated it in an apartment of his house, he ever after worshipped it by monthly supplications, and an anniversary vigil. And tho' he was but a very young man, he kept up an ancient but obsolete custom, and now no where observed but in his own family, which was to have his freedmen and slaves appear in a body before him twice a day, morning and evening, to pay their respects to him.*

5. *Amongst other liberal arts, he applied himself to the law. He married too; but losing his wife Lepida, and two sons he had by her, he continued a widower; nor could he be prevailed upon to marry again, not even Agrippina herself, at that time left a widow by the death of Domitius, who had endeavoured by all imaginable arts to draw him to her embraces, whilst he was a married man, and before he was a widower, insomuch that the mother of Lepida, before several married ladies met in company together, scolded at her for it, and beat her too, He made his court to Livia Augusta above all others; by whose favour, whilst she was living, he made a considerable figure, and had like to have been enriched by the will she left at her death, wherein she distinguished him from the rest of the legatees, by a large legacy of fifty millions of sesterces; but because the sum was expressed in figures, and not in words at length, it was reduced by her heir Tiberius to five hundred thousand, which too was never paid him.*

6. *Being advanced to publick posts in the government, before the age required by law for it, in his prætorship, at the celebration of games in honour of the goddess Flora, he entertained the people with a new sight of elephants walking upon ropes. After that he governed the province of Aquitain for nigh a year, and soon after had an ordinary*

nitq; ut in eo ipse L. Domitio patri Neronis, ipsi Salvius Otho pater Othonis succederet, velut præsagium insequentis casus, quo medius inter utriusq; filios extitit imperator. A Cajo Cæsare, Gætulico substitutus, postridie quam ad legiones venit, solenni forte spectaculo plaudentes inhibuit, data tessera *ut manus pænulis continerent.* Statim per castra jactatum est.

consulship, which he held six months; and it so fell out, that he succeeded L. Domitius the father of Nero therein, and was succeeded by Salvius Otho, father to the emperor of that name; which looked like a presage of his future advancement to the empire, betwixt the sons of those two gentlemen. Being appointed by C. Cæsar to succeed Gætulicus, the day after his arrival at the army, he put a stop to their clapping of hands in a solemn publick diversion, by giving out this sentence for the watch word, That they should keep their hands within their cloaks. *Immediately upon which the following verse became very common in the camp.*

Disce miles militare, Galba est, non Gætulicus.

Soldiers learn the use of arms, 'tis Galba, not Gætulicus.

Pari severitate interdixit commeatus peti. Veteranum ac tironem militem opere assiduo corroboravit: matureq; barbaris, qui jam in Galliam usque proruperant, coercitis, præsenti quoq; Cajo talem et se et exercitum approbavit, ut inter innumeras contractasq; ex omnibus provinciis copias, neq; testimonium neq; præmia ampliora ulli perciperent. Ipse maxime insignis quod campestrem decursionem scuto moderatus, etiam ad essedum imperatoris per viginti passuum millia cucurrit.

With the like strictness he would not allow of any petitions for leave to absent from the camp. He hardened the soldiers, both old and young, with constant exercise; and having quickly reduced the barbarians within their proper bounds, who had made inroads into Gaul itself, upon Caius's coming into Germany, he so far recommended himself and his army to that emperor's approbation, that amongst innumerable troops drawn from all the provinces of the empire, none met with a higher commendation or greater rewards from him. He likewise distinguished himself by appearing at the head of a military procession, with a shield in his hand, and then running by the emperor's chariot twenty miles together.

7. Cæde Caji nuntiata, multis ad occasionem stimulantibus, quietem prætulit. Per hoc gratissimus Claudio, receptusq; in cohortem amicorum, tantæ dignationis est habitus, ut cum subita ei valetudo neq; adeo gravis incidisset, dilatus sit expeditionis Britannicæ dies. Africam pro consule biennio obtinuit, extra sortem electus ad ordinandam provinciam, et intestina dissensione et barbarorum tumultu inquietam. Ordinavitque magna severitatis ac

7. *Upon the news of Caius's death, tho' many earnestly pressed him to lay hold of that opportunity of seising the empire, yet he chose rather to be quiet. For which reason he was in great favour with Claudius, and being received into the number of his friends, was of such account with him, that the British expedition was for some time suspended on the occasion of his being suddenly seised with some slight indisposition. He governed Africa in the quality of proconsul for two years, being chosen out of course to settle the state of that province, which was in great disorder from civil dissentions, and the alarms of the barbarians. And he did* justi-

justitiæ cura etiam, in parvulis rebus. Militi, qui per expeditionem annona arctissima residuum cibariorum tritici modium centum denariis vendidisse arguebatur, vetuit, simulatq; indigere cibo cœpisset, a quoquam opem ferri: et is fame extabuit. At in jure dicendo, cum de proprietate jumenti quæreretur, levibus utrimque argumentis et testibus, ideoq; difficili conjectura veritatis, ita decrevit, ut ad lacum, ubi adaquari solebat, duceretur capite involuto, atq; ibidem revoluto, ejus esset, ad quem sponte se a potu recepisset.

8. Ob res, et tunc in Africa, et olim in Germania gestas, ornamenta triumphalia accepit, et sacerdotium triplex, inter xv viros, sodalesq; Titios, item Augustales, cooptatus: atq; ex eo tempore prope ad medium Neronis principatum in secessu plurimum vixit: ne ad gestandum quidem umquam iter ingressus, quam ut secum vehiculo proximo decies HS. in auro efferet, donec in oppido Fundis moranti Hispania Tarraconensis oblata est. Acciditque, ut, cum provinciam ingressus sacrificaret intra ædem publicam, puero e ministris acerram tenenti, capillus repente toto capite canescceret. Nec defuerunt qui interpretarentur, significari rerum mutationem, successurumq; juveni senem: hoc est, ipsum Neroni. Nec multo post in Cantabriæ lacum fulmen decidit; repertæq; sunt duodecim secures, haud ambiguum summi imperii signum.

9. Per octo annos varie et inæqualibiliter provinciam rexit. Primo acer, vehemens, et in coercendis quidem delictis vel immodicus. Nam et nummulario non ex fide versanti pecunias, manus amputavit, men-

settle it with the utmost strictness and justice, even in small matters. A soldier being charged with selling, in a great scarcity of corn, upon some expedition, a modius of wheat, which was all he had left, for a hundred denarii, he forbad him to be relieved by any body, when he came to want himself; and he was accordingly wasted to death. And in the administration of justice, a cause being brought before him about some beast of burden, which two persons claimed a property in, the proofs being on both sides trifling, and the truth uncertain, he ordered the beast to be led with his head muffled up to a pond he used to be watered at, there to be unblinded; and that he should be the person's, to whose house, after drinking, he returned.

8. *For the exploits performed by him, both at that time in Africa, and formerly in Germany, he received the triumphal ornaments, and three priests offices, one amongst the fifteen, another amongst the Sodales Titii, and a third amongst the Augustales; and from that time to the middle of Nero's reign, he lived for the most part retired. He never went abroad so much as to take the air, but he had a chariot attending him, with a million of sesterces in gold, till at last Hispania Tarraconensis was offered him, at that time living in the town of Fundi. After his arrival in the province, as he was at sacrifice in a temple, a boy that attended with a censer, grew all on a sudden grey headed; which some looked upon as a sign of an approaching revolution in the government, and that an old man would succeed a young one; that is, he would succeed Nero. And not long after, thunder falling into a lake of Cantabria, twelve axes were found in it, as a manifest sign of the supreme power.*

9. *He governed the province for eight years, with great variety and unsteadiness of behaviour; being at the first very brisk, and indeed excessively severe in the punishment of delinquents. For he cut off the hands of a banker that had been guilty of some knavish practice in the way of his profession,*

sæque ejus affixit. Et tutorem, quod pupilum, cui substitutus heres erat, veneno necasset, cruce affecit: implorantique leges, & civem Romanum se testificanti, quasi solatio & honore aliquo pœnam levaturus, mutari, multoque præter cæteras altiorem & dealbatam statui crucem jussit. Paullatim in desidiam segnitiemque conversus est, ne quid materiæ præberet Neroni, & ut dicere solebat *quod nemo rationem otii sui reddere cogeretur.* Carthagine nova conventum agens, tumultuari Gallias comperit. Legato Aquitaniæ auxilia implorante, supervenerunt Vindicis litteræ hortantis, *ut humano generi assertorem ducemq; se accommodaret.* Nec diu cunctatus conditionem partim metu partim spe recepit. Nam & mandata Neronis de nece sua ad procuratores clam missa deprehenderat: & confirmabatur cum secundissimis auspiciis, & ominibus, tum virginis honestæ vaticinatione, tanto magis, quod eadem illa carmina sacerdos Jovis Cluniæ ex penetrali somnio monitus eruerat, ante ducentos annos similiter a fatidica puella pronuntiata. Quorum carminum sententia erat, *Oriturum quandoque ex Hispania principem, dominumque rerum.*

and nailed them to his table, and crucified another for poisoning an orphan he was guardian to, whom in case of death he was to succeed in the inheritance of his estate. And upon his imploring the protection of the law, and crying out that he was a Roman citizen, as if he had a mind to comfort him under his affliction, and alleviate his punishment by a piece of honour done him, he ordered him a new cross, higher than usual, and whited over. By degrees he gave himself up to a life of laziness and inactivity, for fear of giving Nero any occasion of jealousy, and because, as he used to say, nobody was obliged to be accountable for want of business. *As he was holding the assizes at new Carthage, he received advice of the rising in Gaul. And being sollicited by the lieutenant of Aquitain for his assistance, soon after came letters from Vindex, begging of him* to put himself at the head of mankind, in order to deliver them from the tyranny of Nero. *And without demurring long upon the matter, he complied, from a mixture of fear, and hope. For he had discovered that private orders had been sent by Nero to his procurators in the provinces to get him dispatched, and he was encouraged to the undertaking, as well by several auspices and omens, as by the prophecy of a young lady of good quality, and the more so, because the priest of Jupiter at Clunia, upon advice by a dream had discovered in the inner part of the temple the very same verses she had delivered her prophecy in, which had been likewise uttered by another young woman inspired about two hundred years before; the sense whereof was,* That in time Spain should give the world a lord and master.

10. Igitur cum quasi manumissioni vacaturus conscendisset tribunal, propositis ante se damnatorum occisorumque a Nerone quam plurimis imaginibus, & adstante nobili puero, quem exsulantem ex proxima Baleari insula, ob id ipsum acciverat, deploravit temporum statum, consalutatusque *IMPERATOR, legatum se senatus ac populi Ro-*

10. *Wherefore mounting the bench, under pretence of sitting for the manumising of slaves, having set up before him the statues of several who had been condemned and put to death by Nero, whilst a noble youth stood by, who had been banished, and whom he had purposely sent for out of the next Balearian island, he lamented the condition of the times; and being thereupon unanimously saluted by the title of emperor, he publickly declared* himself only

mani profeſſus eſt. Deinde juſtitio indicto, e plebe quidem provinciæ legiones & auxilia conſcripſit, ſuper exercitum veterem legionis unius, duarumque alarum, & cohortium trium. Ac e primoribus, prudentia atque ætate præſtantibus, velut inſtar ſenatus, ad quos de majore re, quoties opus eſſet, referretur, inſtituit. Delegit & equeſtris ordinis juvenes, qui manente annulorum aureorum uſu, Evocati appellarentur, excubiaſq; circa cubiculum ſuum vice militum agerent. Etiam per provincias edicta dimiſit, auctor ſingulis univerſiſq; conſpirandi ſimul, & ut qua poſſet quiſq; opera, communem cauſam juvarent. Per idem fere tempus in munitione oppidi, quod ſedem bello delegerat, repertus eſt annulus opere antiquo, ſculptura gemmæ victoriam cum tropæo exprimente. Ac ſubinde Alexandrina navis Dertoſam appulit armis onuſta, ſine gubernatore, ſine nauta ac vectore ullo: ut nemini dubium eſſet, juſtum piumque, et faventibus diis, bellum ſuſcipi. Cum repente ex inopinato prope cuncta turbata ſunt: alarum altera caſtris appropinquantem, pœnitentia mutati ſacramenti, deſtituere conata eſt, ægreq; retenta in officio: et ſervi, quos a liberto Neronis ad fraudem præparatos muneri acceperat, per angiportum in balneas tranſeuntem pæne interemerunt: niſi cohortantibus invicem, ne occaſionem omitterent, interrogatiſq; de qua occaſione loquerentur, expreſſa cruciatu confeſſio eſſet.

the Lieutenant of the ſenate and people of Rome. *And then proclaiming a vacation, he raiſed out of the commonalty of the province legions and auxiliary troops, beſides his old army conſiſting of one legion, two bodies of horſe, and three ſingle battalions of foot. Out of the principal perſons in the army he formed a kind of ſenate, conſiſting of the moſt conſiderable amongſt them for age and prudence, to adviſe with upon all matters of importance, as oft as occaſion ſhould require. He likewiſe choſe ſeveral young gentlemen of the equeſtrian order, who were to be allowed the privilege of wearing the gold ring, but under the title of Evocati, ſhould keep guard before his bed chamber, inſtead of the ſoldiers. He likewiſe iſſued proclamations throughout the provinces of the empire, exhorting all to riſe unanimouſly, and help forward the common cauſe, by all the ways and means in their power. About the ſame time, in fortifying a town, which he had pitched upon for the ſeat of war, a ring was found of antique workmanſhip, in the ſtone of which was cut the goddeſs Victory with a trophy. And preſently after a ſhip of Alexandria arrived at Dertoſa, loaded with arms, without any one to ſteer it, or ſo much as a ſailor or paſſenger on board: ſo that now no body made the leaſt queſtion, but the war they were a going upon was juſt and honourable, and favoured by the gods, when all on a ſudden the whole deſign had like to have been unexpectedly blaſted. One of the two bodies of horſe repenting the violation of their oath to Nero, attempted to deſert him upon his approach to the camp; and were with ſome difficulty kept in their duty. And ſome ſlaves which had been preſented him by a freed-man of Nero's, on purpoſe to murther him, had like to have killed him as he went through a narrow paſſage to the bath. But upon his advance, encouraging one another not to ſlip the opportunity, and being called to an account about it, a confeſſion was forced from them by torture.*

11. Acceſſit ad tanta diſcrimina mors Vindicis, qua maxi-

11. *Theſe dangers were followed by the death of Vindex, at which being terribly*

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me conſternatus, deſtitutoque ſimilis non multum abfuit quin vitæ renuntiaret. Sed ſupervenientibus ab urbe nuntiis, ut occiſum Neronem, cunctoſq; in verba ſua juraſſe cognovit: depoſita, LEGATI, ſuſcepit CÆSARIS appellationem. Iterque ingreſſus eſt paludatus, ac dependente a cervicibus pugione ante pectus, nec prius uſum togæ recuperavit quam oppreſſis, qui novas res moliebantur, præfecto prætorii Nymphidio Sabino, Romæ: in Germania, Fontejo Capitone: in Africa, Clodio Macro, legatis.

12. Præceſſerat de eo fama ſævitiæ ſimul atque avaritiæ: quod civitates Hiſpaniarum Galliarumque, quæ cunctantius ſibi acceſſerant, gravioribus tributis, quaſdam etiam murorum deſtructione puniſſet: et præpoſitos procuratoreſq; ſupplicio capitis affeciſſet cum conjugibus ac liberis: quodq; oblatam a Tarraconenſibus e vetere templo Jovis coronam auream librarum quindecim conflaſſet, ac tres uncias quæ ponderi deerant, juſſiſſet exigi. Ea fama et confirmata et aucta eſt, ut primum urbem introiit. Nam cum claſſiarios quos Nero ex remigibus juſtos milites fecerat, redire ad priſtinum ſtatum cogeret, recuſantes, atque inſuper aquilam, et ſigna pertinacius flagitantes, non modo immiſſo equite disjecit, ſed decimavit etiam. Item Germanorum cohortem a Cæſaribus olim ad cuſtodiam corporis inſtitutam, multiſque experimentis fideliſſimam, diſſolvit, ac ſine ullo commodo remiſit in patriam: quaſi Cn. Dolabellæ, juxta cujus hortos tendebat, proniorem. Illa quoque, verene an falſo, per ludibrium jactabantur,

diſcouraged, as if fortune had quite forſaken him, he had thoughts of putting an end to his own life: but receiving advice by meſſengers from Rome that Nero was ſlain, and that all had ſworn to him as emperor, he laid aſide the title of Lieutenant, *and took upon him that of* Cæſar. *And putting himſelf upon his march with his general's cloak on, and a dagger hanging from his neck before his breaſt, he did not reſume the uſe of the toga, 'till Nymphidius Sabinus, commander of the guards at Rome, with the two lieutenants Forteius Capito in Germany, and Claudius Macer in Africa, who oppoſed his ſettlement, were all ſuppreſſed.*

12. *A rumour of his cruelty and avarice got to town before him, as that he had puniſhed ſome cities of Spain and Gaul, for not coming readily into him, by the impoſition of heavy taxes, and ſome by levelling their walls; and had put to death the governors and procurators therein, with their wives and children: and that he had melted down a golden crown, that had been preſented him by the Tarraconians, taken out of the temple of Jupiter, of fifteen pound weight, and exacted from them three ounces that were wanting in the weight. This fame of him was confirmed and encreaſed, as ſoon as he entered the town. For ſome rowers belonging to the fleet that had been taken into the troops by Nero, he would needs oblige to return to their former condition again; but they refuſing to comply, and obſtinately demanding to continue in the ſervice they were in, he not only diſperſed them by a body of horſe let looſe upon them, but likewiſe executed every tenth man among them. He alſo broke a battalion of Germans, which had been formed by the former emperors, for the guard of their perſons, and by various trials of them found very faithful, and ſent them back into their own country, without any gratuity at all, pretending they were more inclinable to favour the advancement of Cn. Dolabella than his own, nigh whoſe gardens they had their encampment. The following things too were*

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tur, appoſita lautiore cœna ingemuiſſe eum. Et ordinario quidem diſpenſatori breviarium rationum offerenti, paropſidem leguminis pro ſedulitate ac diligentia porrexiſſe. Cano autem choraulæ, mire placenti, denarios quinque donaſſe, prolatos manu ſua e peculiaribus loculis ſuis.

given out by way of ridiculе upon him, but whether with or without foundation, I know not; as that he fetched a deep groan, upon the ſerving up of an handſome ſupper; and that when one of the ſtewards preſented him with a ſhort draught of his accounts, he reached him from his table, a diſh of ſoop for his care and diligence; and when Canus, the piper, had played much to his ſatisfaction, he preſented him, with his own hand, five denarii, taken out of his own pocket.

13. Quare adventus ejus non perinde gratus fuit: idque proximo ſpectaculo apparuit. Siquidem Atellanis notiſſimum canticum exorſus,

13. *Wherefore his arrival in town was not very agreeable to the people, as appeared pretty plainly at the next publick diverſion after; for when the farce-actors begun that noted ſong,*

Venit io Simus a villa;

Soho! Soho! now mind, ye gentry,
Here's Flatnoſe juſt come out o'th'country.

cuncti ſimul ſpectatores conſentiente voce reliquam partem retulerunt, ac ſæpius verſu repetito egerunt.

all the ſpectators, with one voice, went on with the reſt, repeating and acting the firſt verſe ſeveral times over.

14. Majore adeo et favore et auctoritate adeptus eſt, quam geſſit, imperium: quamquam multa documenta egregii principis daret: ſed nequaquam tam grata erant, quam inviſa quæ ſecus fierent. Regebatur trium arbitrio, quos una et intra Palatium habitantes, nec unquam non adhærentes, pædagogos vulgo vocabant. Hi erant T. Vinius legatus ejus in Hiſpania, cupiditatis immenſæ: Cornelius Laco, ex aſſeſſore præfectus prætorii, arrogantia ſocordiaq; intolerabilis: libertus Icelus, paulo ante annulis aureis et Martiani cognomine ornatus, ac jam ſummi equeſtris gradus candidatus. His diverſo vitiorum genere graſſantibus, adeo ſe abutendum perm ſit et tradidit, ut vix ſibi ipſi conſtaret: modo acerbior parciorque, modo

14. *He got the empire with more favour and authority than he managed it; tho' he gave many proofs too of his being an excellent prince; but thoſe were not ſo grateful to the people, as his miſconduct was offenſive. He was governed by three favourites, who, becauſe they reſided at court, and were conſtantly about him, were called his pedagogues. Theſe were T. Vinius his lieutenant in Spain, a man prodigiouſly covetous; Cornelius Laco, who from an aſſeſſor to the prince, was advanced to be commander of the guards, a perſon of intolerable arrogance and lazineſs. His freedman Icelus, dignified a little before with the privilege of wearing the gold ring, and the cognomen of Mortianus, was now a candidate for the higheſt honour any of the equeſtrian order can riſe to. He put himſelf ſo entirely into the power of theſe three favourites, who managed very wildly, according to the impulſe of their ſeveral vices, and was ſo much abuſed by them, that his conduct was not very conſiſtent with*

remiſ-

remissior ac negligentior quam conveniret principi electo, atq; illius ætatis. Quosdam claros ex utroq; ordine viros suspicione minima, inauditos condemnavit. Civitatem Romanam raro dedit. Jura trium liberorum vix uni atq; alteri: ac ne his quidem, nisi ad certum præfinitumq; tempus. Judicibus sextam decuriam adjici precantibus, non modo negavit: sed etiam concessum a Claudio beneficium, ne hyeme initioq; anni ad judicandum evocarentur, eripuit.

itself. One while he was more rigorous and frugal, another while more lavish and careless, than became a prince that had been chosen by the people, and was so far advanced in years. He condemned some gentlemen of the first rank in the senatorian and equestrian orders, upon a very slight suspicion, and without trial. He rarely granted the freedom of the city to any one, and the privilege belonging to such as had three children only to one or two, and that with great difficulty, and only for a limited time. When the judges petitioned to have a sixth decury added to their number, he not only denied them, but deprived them too of the vacation that had been granted them for the winter, and the beginning of the year.

15. Existimabatur etiam senatoria et equestria officia biennii spatio determinaturus, nec daturus nisi invitis ac recusantibus. Liberalitates Neronis non plus decimis concessis, per quinquaginta equites Romanos ea conditione revocandas curavit exigendasque, ut et si quid scenici aut xystici donarum olim vendidissent, auferretur emtoribus, quando illi absumto pretio solvere nequirent. At contra, nihil non per comites atq; libertos pretio adipisci, aut donari gratia passus est, vectigalia, immunitates, pœnas innocentium, impunitates noxiorum. Quinetiam populo Romano deposcente supplicium Haloti et Tigellini, solos ex omnibus Neronis emissariis vel maleficentissimos incolumes præstitit: atq; insuper Halotum procuratione amplissima ornavit. Pro Tigellino etiam sævitiæ populum increpuit edicto.

15. *It was thought too, he designed to reduce the offices held by senators and gentlemen of the equestrian order to a term of two years continuance; and to dispose of them to none, but such as were unwilling to accept of them, and refused them. All the grants of Nero he recalled, saving only the tenths thereof to the proprietors; for which purpose he gave a commission to fifty Roman knights, with orders, that if players or wrestlers had sold what had been formerly given them, it should be exacted from the purchasers, since they having, to be sure, spent the money, were not in a condition to pay; but on the other hand, he suffered his attendants and freed-men, to sell or give the revenue of the state, or immunities from taxes, as also to punish the innocent, or pardon criminals, at pleasure. Nay, when the Roman people were very clamorous for the punishment of Halotus and Tigellinus, two of the most mischievous amongst all the emissaries of Nero, he protected them, and moreover dignified Halotus with a commission for one of the best procurations he had; and in favour of Tigellinus reprimanded the people for their cruelty by proclamation.*

16. Per hæc prope universis ordinibus offensus, vel præcipua flagravit invidia apud milites. Nam cum in verba ejus absentis jurantibus donativum

16. *By these means he incurred the displeasure of all the several orders of the people, but especially the soldiery. For his commanders having promised them in his name a donative upon their taking the*

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grandius ſolito præpoſiti pronuntiaſſent, neq; ratam rem habuit, et ſubinde jactavit *legere ſe militem non emere conſueſſe.* Atque eo quidem nomine omnes qui ubiq; erant exacerbavit. Cæterum prætorianos etiam metu et indignitate commovit, removens ſubinde pleroſq; ut ſuſpectos, et Nymphidii ſocios. Sed maxime fremebat ſuperioris Germaniæ exercitus, fraudari ſe præmiis navatæ adverſus Gallos et Vindicem operæ. Ergo primi obſequium rumpere auſi, Kal. Januarii adigi ſacramento niſi in nomen ſenatus, recuſarunt: ſtatimq; legationem ad prætorianos cum mandatis deſtinaverunt, *diſplicere imperatorem in Hiſpania factum, eligerent ipſi quem cuncti exercitus comprobarent.*

17. Quod ut nuntiatum eſt, deſpectui eſſe non tam ſenectam ſuam, quam orbitatem ratus, Piſonem Frugi Licinianum, nobilem egregiumq; juvenem, ac ſibi olim probatiſſimum, teſtamentoq; ſemper in bona et nomen adſcitum, repente e media ſalutantium, turba apprehendit: filiumque appellans, perduxit in caſtra ac pro concione adoptavit; ne tunc quidem donativi ulla mentione facta: quo faciliorem occaſionem M. Salvio Othoni præbuit perficiendi conata, intra ſextum adoptionis diem.

18. Magna et aſſidua monſtra jam inde a principio exitum ei, qualis evenit, portenderant. Cum per omne iter dextra ſiniſtraq; oppidatim victimæ cæderentur, taurus ſe curis ictu conſternatus, rupto vinculo, eſſedum ejus invaſit; elatiſq; pedibus totum cruore perfudit, ac deſcendentem ſpicula-

oath to him, before his arrival in town; he refuſed to make it good, and now and then ſaid that he uſed to chooſe his ſoldiers at pleaſure, not buy them. *And thus he ſet all the ſoldiery every-where againſt him. But the guards he alarmed with apprehenſions of danger, and ſcurvy uſage; caſhiering a great many of them now and then as diſaffected to him, and ſuch as had been favourers of Nymphidius. But the army in Upper Germany were above all others in a mighty chafe, to be defrauded of the rewards due to them for the good ſervice they had done againſt the Gauls and Vindex. Wherefore they firſt ventured to oppoſe the new emperor, refuſing upon the calends of January to ſwear to any but the ſenate; and immediately diſpatched away deputies to the prætorian troops, to let them know,* they did not like the emperor that had been ſet up in Spain, *and to deſire* they would make choice of another, ſuch as the armies might all approve of.

17. *Upon hearing of this, ſuppoſing he was ſlighted not ſo much for his age as want of children, he immediately ſingled out of a company of gentlemen, who came to pay their reſpects to him, Piſo Frugi Licinianus, a youth of noble deſcent and fine talents, whom he had ſome time before taken ſuch a fancy to, that he had appointed him in his will the heir of his eſtate and name too. Him he now ſtyled his ſon, and taking him to the camp, adopted him before an aſſembly of the troops, but without making any mention of a donative at all; which gave the better opportunity to M. Salvius Otho of accompliſhing his deſign ſix days after the adoption.*

18. *He was forewarned of his approaching fate by many remarkable prodigies that happened from the very beginning of his reign. Victims being ſlain on the right and left of him in every town he paſſed through in his way from Spain to Rome; a bull being frighted with the ſtroke of an ax, broke the rope he was tied with, and running full drive againſt his chariot with his fore feet elevated, beſpattered him all*

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tor impulsu turbæ lancea prope vulneravit. Urbem quoque, et deinde Palatium ingressum, excepit terræ tremor, et assimilis quidam mugitui sonus. Secuta sunt aliquanto manifestiora. Monile margaritis gemmisq; consertum ad ornandam Fortunam suam Tusculanam, ex omni gaza secreverat: id repente quasi augustiore dignius loco Capitolinæ Veneri dedicavit: ac proxima nocte somniavit speciem Fortunæ querentis fraudatam se dono destinato, minantisq; erepturam et ipsam quæ dedisset. Cumq; exterritus luce prima ad expiandum somnium, præmissis qui rem divinam appararent, Tusculum excucurrisset, nihil invenit præter tepidam in ara favillam, atratumq; juxta senem in catino vitreo thus tenentem, et in calice fictili merum. Observatum etiam est kalendis Januariis sacrificanti coronam de capite excidisse: auspicanti pullos evolasse: adoptionis die, neq; milites allocuturo castrensem sellam de more positam pro tribunali, oblitis ministris, et in senatu curulem perverse collocatam.

over with his blood: and as he was alighting, one of the guard being pushed forward by the crowd, had like to have wounded him with his lance. And upon his entering the city and the palace, he was received with an earthquake, and a noise like the lowing of cattle. These signs of ill fortune were followed by some that were still more apparently such. Out of all his treasure he had culled a necklace of pearls and jewels, to adorn his image of Fortune at Tusculum with; but on a sudden, as if it deserved to be disposed of in a more august place, he consecrated it to Venus in the capitol, and the next night dreamed Fortune appeared to him, complaining she had been defrauded of the present designed her, and threatning to take from him what she had given him. At which being sadly terrified about break of day, sending away some before him to Tusculum, to make preparations for a sacrifice, in order to avert the danger from his dream, upon his arrival there himself, he found nothing but some hot embers upon the altar, and an old fellow standing by in black, holding some incense in a glass, and some wine in an earthen pot. Notice was taken too, that as he was sacrificing upon the calends of January, his crown fell from his head, and upon his consulting the pullets in the way of augury, they flew away; and that upon the day of his adopting Piso, when he was to speak to the soldiers, the seat he used upon those occasions, through the forgetfulness of his attendance, was not placed according to custom upon his tribunal; and in the senate his curule chair was set with the backside forward.

19. Prius vero quam occideretur, sacrificantem mane haruspex identidem monuit, caveret periculum, non longe percussores abesse. Haud multo post cognoscit teneri castra ob Othone: ac plerisq; ut eodem quam primum pergeret suadentibus (posse enim auctoritate et præsentia prævalere) nihil amplius quam continere se statuit; et legionariorum firmare præsidiis, qui multifariam diversq; tendebant. Loricam

19. *As he was sacrificing in the morning, the day before he was slain, the soothsayers warned him now and then to look to himself, for that he was in danger of being assassinated, and that very shortly. Soon after he was informed, that Otho was in possession of the camp. And tho' most of his friends advised him to repair thither immediately, in hopes he might quell the tumult by his authority and presence, he resolved only to keep close within the palace, and secure himself by guards of the legionary soldiers, who were encamped here and there in different parts*

tamen

tamen induit linteam, quamquam haud dissimulans parum adversus tot mucrones profuturam. Sed extractus rumoribus falsis, quos conspirati, ut eum in publicum elicerent, de industria dissiparant, paucis temere affirmantibus transactum negotium, oppressos qui tumultuarentur, advenire frequentes cæteros gratulabundos, et in omne obsequium paratos. His ut occurreret, prodiit, tanta fiducia, ut militi cuidam occisum a se Othonem glorianti, *Quo auctore*, responderit, atq; in Forum usq; processit. Ibi equites, quibus mandata cædes erat, cum per publicum, dimota paganorum turba, equos adegissent, viso procul eo, parumper restiterunt: deinde rursum incitati, desertum a suis contrucidarunt.

about the town, yet he put on a linen coat of defence, tho' he could not forbear taking notice it would avail him little against the points of so many swords. But being tempted out by false rumours, which the conspirators had purposely spread, to make him venture abroad, some about him too hastily assuring him that the business was quite over, the mutineers all suppressed, and the rest coming to congratulate him, resolved to continue firm in their obedience; he went out to meet them with that assurance, that upon a soldier's boasting that he had killed Otho, he asked him by what authority; *and went on as far as the Forum. There the horse appointed to dispatch him, making their way through the crowd, upon seeing him at a distance, halted a while; after which galloping up to him, they stabbed him, being abandoned by all his attendants.*

20. Sunt qui tradant ad primum tumultum proclamasse eum, *Quid agitis commilitones? ego vester sum, & vos mei:* donativum etiam pollicitum. Plures autem prodiderunt, obtulisse ultro jugulum: et *ut hoc agerent ac ferirent, quando ita videretur*, hortatum. Illud mirum admodum fuerit, neq; præsentium quempiam opem imperatori ferre conatum: et omnes qui accerserentur sprevisse nuntium, accepta Germanicorum vexillatione. Hi ob recens meritum, quod se ægros et invalidos magnopere fovisset, in auxilium advolavere: sed serius, itinere devio per ignorantiam locorum retardati. Jugulatus est ad lacum Curtii, ac relictus, ita uti erat, donec gregatius miles a frumentatione rediens abjecto onere caput ei amputavit. Et quoniam capillo præ calvitie arripere non poterat, in gremium abdidit. Mox inserto per

20. *Some authors say, that upon their first approach he cried out,* What mean you fellow-soldiers? I am your's, and you are mine, *and promised them a donative; but the generality of writers relate, that he forwardly offered his throat, and bid them* do their work and strike, since they were resolved upon it. *This was really to be wondered at, that not one of those that were by, ever offered to assist the emperor; and all that were sent for slighted the summons, excepting only a battalion of troops from Germany. They in consideration of his late kindness in taking great care of them in a sickness they had amongst them, made all possible haste to his assistance, but came too late, for being not sufficiently acquainted with the town, they missed their way, and came about. He was slain nigh the Curtain lake, and left as he was; 'till a common soldier returning from the receipt of corn, throwing down his load, cut off his head; and because there was no hair upon it to carry it by, put it up in his lap; but afterwards thrusting his thumb into the mouth, carried it in that manner to Otho. Who gave it to the*

os pollice ad Othonem detulit. Ille lixis calonibusq; donavit; qui hasta suffixum, non sine ludibrio circum castra portarunt acclamantes identidem, *Galba cupide fruaris ætate tua.* Maxime irritati ad talem jocorum petulantiam, quod ante paucos dies exierat in vulgus, laudanti cuidam formam suam, ut adhuc floridam et vegetam, respondisse eum.

drudges and slaves that attended the soldiery, and they fixing it upon the point of a spear, carried it with a deal of abusive merriment round the camp, crying out now and then, Enjoy thyself, GALBA, *now* in thy old age. *Being moved to this rude way of banter by a report spread a few days before, that, upon some body's commending his person as still florid and vigorous, he replied,*

Ἔτι μοὶ μῦος ἔμπεδόν ἐστιν.

My strength as yet feels no decay.

Ab his Patrobii Neroniani libertus, centum aureis redemtum, eo loco ubi jussu Galbæ animadversum in patronum fuerat, abjecit. Sero tandem dispensator Argius, et hoc et cæterum truncum in privatis ejus hortis Aureliæ viæ sepulturæ dedit.

A freed-man of Petrobius's, who himself had been Nero's, purchased the head from them at the price of a hundred gold pieces, and threw it in the place where, by Galba's order, his patron had been put to death. At last, tho' late, his steward Argius, buried it with the rest of his body, in his own gardens nigh the Aurelian way.

21. Statura fuit justa, capite præcalvo, oculis cæruleis adunco naso, manibus pedibusq; articulari morbo distortissimis, ut neq; calceum perpeti, neque libellos evolvere aut tenere omnino valeret. Excreverat etiam in dexteriore latere ejus caro, propendebatque adeo, ut ægre fascia substringeretur.

21. *He was a well-sized person, bald before, blue-eyed, crook nosed, and his hands and feet were so distorted with the gout, that he could neither endure a shoe, nor turn over, or so much as hold, a book. He had an excrescence too in his right side, which hung down to that degree, that it was with difficulty kept up with a swathe.*

22. Cibi plurimi traditur, quem tempore hiberno etiam ante lucem capere consueverat, inter cænam vero usq; eo abundantem, ut congestas super manus reliquias circumferri juberet, spargiq; ad pedes stantibus. Libidinis in mares pronior: et eos non nisi præduros. exoletosque. Ferebant in Hispania Icelum e veteribus concubinis, de Neronis exitu nuntiantem, non modo arctissimis osculis palam exceptum ab eo, sed ut sine mora velleretur oratum, atq; seductum.

22. *He is said to have been a great eater, and usually took his breakfast in the winter time before day. And at supper he fed so heartily, that he would give of the relicks of his plate by handfuls to be distributed amongst the waiters. He was in his lust more inclinable to the male sex, and such of them too as were past their prime for that vile service. They tell you that in Spain, when Icelus, an old catamite of his, brought him the news of Nero's death, he not only kissed him heartily before company, but begged of him to make a clear coast, and then took him aside with him into a private room.*

23. Periit tertio et septuagesimo ætatis anno, imperii mense septimo. Senatus, ut primum licitum fuit, statuam ei decreverat rostratæ columnæ superstantem, in parte fori, qua trucidatus est. Sed decretum Vespasianus abolevit, percussores sibi ex Hispania in Judæam submisisse opinatus.

23. *He lost his life in the seventy-third year of his age, and the seventh month of his reign. The senate, as soon as it was safe for them so to do, ordered a statue to be erected for him upon the pillar called rostrata, in that part of the forum, where he was slain. But Vespasian cancelled that decree, upon a suspicion that he had sent assassins from Spain into Judæa to murther him.*

C. SUETONII TRANQUILLI

M. Salvius Otho, VIII.

CHAP. I.

MAJORES Othonis orti sunt oppido Ferentino, familia vetere et honorata, atq; ex principibus Etruriæ. Avus M. Salvius Otho, patre equite R. matre humili, incertum an ingenua, per gratiam Liviæ Augustæ, in cujus domo creverat, senator est factus, nec præturæ gradum excessit. Pater L. Otho materno genere præclaro, multarum et magnarum propinquitatum, tam charus, tamq; non absimilis facie Tiberio principi fuit, ut plerique procreatum ex eo crederent. Urbanos honores, proconsulatum Africæ, et extraordinaria imperia, severissime administravit. Ausus etiam est in Illyrico, milites quosdam, quod motu Camilli ex pœnitentia præpositos suos, quasi defectionis adversus Claudium auctores occiderant, capite punire: et quidem ante principia se coram; quam.

THE ancestors of Otho were originally of the town of Ferentum, of an antient and honourable family, and indeed one of the most considerable in Etruria. His grandfather M. Salvius Otho, whose father was a Roman knight, but his mother of mean extraction, for it's not certain whether she was free born, by the favour of Livia Augusta, in whose house he had his education, was made a senator, but never rose higher than the pretorship. His father L. Otho was by the mother's side nobly descended, allied to several great families, so dearly beloved by Tiberius, and so like him in the face, that most people believed he was the father of him. He behaved with great strictness and severity, as well in the city offices as the proconsulate of Africa, and some extraordiary commissions in the troops. He had the courage to punish with death some soldiers in Illyricum, who in the disturbance attempted by Camillus, upon changing their minds, had put to the sword their commanders, as promoters of that insurrection against Claudius. And the execution he ordered to be before his tent under

quamvis ob id ipsum promotos in ampliorem gradum Claudio sciret. Quo facto, sicut gloriam auxit, ita gratiam minuit: quam, tamen mature recuperavit, detecta equitis R. fraude, quem, prodentibus servis, necem Claudio parare compererat. Namq; et senatus honore rarissimo, statua in Palatio posita, prosecutus est eum: et Claudius allectum inter patricios collaudans amplissimis verbis, hoc quoq; adjecit, *Vir, quo meliores liberos habere ne opto quidem.* Ex Albia Terentia splendidissima fœmina duos tulit filios, L. Titianum, et minorem Marcum cognominem sibi. Tulit et filiam, quam nondum nubilem Druso Germanici filio despondit.

2. Otho Imperator iv. kalend. Maij natus est, Camillo Arruntio Domitio Ænobarbo COSS. A prima adolescentia prodigus ac procax, adeo ut sæpe flagris objurgaretur a patre. Ferebatur et vagari noctibus solitus: atque invalidum quemque obviorum vel potulentum corripere, ac distento sago impositum in sublime jactare. Post patris deinde mortem, libertinam aulicam gratiosam, quo efficacius coleret, etiam diligere simulavit, quamvis anum, ac pæne decrepitam. Per hanc insinuatus Neroni, facile summum inter amicos locum tenuit congruentia morum: ut vero quidam tradunt, et consuetudine mutui stupri: ac tantum potentia valuit, ut damnatum repetundis consularem virum, ingens præmium pactus, priusquam plane restitutionem ei impetrasset, non dubitaret in senatum ad agendas gratias introducere.

his own eyes; altho' he knew they had been advanced to higher posts in the army for that very thing by Claudius. By which action, tho' he raised his character in the world, yet he lessened his interest at court; but soon recovered it again, by discovering to Claudius a design upon his life, carried on by a Roman knight, which he had learnt from some of his slaves. For the senate ordered a statue to be erected for him in the palace, which was an honour that had been paid but to very few before him. And Claudius advanced him to the dignity of a patrician; commending him at the same time in the highest terms, and concluding with these words, A man, than whom I don't so much as wish to have children that should be better. *He had two sons by a very noble lady Albia Terentia,* viz. *L. Titianus, and a younger called Mark that had the same cognomen with himself. He had also a daughter, whom he contracted to Drusus Germanicus's son, before she was of age to marry.*

2. *The emperor Otho was born upon the fourth of the calends of May, in the consulship of Camillus Arruntius and Domitius Ænobarbus. He was from his youth so prodigal and wild, that he was oftentimes severely scourged by his father. He was said to run about in the night time, and to seise upon any one he met, that was either drunk or too feeble to make resistance, and toss him in a blanket. After his father's death, in order to make his court the more effectually to a freed woman about the palace, that was in great favour, he pretended to be in love with her, tho' she was old and almost decrepid. Having by her means got into Nero's good graces, he soon came to be one of his principal favourites, by the conformity of his temper with that of the emperor's; or as some say, by a customary practice of mutual pollution. And he had so vast a sway at court, that when a consular gentleman was condemn'd for bribery, having clapped up a bargain with him for a round sum of money, to procure his pardon, before he had quite effected it, he scrupled not to introduce him into the senate, to return his thanks.*

3. Omnium autem consiliorum secretorumque particeps, die quem Nero necandæ matri destinaverat, ad avertendas suspiciones cœnam utriq; exquisitissimæ comitatis dedit. Item Poppæam Sabinam, tunc adhuc amicam ejus, abductam marito, demandatamque interim sibi, nuptiarum specie recepit. Nec corrupisse contentus, adeo dilexit, ut ne rivalem quidem Neronem æquo tulerit animo. Creditur certe non modo missos ad arcessendam non recepisse, sed ipsum etiam exclusisse quondam pro foribus adstantem, miscentemq; frustra minas et preces, ac depositum reposcentem. Quare diducto matrimonio, sepositus est per causam legationis in Lusitaniam. Id satis visum, ne pœna acrior mimum omnem divulgaret: qui tamen sic quoque hoc districho enotuit,

3. *Being now made privy to all the emperor's projects and secrets, upon the day designed for the murther of his mother, he entertained them both at a very splendid feast, to prevent suspicion. Poppæa Sabina, whom Nero being in love with had taken from her husband, and committed to his trust, he received under pretence of marrying her. And not satisfied with debauching her, he loved her so extravagantly, that he could not with patience bear with Nero for his rival. It is however believed he not only refused to admit those sent by Nero to fetch her, but that he once shut him out too and kept him standing before the door, mixing threats and prayers in vain, and demanded back again, what had been entrusted to his keeping. Wherefore his pretended marriage being dissolved, he was sent lieutenant into Lusitania. That treatment of him was thought severe enough, because harsher proceedings might have brought the whole farce to light, which notwithstanding got wind at last, and was published to the world in the following distich,*

Cur Otho mentito sit quæritis exsul honore?
Uxoris mœchus cœperat esse suæ.

Why in feign'd honour's Otho banish'd, why?
With his own wife the rogue was found to lie.

Provinciam administravit quæstorius per decem annos, moderatione atq; abstinentia singulari.

4. Ut tandem ultionis occasio data est, conatibus Galbæ primus accessit: eodemq; momento et ipse spem imperii cepit, magnam quidem et ex conditione temporum, sed aliquanto majorem ex affirmatione Seleuci mathematici, qui cum eum olim superstitem Neroni fore spospondisset, tunc ultro inopinatus advenerat, imperaturum quoq; brevi repromittens. Nullo igitur officii aut ambitionis in quemquam genere omisso, quoties cœna principem ac-

He governed the province in quality of quæstor for ten years, with singular moderation and justice.

4. *As soon as he had an opportunity of revenge given him, he readily joined Galba in his design, and at the same time conceived hopes of the empire for himself, to which he was much encouraged by the condition of the times; but still more by the assurances given him by Seleucus the astrologer, who having formerly told him, he would certainly out-live Nero, came to him at that juncture unexpectedly, promising him the empire again; and that shortly too: Wherefore he let slip no opportunity of making his court to all about him, by all manner of civilities. As oft as he entertained Galba at supper, he distributed to every man*

ciperet,

ciperet, aureos excubanti cohorti viritim dividebat: nec eo minus alium alia via militum demerebatur. Cuidam etiam de parte finium cum vicino litiganti, adhibitus arbiter, totum agrum redemit, emancipavitque: ut jam vix ullus esset, qui non et sentiret et prædicaret solum successione imperii dignum.

5. Speraverat autem fore ut adoptaretur a Galba: idq; in dies exspectabat. Sed post quam, Pisone prælato, spe decidit, ad vim conversus est: instigante super animi dolorem etiam magnitudine æris alieni. Neque enim dissimulabat, *nisi principem, se stare non posset: nihiliq; referre, ab hoste in acie, an in foro sub creditoribus, caderet.* Ante paucos dies servo Cæsaris pro impetrata dispensatione decies sestertium expresserat. Hoc subsidium tanti cœpti fuit. Ac primo quinque speculatoribus commissa est res, deinde decem aliis, quos singuli binos produxerant, omnibus dena sestertia repræsentata, et quinquagena promissa. Per hos sollicitati reliqui, nec adeo multi, haud dubia fiducia in ipso negotio plures affuturos.

6. Erat animus post adoptionem statim Castra occupare, cœnantemq; in Palatio Galbam aggredi: sed obstitit respectus cohortis, quæ tunc excubabat, ne oneraretur invidia, quod ejusdem statione et Cajus fuerat occisus, et desertus Nero. Medium quoq; tempus religio et Seleucus exemit. Ergo destinata die, præmonitis conscii, ut se in foro sub æde Saturni ad Miliarium aureum operirentur, mane Galbam salutavit: utq;

of the battalion at that time attending the emperor as his guard, a gold piece; and endeavoured too, nevertheless, to oblige the rest of the soldiers, one one way, and another another. Being chose an arbitrator by one that had a dispute with his neighbour about a piece of land, he bought it and gave it him; so that now every body thought and said, he was the only man worthy to succeed the emperor.

5. *He was in hopes of being adopted by Galba, and expected it every day. But after he was baulked of those hopes by Piso's being preferred before him, he resolved upon the use of violence to bring his designs about, being pushed on thereto, as well by the greatness of his debts, as the resentment of Galba's behaviour towards him. For he could not forbear taking notice,* that he must sink unless he was emperor, and that it signified nothing whether he fell by the hands of his enemies in the field, or of his creditors in the forum. *He had a few days before squeezed out of a slave of Cæsar's a million of sesterces for a stewardship he procured him. And this was all the fund he had for carrying on so great an enterprise. At first the design was entrusted to only five of the guards, but afterwards to ten others; each of the five naming two. They had every one ten thousand sesterces paid down, and were promised fifty thousand more. By these others were drawn in, but not many, from a confident assurance, that when the matter came to be publickly broached, they should have enough to join them.*

6. *He had at first an intention, immediately after the departure of Piso, to seise the camp, and fall upon Galba, whilst he was at supper in the palace, but was restrained by a regard for the battalion at that time upon duty, lest he should bring too great an odium upon it, because the same happened to be upon the guard before, both when Caius was slain, and Nero deserted. For some time after too he was restrained by a scruple of mind about the luckiness of the season, as also the advice of Seleucus. Wherefore upon the day fixed for the design, having given his accomplices notice to wait*

con-

consueverat, osculo exceptus, etiam sacrificanti interfuit, auditq; prædicta haruspicis. Deinde liberto adesse architectos nuntiante, quod signum convenerat, quasi vænalem domum inspecturus abscessit, proripuitq; se postica parte Palatii ad constitutum. Alii febrem simulasse aiunt, eamq; excusationem proximis mandasse, si quæreretur. Tunc abditus propere muliebri sella in Castra contendit: ac deficientibus lecticariis, cum descendisset, cursumque cepisset, laxato calceo restitit, donec omissa mora succollatus, et a præsente comitatu IMPERATOR consalutatus, inter fastas acclamationes strictosq; gladios ad principia devenit: obvio quoque, non aliter ac si conscius et particeps foret, adhærente. Ibi missis qui Galbam et Pisonem trucidarent, ad conciliandos pollicitationibus militum animos nihil magis pro concione testatus est, quam *id demum se habiturum quod sibi reliquissent.*

for him in the forum, nigh the temple of Saturn, at the gilded Mile-pillar, he went in the morning to pay his respects to Galba; and being received with a kiss as usual, he attended him at sacrifice too, and heard the predictions of the haruspex. After which a freedman of his bringing him word, that the architects were come, which was the signal had been agreed upon, he withdrew as if it were with a design to view a house upon sale, and went out by a back-door of the palace to the place appointed. Some say he pretended himself taken with an ague fit, and ordered those about him to make that excuse for him, if he was enquired after. And then being quickly put into a woman's sedan, he made the best of his way for the camp. But the chairmen growing tired, he came out, and began to run for it; but his shoe coming loose, he stopped again; but being immediately taken up by his attendants upon their shoulders, and unanimously saluted by the title of Emperor, he came amidst lucky acclamations and drawn swords to the principia in the camp, all that met him joining in the cavalcade, as if they had been privy to the design. Upon this sending away some to dispatch Galba and Piso, he said nothing else in his address to the soldiery to secure their affections, but only this, That he should be content with whatever they thought fit to leave him.

7. Deinde vergente jam die ingressus senatum, positique brevi ratione, quasi raptus de publico, et suscipere imperium vi coactus, gesturusq; communi omnium arbitrio, Palatium petit. Ac super cæteras gratulantium adulantiumq; blanditias, ab infima plebe appellatus NERO, nullum indicium recusantis dedit: immo, ut quidam tradiderunt, etiam diplomatibus primisque epistolis suis ad quosdam provinciarum præsides, Neronis cognomen adjecit. Certe et imagines statuasq; ejus reponi passus est: et procuratores atq; libertos ad eadem officia revocavit. Nec quid-

7. *Towards the close of the day, he entered the senate, and after he had made a short speech to them, pretending he had been seised in the streets, and compelled by violence to take the government upon him, which he designed to manage in conjunction with them, he went to the palace. And besides other civilities he received from such as flocked about him to congratulate and flatter him, he was called Nero by the mob, and seemed not at all offended with it. Nay, as some authors tell us, he put the cognomen of Nero to his patents, and the first letters he sent to some governors of provinces. However he suffered all his images and statues to be replaced, and restored his procurators and freedmen to their former posts. And the first thing he signed as emperor, was a promise of fifty millions of*

quam

quam prius pro poteſtate ſubſcripſit, quam quingenties HS. ad peragendam Auream domum. Dicitur ea nocte per quietem pavefactus gemitus maximos edidiſſe: repertuſque a concurſantibus humi ante lectum jacens, per omnia piaculorum genera manes Galbæ, a quo deturbari expelliq; ſe viderat, propitiare tentaſſe: poſtridie quoq; in augurando tempeſtate orta graviter prolapſum, identidem obmurmuraſſe:

ſeſterces to finiſh the Golden-houſe. He is ſaid to have been terribly frighted that night in his ſleep, and to have groaned heavily; and being found, by thoſe that came running in to ſee what the matter was, lying upon the ground before his bed, he endeavoured by all manner of atonements to pacify the ghoſt of Galba, by whom he had ſeen himſelf violently tumbled out of bed. The next day too, as he was taking the omens, a great ſtorm ariſing, and he getting a grievous fall upon it, he now and then muttered to himſelf.

Τί γάρ μοι καὶ μακροῖς ἄυλοῖς.

Wretch! what have I to do with things divine?

8. Sub idem vero tempus, Germaniciani exercitus in Vitellii verba juraverant. Quod ut comperit, auctor ſenatui fuit mittendæ legationis, quæ doceret, electum jam principem; quietem et concordiam ſuaderet. Et tamen per internuntios ac litteras, conſortem imperii, generumque ſe Vitellio obtulit. Verum haud dubio bello, jam ducibus et copiis quas Vitellius præmiſerat, appropinquantibus, animum fidemque prætorianorum erga ſe pæne internecione ampliſſimi ordinis expertus eſt: Placuerat per claſſiarios arma transferri, remittique navibus. Ea cum in caſtris ſub noctem promerentur, inſidias quidam ſuſpicati, tumultum excitaverunt: ac repente omnes, nullo certo duce, in Palatium cucurrerunt, cædem ſenatus flagitantes: repulſiſque tribunorum, qui inhibere tentabant, nonnullis et occiſis, ſic ut erant cruenti, ubinam imperator eſſet requirentes perruperunt in triclinium uſq; nec niſi viſo deſtiterunt. Expeditionem autem impigre atq; etiam præpropere in-

8. *About the ſame time, the armies in Germany ſwore to Vitellius as emperor. Upon news of which he adviſed the ſenate to ſend deputies thither, to inform them, that a prince had been already choſe; and to perſuade them to peace and a good agreement. However, by meſſengers and letters he offered Vitellius to become his partner in the empire, and his ſon-in-law. But a war being now unavoidable, and the generals and troops, which Vitellius had ſent before him, advancing, he had a proof of the affection and fidelity of the guards, which had like to have proved fatal to the ſenatorian order. It was thought proper to ſend away ſome arms to the north of Italy by ſea. As theſe were a fetching out of the camp in the evening, ſome of the ſoldiers ſuſpecting there was treachery in the caſe, made a mighty buſtle about it; and on a ſudden all of them, without any leader, ran to the palace, demanding to have the ſenate all put to the ſword, and having repulſed ſome of the tribunes that endeavoured to ſtop them, and ſlain others, they broke all bloody as they were into the banquetting room, enquiring for the emperor, nor would they ſtir 'till they had ſeen him. He now entered upon his expedition againſt Vitellius with great briſkneſs, but too much precipitation, and without any regard to the ominous circumſtances that at-*

choavit:

choavit: nulla ne religionum quidem cura, sed et motis nec dum conditis ancilibus, quod antiquitus infaustum haberetur: et die, quo cultores deum matris lamentari et plangere incipiunt: præterea adversissimis auspiciis. Nam et victima Diti patri cæsa litavit: cum tali sacrificio contraria exta potiora sint. Et primo egressu inundationibus Tiberis retardatus, ad xx etiam lapidem ruina ædificiorum præclusam viam offendit.

9. Simili temeritate, quamvis dubiam nemini esset quin trahi bellum oporteret, quando et fame et angustiis locorum urgeretur hostis, quam primum tamen decertare statuit: sive impatiens longioris sollicitudinis, speransque ante Vitellii adventum profligari plurimum posse: sive impar militum ardori, pugnam deposcentium. Nec ulli pugnæ affuit, substititque Brixelli. Et tribus quidem, verum mediocribus præliis, apud Alpes, circaque Placentiam, et ad Castoris, quod loco nomen est, vicit: novissimo maximoq; apud Bebriacum fraude superatus est: cum spe colloquii facta, quasi ad conditionem pacis militibus eductis, ex improviso, atq; in ipsa consalutatione, dimicandum fuisset: ac statim moriendi impetum cepit: ut multi, nec frustra opinantur, magis pudore, ne tanto rerum hominumque periculo dominationem sibi asserere perseveraret, quam desperatione ulla, aut diffidentia copiarum; quippe residuis, integrisq; etiam nunc, quas secum ad secundos casus detinuerat, et superveni-

tended it; for the ancilia had been taken out of the temple of Mars for the usual procession, but were not yet replaced, during which time it had of old been looked upon as very unfortunate to engage in any enterprise. He set forward too upon the day, when the worshippers of the mother of the gods begin their lamentations and wailing; with several other very unlucky omens attending him. For in a victim offered to father Dis, he found the signs such as upon all other occasions are looked upon as favourable, whereas in such a sacrifice the contrary intimations are judged the most promising. And at the first setting forward, he was stopped by inundations of the Tiber, and at twenty miles distance from the city, found the road blocked up by the fall of houses.

9. *And tho' it was every body's opinion, that it would be proper to protract the war, by reason the enemy were distressed by famine and the straitness of their quarters, yet he resolved with the like rashness to come to an engagement as soon as possible; whether from an impatience under his present uneasiness of mind, and in hopes of accomplishing his design in a great measure before the arrival of Vitellius, or because he was not able to withstand the violence of the soldiery, who were all clamorous for battle. However he was not in any of the fights that ensued, but stayed behind at Brixellum. He had the better of it in three slight engagements, nigh the Alps, about Placentia, and a place called Castor, but was by the treachery of the enemy defeated in the last and greatest battle, at Bebriacum. For some hopes of a conference being given, and the soldiers being drawn out as it were to hear the conditions of peace, declared very unexpectedly and amidst their mutual salutations, they were obliged to stand to their arms. Immediately upon this he took up a resolution to put an end to his life, more out of shame, as many think, and not without reason, to persist in a struggle for the empire to the hazard of the publick, and so many lives, than out of despair, or any distrust of his troops, for he had still left entire those he had reserved for a second trial of his fortune, and others were coming*

tibus

entibus aliis e dalmatia, Pannoniaque et Mœsia : ne victis quidem adeo afflictis, ut non in ultionem ignominiæ quidvis discriminis ultro, et vel solæ subirent.

10. Interfuit huic bello pater meus Suetonius Lenis, tertiæ decimæ legionis tribunus angusticlavius. Is mox referre crebro solebat, Othonem etiam privatum usq; adeo detestatum civilia arma, ut memorante quodam inter epulas de Cassii Brutiq; exitu, cohorruerit : nec concursurum cum Galba fuisse, nisi confideret sine bello rem transigi posse. Tunc ad despiciendam vitam exemplo manipularis militis concitatum : qui cum cladem exercitus nuntiaret, nec cuiquam fidem faceret, ac nunc mendacii, nunc timoris, quasi fugisset ex acie, argueretur, gladio ante pedes ejus incubuerit. Hoc viso proclamasse eum ajebat, *non amplius se in periculum tales tamque bene meritos conjecturum.* Fratrem igitur, fratrisq; filium, et singulos amicorum cohortatus ut sibi quisq; pro facultate consuleret, ab amplexu et osculo suo dimisit omnes, secretoque captato, binos codicillos exaravit ad sorem consolatorios. Sed et ad Messalinam Neronis, quam matrimonio destinaverat, commendans reliquias suas et memoriam. Quidquid deinde epistolarum erat, ne cui periculo aut noxæ apud victorem forent, concremavit. Divisit et pecunias domesticis ex copia præsenti.

11. Atque ita paratus, intentusque jam morti, tumultu inter moras exorto, ut eos qui discedere, et abire cœptabant, corripi quasi desertores, ditineriq; sensit, *Adjiciamus,* inquit, *vitæ et hanc noctem,* his ipsis,

up from Dalmatia, Pannonia, and Mœsia, nor were these that had been lately defeated, so far discouraged, as not to be very ready alone to run any risk to wipe off their former discharge.

10. *My father Suetonius Lenis was in this battle, being at that time an angusticlavian tribune in the thirteenth legion. He used frequently to say, that Otho before his advancement to the empire, had such an abhorrence of civil war, that upon hearing an account given once at table of the death of Cassius and Brutus, he fell into a trembling, and that he would never have meddled with Galba, but that he was confident, he might carry his point without a war. And that he was then encouraged to despise life by the example of a common soldier, who bringing news of the defeat of the army, and finding that he met with no credit, but was railed at for a liar and a coward, that had run away from the field of battle, he fell upon his sword at the emperor's feet,* upon sight of which, *my father said, Otho cried out,* that he would expose to no further danger such brave fellows, that had deserved so well at his hands. *Wherefore advising his brother, his brother's son, and the rest of his friends to provide for their security in the best manner they could, after he had embraced and kissed them, he sent them away, and then withdrawing into a private room by himself, he writ a large letter of consolation to his sister. He likewise sent another to Messalina, Nero's widow, whom he had intended to marry, recommending to her his relicks and memory. Then he burnt all the letters he had by him, to prevent the danger and mischief that might otherwise befall the writers from the conqueror. And what money he had left, he distributed amongst his domesticks.*

11. *And now being prepared and just upon the point of dispatching himself, there happened in the mean time a great uproar in the camp; whereupon finding that such as were making off had been seised and detained as deserters,* Let us add, *says he,* this night to our life. *Those were his very*

totidemq; verbis vetuitq; vim cuiquam fieri: et in ſerum uſq; patente cubiculo, ſi quis adire vellet, poteſtatem ſui præbuit. Poſt hæc ſedata ſiti gelidæ aquæ potione, arripuit duos pugiones, et explorata utriuſque acie cum alterum pulvino ſubdidiſſet, foribus adopertis arctiſſimo ſomno quievit. Et circa lucem demum expergefactus, uno ſe trajecit ictu infra lævam papillam: irrumpentibuſque ad primum gemitum, modo celans, modo detegens plagam, exanimatus eſt: et celeriter (nam ita præceperat) funeratus, XXXVIII ætatis anno, et XCV imperii die.

12. Tanto Othonis animo nequaquam corpus aut habitus competiit. Fuiſſe enim traditur et modicæ ſtaturæ, et male pedatus, ſcambuſque. Munditiarum vero pæne muliebrium: vulſo corpore: galericulo capiti propter raritatem capillorum adaptato et annexo, ut nemo dignoſceret. Quin et faciem quotidie raſitare, ac pane madido linere conſuetum: idq; inſtituiſſe a prima lanugine, ne barbatus unquam eſſet. Sacra etiam Iſidis ſæpe in linrea religioſaq; veſte propalam celebraſſe. Per quæ factum putem, ut mors ejus minime congruens vitæ, majori miraculo fuerit. Multi præſentium militum cum plurimo fletu manus ac pedes jacentis exoſculati, *fortiſſimum virum, unicum imperatorem* prædicantes, ibidem ſtatim nec procul a rogo vim ſuæ vitæ attulerunt. Multi et abſentium accepto nuntio præ dolore armis inter ſe ad internecionem concurrerunt. Deniq; magna pars hominum, incolumem graviſſime deteſtata,

words. And then he gave orders that no violence ſhould be offered to any body, and keeping his chamber-door open 'till late at night, he gave all that had a mind liberty to come and ſee him. After that quenching his thirſt with a draught of cold water, he took up two ponyards, and having examined the points of both, put one of them under his pillow, and ſhutting his chamber door, ſlept very ſoundly, 'till awaking about break of day, he ran himſelf into the body under the left pap. And ſome breaking into the room, upon the firſt groan he gave, he died ſoon after, one while covering, and another while expoſing his wound to the view of the by-ſtanders. His funeral was diſpatched immediately, according to his own order, in the thirty-eighth year of his age, and ninety fifth day of his reign.

12. *The perſon and appearance of Otho was no ways anſwerable to the mighty reſolution he ſhewed upon this occaſion: for he is ſaid to have been of low ſtature, ſplay-footed, and bandy legged. He was beſides effeminately nice in the care of his perſon; the hair of his body he took away by the roots; and becauſe he was ſomewhat bald, wore a kind of peruke, ſo exactly fitted to his head, that no body could have known it for ſuch. He uſed to ſhave every day, and rub his face with bread ſoaked in aſſes milk, which he begun when the down firſt appeared upon his chin, to prevent his having any beard. They ſay likewiſe he celebrated the holy rites of Iſis publickly, clad in a linen garment, ſuch as is wore by the worſhippers of that goddeſs. All which things, I ſuppoſe, gave occaſion to the world to wonder the more at his death ſo little ſuitable to his life. Many of the ſoldiers then preſent, kiſſing his hands and feet as he lay dead with abundance of tears, and celebrating him as* a moſt gallant man, and an incomparable emperor, *immediately put an end to their own lives on the ſpot, not far from his pile. Many of them too that were at a diſtance, upon hearing the news of his death, in the anguiſh of their ſouls, fell a fighting amongſt themſelves, 'till they diſpatched one another. To*

mor-

mortuum laudibus tulit: ut vulgo jactatum sit etiam, *Galbam ab eo non tam dominandi, quam reip. ac libertatis restituendæ causa interemtum.*

conclude, the generality of mankind, tho' they hated him whilst living, yet extolled him most highly after he was dead: insomuch that it was the common talk and opinion, That Galba had been taken off by him, not so much from a desire to reign himself, as to restore Rome to its antient liberty.

C. SUETONII TRANQUILLI

A. VITELLIUS, IX.

CHAP. I.

VITELLIORUM originem alii aliam, et quidem diversissimam, tradunt: partim veterem et nobilem: partim vero novam et obscuram, atque etiam sordidam. Quod ego per adulatores obtrectatoresq; imperatoris Vitellij evenisse opinarer, nisi aliquanto prius de familiæ conditione variatum esset. Exstat Q. Eulogii ad Q. Vitellium, divi Augusti questorem, libellus, quo continetur, Vitellios Fauno Aboriginum rege, et Vitellia quæ multis locis pro numine coleretur, ortos, toto Latio imperasse. Horum residuam stirpem ex Sabinis transisse Romam, atq; inter patritios allectam: indicia stirpis diu mansisse, viam Vitelliam ab Janiculo ad mare usque: item coloniam ejusdem nominis, quam gentili copia adversus Æquiculos tutandam olim depoposcisse: tempore deinde Samnitici belli præsidio in Apuliam misso, quosdam ex Vitelliis sub-

DIFFERENT authors give very different accounts of the original of the Vitellian family. Some will have it to be antient and noble, others of late standing and obscure, nay very mean indeed; which I should be inclined to think had been occasioned by the flatterers and detractors of Vitellius, after he came to be emperor, but that the condition of that family was differently represented some time before. There is extant a book of Q. Eulogius to Q. Vitellius questor to Augustus, wherein it's said that the Vitellii were descended from Faun king of the Aborigines, and Vitellia, who was worshipped in many places as a goddess, and that they reigned formerly over all Latium. That all who were left of the family, removed out of the country of the Sabines to Rome, and were chose among st the Patricians; that some monuments of the family continued a long time, as the Vitellian way reaching from the Janiculum to the sea, and likewise a colony of that name, which in the days of old they desired leave of the government to defend against the Æquiculi, with a force raised out of their own family only. Also that, in the time of the war with the Samnites, some of the Vitellii that went along with

sedisse

sedisse Nuceriæ; eorumque progeniem longo post intervallo repetisse urbem, atq; ordinem senatorium. Contra, plures auctorem generis libertinum prodiderunt. Cassius Severus, nec minus alii, eundem et sutorem veteramentarium; cujus filius sectionibus et cognituris uberius compendium nactus, ex muliere vulgari, Antiochi cujusdam furnariam exercentis filia, equitem Rom. genuerit. Sed quod discrepat, sit in medio.

2 Cæterum P. Vitellius domo Nuceria, sive ille stirpis antiquæ, sive pudendis parentibus atq; avis, eques certe Romanus, et rerum Augusti procurator, quatuor filios amplissimæ dignitatis cognomines, ac tantum prænominibus distinctos, reliquit, Aulum, Quintum, Publium et Lucium. AULUS in consulatu obiit, quem cum Domitio Neronis Cæsaris patre inierat; prælautus alioqui, famosusq; cœnarum magnificentia. QUINTUS caruit ordine, cum auctore Tiberio seceni minus idoneos senatores, removeriq; placuisset. PUBLIUS Germanici comes Cn. Pisonem inimicum, et interfectorem ejus, accusavit condemnavitque: ac post præturæ honorem inter Sejani conscios arreptus, et in custodiam fratri datus, scalpro librario venas sibi incidit: nec tam mortis pœnitentia quam suorum obtestatione obligari, curarique se passus, in eadem custodia morbo periit. LUCIUS ex consulatu Syriæ præpositus, Artabanum Parthorum regem summis artibus, non modo ad colloquium suum, sed etiam ad veneranda legionum signa pellexit. Mox cum Claudio prin-

the troops raised for the security of Apulia settled at Nuceria, and that their descendants a long time after returned to Rome again, and were chose into the senate. On the other hand the generality of writers say, that the founder of the family was a freedman. Cassius Severus and some others will have it he was a cobler too, whose son having raised a considerable fortune by the purchase of confiscated estates, and the practice of information, begot of a common strumpet, the daughter of one Antiochus a baker, a Roman knight. But of these different accounts the reader is left to judge.

2. *However P. Vitellius of Nuceria, whether he was of an antient family, or sordid extraction, was, it's certain, a Roman knight, and a procurator of Augustus's. He left four sons behind him, all men of very great figure, who had the same cognomen, but the different prænomina of Aulus, Quintus, Publius and Lucius. Aulus died consul, which office he bore together with Domitius the father of Nero Cæsar, otherwise elegant to an excess in his manner of living, and infamous for the vast expence of his entertainments. Quintus was turned out of the senatorian order, when, upon a motion of Tiberius's, it was resolved to purge the senate of such as were in any respect not duly qualified for that honour. Publius was an intimate friend and companion of Germanicus, who prosecuted his enemy and murtherer Cn. Piso, and procured sentence against him, and after he had been pretor, being taken up amongst the accomplices of Sejanus, and delivered into the hands of his brother, to be confined in his house, he opened a vein in order to bleed to death, however he suffered the wound to be bound up and cured, not so much that he was loath to die, as to comply with the importunity of his relations. He died afterwards a natural death in that confinement. Lucius after his consulship was made governor of Syria, and by his politick management not only brought Artabanus, king of the Parthians, to give him an interview, but to worship the standards of the Roman legions. He afterwards bore*

cipe,

cipe, duos insuper ordinarios consulatus, censuramq; gessit. Curam quoq; imperii sustinuit, absente eo, expeditione Britannica: vir innocens, et industrius, sed amore libertinæ perinfamis, cujus etiam salivis melle commistis, nec clam quidem aut raro, sed quotidie ac palam arterias, et fauces pro remedio fovebat. Idem miri in adulando ingenii, primus C. Cæsarem adorari ut Deum instituit: cum reversus ex Syria non aliter adire ausus esset, quam capite velato, circumvertensq; se, deinde procumbens. Claudium uxoribus, libertisque addictum, ne qua non arte demereretur, pro maximo munere a Messalina petiit, ut sibi pedes, præberet excalceandos; detractumq; soccului dextrum, inter togam tunicasque gestavit assidue nonnunquam osculabundus. Narcissi quoq; et Pallantis imagines aureas inter Lares coluit. Hujus et illa vox est, *Sæpe facias*, cum sæculares ludos edenti Claudio gratularetur.

two ordinary consulships, and the censureship too together with the emperor Claudius. He likewise had the care of the empire committed to him, whilst Claudius was absent upon his expedition into Britain, being a man of great integrity and industry, but he lessened his character very much by his passionate fondness for a freed-woman, with whose spittle mixed with honey he used to anoint his throat and chaps by way of remedy for some malady therein, not privately or seldom, but daily and publickly. He had likewise a wonderful disposition for flattery. He first gave rise to the worshipping C. Cæsar as a god, when upon his return from Syria, he would not presume to accost him any otherwise, than with his head covered, turning himself round, and then falling flat upon the earth. And to leave no trick untried to secure the favour of Claudius, who was entirely at the disposal of his wives and freed men, he requested as the greatest favour in the world from Messalina, that she would be pleased to let him take off her shoes, which when he had done, he put up her right shoe, and wore it constantly betwixt his toga and his tunick, kissing it now and then. He likewise worshipped golden images of Narcissus and Pallas amongst his houshold gods. It was he too that, when Claudius exhibited the Secular games, in his compliments to him upon that occasion, had this expression, may you often do the same.

3. Decessit paralysi altero die quam correptus est, duobus filiis superstitibus, quos ex Sextilia probatissima, nec ignobili femina editos Consules vidit, et quidem eodem ambos totoque anno cum majori minor in VI menses successisset. Defunctum senatus publico funere honoravit item statua pro rostris, cum hac inscriptione, PIETATIS IMMOBILIS ERGA PRINCIPEM. Aulus Vitellius L. filius IMP. natus est VIII Kalendas Octobris, vel ut quidam, VII Idus Septembris, Druso Cæsare Norbano Flacco Coss. Genituram ejus prædictam a mathematicis, ita parentes exhorruerunt, ut

3. *He died of a palsy the day after he was first taken with it, leaving two sons behind him, which he had by a most excellent and noble lady Sextilia, and lived to see them both consuls, the same year and the whole year too, the younger succeeding the elder for the latter six months. The senate honoured him after his decease with a funeral at the expence of the publick, as also with a statue in the Rostra, which had this inscription upon the base,* a person of invincible loyalty to his prince. *The emperor Aulus Vitellius the son of this Lucius, was born upon the eighth of the Kalends of October, or, as some say, upon the seventh of the ides of September, in the consulship of Drusus Cæsar and Norbanus Flaccus. His parents were so terrified with the predictions of astrologers upon the calculation*

pater

pater magnopere semper contenderit, ne qua ei provincia vivo se committeretur: mater et missum ad legiones, et appellatum imperatorem pro afflicto statim lamentata sit. Pueritiam primamq; adolescentiam Capreis egit inter Tiberiana scorta, et ipse perpetuo Spintriæ cognomine notatus: existimatusque corporis gratia initium et causa incrementorum patri fuisse.

4. Sequenti quoq; ætate omnibus probris contaminatus, præcipuum in aula locum tenuit: Cajo per aurigandi Claudio per aleæ studium familiaris. Sed aliquanto Neroni acceptior, cum propter eadem hæc, tum peculiari merito: quod præsidens certamini Neroneo, cupientem inter citharædos contendere, nec, quamvis flagitantibus cunctis, promittere audentem, ideoq; egressum Theatro, revocaverat, quasi perseverantis populi legatione suscepta exorandumque præbuerat.

5. Trium itaque principum indulgentia, non solum honoribus, verum et sacerdotiis amplissimis auctus, proconsulatum Africæ post hæc, curam quoq; operum publicorum administravit: et voluntate dispari, et existimatione. In provincia singularem innocentiam præstitit biennio continuato, cum succedenti fratri legatus substitutus esset. At in urbano officio dona atque ornamenta templorum surripuisse, et commutasse quædam ferebatur: proque auro et argento, stannum et aurichalcum suppositisse.

6. Uxorem habuit Petroniam consularis viri filiam, et ex

of his nativity, that his father used his utmost endeavours to prevent his being sent governor into any of the provinces, whilst he was alive. His mother upon his being sent to the legions, and also upon his being proclaimed emperor, immediately lamented him as utterly ruined. He spent his youth amongst the catamites of Tiberius at Capreæ, and was himself constantly stigmatised with the name of Spintria, and was supposed by the gratification of the emperor's lust to have been the occasion of his father's rise.

4. *In the following part of his life too, he was most scandalously vicious, but however in mighty favour at court; being very intimate with Caius, because of his fondness for the exercise of chariot-driving, and with Claudius for his love of gaming: but still more acceptable to Nero, as well upon these same accounts, as for a particular piece of service. When Nero presided in the games instituted by himself, tho' he was extremely desirous to perform amongst the harpers, yet his modesty would not let him, notwithstanding the people begged hard for it. Upon his quitting the theatre Vitellius fetched him back again, pretending he was commissioned by the people who persisted in their suit, to request the favour of his return, and so gave the company a further handle to prevail with him.*

5. *Wherefore by the favour of these three princes he was not only advanced to the great offices of state, but to the highest dignities of the sacred order, after which he held the proconsulship of Africa, and had the superintendency of the publick works, which he managed with a great difference of behaviour, and reputation. For he governed the province with singular integrity for two years together; the latter of which he acted as his brother's deputy who succeeded him. But in his other office at Rome, he was said to pillage the temples of their presents and ornaments, and to make now and then an exchange of tin and brass for gold and silver.*

6. *He had to wife Petronia the daughter of a consular gentleman, and by her*

ex

ex ea filium Petronium caput altero oculo. Hunc heredem a matre sub conditione institutum, si de potestate patris exisset, manu emisit: brevique, ut creditum est, interemit, insimulatum insuper parricidii, et quasi paratum ad scelus venenum ex conscientia hausisset. Duxit mox Galeriam Fundanam prætorio patre. Ac de hac quoq; liberos utriusq; sexus tulit: sed marem titubantia oris, prope mutum, et elinguem.

7. A Galba in inferiorem Germaniam contra opinionem missus est. Adjutum putant T. Junii suffragio, tunc potentissimi, et cui jam pridem per communem factionis suæ favorem conciliatus esset: nisi quod Galba præ se tulit, nullos minus metuendos, quam qui de solo victu cogitarent: ac posse provincialibus copiis profundam ejus expleri gulam, ut cuivis evidens sit, contemtu magis, quam gratia electum. Satis constat exituro viaticum defuisse, tanta egestate rei familiaris, ut uxore et liberis, quos Romæ relinquebat, meritorio cænaculo abditis, domum in reliquam partem anni ablocaret: utq; ex aure matris detractum unionem pigneraverit, ad itineris impensas. Creditorum quidem præsiolantium, ac detinentium turbam, et in iis Sinuessanos Formianosq; quorum publica vectigalia interverterat, non nisi terrore calumniæ amovit: cum libertino cuidam acerbius debitum reposcenti injuriarum formulam, quasi calce ab eo percussus, intendisset, nec aliter quam extortis quinquaginta HS remisisset. Advenientem male animatus erga principem exercitus, pronusq; ad res novas,

a son named Petronius, who was blind of an eye. His mother being willing to appoint him her heir, upon condition he should be discharged from under his father's authority, he discharged him accordingly, but shortly after, as was believed, murthered him, charging him moreover with a design upon his life, and pretending he had from a consciousness of his guilt drank the poison he had prepared for his father. Soon after he married Galeria Fundana, the daughter of a prætorian gentleman; and had by her both sons and daughters, and one son that had such a stammering in his speech, that he was little better than if he had been dumb.

7. *He was sent by Galba into Lower Germany, contrary to his expectation. It is supposed he was assisted therein by the interest of T. Junius, at that time very powerful at court, to whom he had long before been recommended by his favouring the same party that he did in the Circensian games. But Galba openly declared that none were less to be feared, than those who were only concerned for their bellies, and that his profound gut would sure be sufficiently stuffed with the plenty of that province, so that it is plain he was pitched upon for that government, more out of contempt than kindness for him. It is certain, that when he was to set forward, he wanted money for the expences of his journey, his condition at that time being so very strait, that he was obliged to pack his wife and children which he left at Rome, into a garret he hired for them, in order to let his own house for the remaining part of the year, and pawned a pearl too taken from a pendant of his mother's, to defray his charges upon the road. A croud of creditors that were waiting for him in order to stop him, and amongst them the Sinuessani and Formiani, whose taxes he had converted to his own use, he got rid of, by alarming them with the apprehension of false accusation, having brought an action for damages against a certain freed man, that was somewhat brisk in demanding a debt of him, under pretence that he had kicked him, which action he would not drop, 'till he had squeezed out of him fifty thousand sesterces. Upon*

libens

libens ac supinis manibus excepit, velut dono Deum oblatum ter consulis filium, ætate integra, facili ac prodigo animo. Quam veterem de se persuasionem experimentis auxerat, tota via caligatorum quosq; militum obvios exosculans: perq; stabula ac diversoria; mulionibus ac viatoribus præter modum comis: ut mane singulos jamne jentassent sciscitaretur, seque feciſſe ructu quoque ostenderet.

8. Castra vero ingressus nihil cuiquam poscenti negavit: atque etiam ignominiosis notas, reis sordes, damnatis supplicia demsit. Quare vix dum mense transacto, neque diei, neque temporis habita ratione, ac jam vespere subito a militibus e cubiculo raptus, ita ut erat in veste domestica, imperator est consalutatus, circumlatusq; per celeberrimos vicos, strictum divi Julii gladium tenens, detractum delubro Martis, atque in prima gratulatione porrectum sibi a quodam: nec ante in prætorium rediit, quam flagrante triclinio ex conceptu camini. Tum quidem consternatis, et quasi omine adverso anxiis omnibus, inquit, *Bono animo estote, nobis alluxit*; nullo sermone alio apud milites usus. Consentiente deinde etiam jam superioris provinciæ exercitu, qui prius a Galba ad Senatum defecerat, cognomen *Germanici* delatum ab universis cupide recepit: *Augusti* distulit: *Cæsaris* in perpetuum recusavit.

9. Ac subinde cæde Galbæ annuntiata, compositis Germanicis rebus, partitus est copias, quas adversus Othonem præmitteret; quasq; ipse perduceret.

his arrival in the province, the army that was disaffected to Galba, and ripe for rebellion, received him with a hearty welcome and open arms, as if he had been sent them from heaven, being the son of a gentleman that had been thrice consul, in the prime of his years, of an easy prodigal temper, which old opinion of him Vitellius had confirmed by some late practices, having kissed all the common soldiers he met with upon the road, and been excessively complaisant in the inns and stables to the mule-drivers and travellers, asking them in a morning, if they had got their breakfasts, and letting them see by belching that he had.

8. *After he was got into the camp, he denied no man any thing he asked him, and forthwith relieved all that lay under any brand of infamy, prosecution, or sentence of death. Wherefore before a month had passed, without regard to the day or time of the day, he was hurried by the soldiers in the evening out of his bed-chamber in an undress, and unanimously saluted by the title of emperor, and then carried round all the most considerable towns in the neighbourhood, with the sword of Julius Cæsar in his hand, which had by some body or other been taken out of a temple of Mars, and presented to him at the beginning of the solemnity. Nor did he return to his pavilion, 'till his room of entertainment was all in a blaze by the chimney's taking fire. Upon this all being in a mighty consternation, and very much troubled at it, as an unlucky omen, he cried out,* Courage boys, it shines upon us, *which was all he said to the soldiers, upon his advancement. After this the army of the upper province likewise, which had before declared against Galba for the senate, joining in the proceedings, he very forwardly accepted the cognomen of* Germanicus, *offered him by the unanimous consent of both armies, but deferred assuming that of* Augustus, *and for ever refused that of* Cæsar.

9. *Soon after news arriving of the death of Galba, after he had settled his affairs in Germany, he divided his troops into two parts, in order to send one of them before him against Otho, and to follow after*

Præmisso

Præmisso agmini lætum evenit auspicium; siquidem a parte dextra repente aquila advolavit: lustratisq; signis, ingressos viam sensim anteceſſit. At contra ipso movente, statuæ equestres cum plurifariam ei ponerentur, fractis repente cruribus pariter corruerunt: et laurea, quam religiosissime circumdederat, in profluentem excidit. Mox Viennæ pro Tribunali jura reddenti, gallinaceus supra humerum, ac deinde in capite adstitit. Quibus ostentis, par respondit exitus: nam confirmatum per legatos suos imperium, per se retinere non potuit.

10. De Bebriacensi victoria, et Othonis exitu, cum adhuc in Gallia esset, audiit: nihilq; cunctatus, quidquid prætorianarum cohortium fuit, ut pessimi exempli, uno exauctoravit edicto, jussas tribunis tradere arma. Centum autem atq; viginti, quorum libellos Othoni datos invenerat, exposcentium præmia ob editam in cæde Galbæ operam, conquiri, et supplicio affici imperavit: egregie prorsus, atq; magnifice et ut summi principis spem ostenderet, nisi cætera magis ex natura et priore vita sua, quam ex imperii majestate gessisset. Namque itinere inchoato, per medias civitates ritu triumphantium vectus est: perq; flumina delicatissimis navigiis, et variarum coronarum genere redimitis, inter profusissimos opsoniorum apparatus, nulla familiæ aut militis disciplina, rapinas ac petulantiam omnium in jocum vertens, qui non contenti epulo ubiq; publice præbito, quoscumque libuisset, in libertatem asserebant, verbera et plagas, sæpe vulnera, nonnumquam necem repræsentantes adversan-

with the other himself. The part he sent before had a lucky omen; for on a sudden an eagle came flying up to them on the right, and having moved round the standards, went easily before them in their march. But on the other hand, when he begun to move forward, the statues on horse-back, which were erected for him in several places, fell down all together on a sudden with their legs broke; and the laurel crown, which he had for luck's sake put on, fell off his head into a river. Soon after at Vienna, as he was upon the bench trying causes, a cock perched upon his shoulder, and afterwards upon his head. And the issue was answerable to these omens, for he was not able to keep the empire which had been acquired for him by his lieutenants.

10 *He heard of the victory at Bebriacum, and the death of Otho, whilst he was yet in Gaul; and without demurring at all upon the matter, by one proclamation disbanded all the pretorian battalions, as having given a very ill precedent to the armies by the murder of Galba, and commanded them to deliver up their arms to his tribunes. A hundred and twenty, under whose hands he had found petitions presented to Otho for rewards in consideration of their service in the killing of Galba, he moreover ordered to be sought out, and punished. All which was exceedingly well and nobly done, and so as to give hopes of his proving a fine prince, had he not managed his other affairs in a way more agreeable to his own nature and his former manner of life, than the imperial dignity. For after he begun his march, he rid through every city he came to, in a triumphant manner, and sailed down the rivers in his rout, in ships delicately built, and dressed up with various kinds of crowns, amidst the most extravagant entertainments, without the least discipline either in his family or army, making a jest of all the sawcy behaviour and ravage made by his domesticks and soldiers, who not satisfied with the provision every where made for them at the publick expence, set slaves at liberty as they pleased, and if any dared to oppose them, would beat and abuse*

tibus. Utq; campos, in quibus pugnatum est, adiit, abhorrentes quosdam cadaverum tabem, detestabili voce confirmare ausus est, *Optime olere occisum hostem, et melius civem.* Nec eo secius ad leniendam gravitatem odoris plurimum meri propalam hausit, passimq; divisit pari vanitate, atque insolentia. Lapidem memoriæ Othonis inscriptum intuens, *dignum eo Mausoleo* ait: pugionemque, quo se is occiderat, in Aggrippinensem coloniam misit, Marti dedicandum. In Apennini quidem jugis etiam pervigilium egit.

them, oftentimes wound, and sometimes kill them. And when he was got upon the plains where the battle was fought, some being offended at the smell of the carcasses that lay rotting on the ground, he had the impudence to hearten them by that detestable saying, That an enemy when slain smelt very well, especially a fellow citizen. *However to qualify the offensiveness of the stench, he drunk in the face of the army a large quantity of wine, and with the like sillineſs and insolence distributed it about him. Spying a stone with an inscription upon it to the memory of Otho, he said,* he deserved such a Mausoleum; *and sent the ponyard he had killed himself with, to the colony of Agrippina to be dedicated to Mars. And upon the hills of the Apennine he celebrated a pervigilium.*

11. Urbem denique ad classicum introiit paludatus, ferroq; succinctus, inter signa atque vexilla, sagulatis comitibus, ac detectis commilitonum armis. Magis deinde ac magis, omni divino humanoq; jure neglecto, Allienſi die pontificatum maximum cepit: comitia in decem annos ordinavit, seque perpetuum consulem. Et ne cui dubium foret, quod exemplar regendæ reip. eligeret, medio Martio campo adhibita publicorum sacerdotum frequentia, inferias Neroni dedit. Ac sollenni convivio citharœdum placentem palam admonuit, ut et aliquid de Domitio diceret: inchoantique Neroniana cantica, primus exsultans etiam plausit.

11. *Finally he entered the city with trumpets sounding, in his general's cloak, and with his sword on, amidst standards and banners; his attendants being all in the military habit, and the arms of the soldiers uncovered. After this, slighting more and more all law both divine and human, he took upon him the office of high-prieſt, upon the day of the overthrow at Allia; ordered the election of magistrates to be made at once for ten years to come, and made himself consul for life. And to put it out of all doubt, what model he intended to follow in his goverment of the empire, he made his offerings to the ghost of Nero in the middle of the field of Mars, and with a full assembly of the publick prieſts attending him. And at a solemn entertainment, he desired a harper that gave great content to the company, to sing something of Domitius, and upon his beginning some songs of Nero's, he started up before the rest of the company, and clapped him.*

12. Talibus principiis magnam imperii partem, non nisi consilio et arbitrio viliſſimi cujusq; histrionum et aurigarum administravit: et maxime Asiatici liberti. Hunc adolescentulum mutua libidine constu-

12. *After this beginning, he managed his affairs, for the most part of his reign, entirely by the advice and direction of the vileſt amongst the players and charioteers, and especially his freed-man Asiaticus. This fellow had when young been engaged with him in a course of mutual and unnatural*

pra-

pratum, mox tædio profugum, cum Puteolis poſcam vendentem deprehendiſſet, conjecit in compedes, ſtatimque ſolvit, et rurſus in deliciis habuit: iterum deinde ob nimiam contumaciam et ferocitatem gravatus, circumforaneo laniſtæ vendidit, dilatumque ad finem muneris repente ſurripuit, et provincia demum accepta manumiſit: ac primo imperii die aureis donavit annulis ſuper cœnam; cum mane rogantibus pro eo cunctis, deteſtatus eſſet ſeveriſſime talem equeſtris ordinis maculam.

13. Sed vel præcipue luxuriæ ſævitiæque deditus. Epulas trifariam ſemper, interdum quadrifariam diſpertiebat in jentacula, et prandia, et cœnas, commeſſationeſque: facile omnibus ſufficiens, vomitandi conſuetudine. Indicebat autem aliud alii eadem die: nec cuiquam minus ſinguli apparatus quadringenis millibus nummum conſtiterunt. Famoſiſſima ſuper ceteras fuit cæna ei data adventitia a fratre, in qua duo millia lectiſſimorum piſcium, ſeptem avium appoſita traduntur. Hanc quoque exſuperavit ipſe dedicatione patinæ, quam ob immenſam magnitudinem *clypeum Minervæ*, ἀσπίδα πολιέως dictitabat. In hac ſcarorum jocinora, phaſianorum et pavonum cerebella, linguas phœnicopterum, murænarum lactes a Carpathio uſque, fretoque Hiſpaniæ, per navarchos ac triremes petitarum commiſcuit. Ut autem homo non profundæ modo, ſed intempeſtivæ quoque ac ſordidæ gulæ, ne in ſacrificio quidem unquam, aut itinere

pollution, but being at laſt quite weary of the work, ran away. His maſter catched him ſome time after ſelling a liquor called poſca at Puteoli, clapped him in chains, but ſoon releaſed him, and made the ſame lewd uſe of him as before; but being again tired out with his ſawcy rugged temper, ſold him to a ſtroling fencing-maſter; yet when he was to have been brought up to play his part at the concluſion of an entertainment of gladiators, he ſuddenly ſtole him away, and at length upon his being advanced to the government of a province, manumitted him, and on the firſt day of his reign preſented him with gold rings at ſupper, tho' in the morning, when all about him requeſted that favour in his behalf, he expreſſed the utmoſt abhorrence of laying ſo great a blemiſh upon the equeſtrian order.

13. *He was principally addicted to the vices of luxury and avarice. He had always three meals a day, and ſometime four, breakfaſts, dinners, and ſuppers, and drunken repaſts after all. And this load of victuals he could diſpence with well enough, from a cuſtom he had taken up of frequent vomiting. And for theſe ſeveral meals he would make different appointments, at ſo many ſeveral friends' houſes in the ſame day. And none ever came off at a leſs charge than four hundred thouſand ſeſterces. The moſt famous ſupper above all others was that given him by his brother, to welcome him to town; at which were ſerved up, they tell you, no leſs than two thouſand choice fiſhes, and ſeven thouſand fowls. Yet he out-did that too himſelf in a feaſt he made upon the firſt uſe of a diſh of his, which for its bigneſs he called* the ſhield of Minerva. *In this he had toſſed up together the livers of ſcares, the brains of pheaſants and peacocks, with the tongues of flamingos and the guts of lampreys, fetched in large ſhips of war, as far as from the Carpathian ſea, and the Spaniſh ſtreights. But he was not only a man of an inſatiable appetite, but would gratify it too at unſeaſonable times, and with any coarſe ſtuff that came in his way, ſo that at a ſacrifice he could not forbear ſnatching from the fire fleſh and cakes, which he would eat upon*

ullo temperavit, quin inter altaria ibidem ſtatim viſcus et farra pæne rapta e foco manderet; circaque viarum popinas fumantia opſonia, vel pridiana atque ſemeſa.

14. Pronus vero ad cujuſque et quacumque de cauſa, necem atq; ſupplicium: nobiles viros, condiſcipulos, et æquales ſuos omnibus blanditiis tantum non ad ſocietatem imperii allicefactos, vario genere fraudis occidit: etiam unum veneno manu ſua porrecto in aquæ frigidæ potione, quam is affectus febre poſcerat. Tum fœneratorum et ſtipulatorum publicanorumque, qui unquam ſe aut Romæ debitum, aut in via portorium flagitaſſent, vix ulli pepercit. Ex quibus quendam in ipſa ſalutatione ſupplicio traditum, ſtatimq; revocatum, cunctis clementiam laudantibus, coram interfici juſſit, *velle ſe* dicens *paſcere oculos*. Alterius pœnæ duos filios adjecit deprecari pro patre conatos. Sed et equitem Romanum proclamantem, cum raperetur ad pœnam, *Heres meus es*, exhibere teſtamenti tabulas coegit: utque legit coheredem ſibi libertum ejus adſcriptum, jugulari cum liberto imperavit. Quoſdam et de plebe ob id ipſum, quod Venetæ factioni clare maledixerant, interemit: contemtu ſui, et nova ſpe id auſos opinatus. Nullis tamen infenſior, quam vernaculis, et mathematicis, ut quiſq; deferretur, inauditum capite puniebat. Exacerbatus, quod poſt edictum ſuum, quo jubebat intra kal. Octobris urbe Italiaq; mathematici excederent, ſtatim libellus eſt propoſitus, *et Chaldæos dicere, Bonum factum, ne Vitellius Germanicus intra eundem kalendarum diem uſquam*

the ſpot; and in a journey he would do the ſame in the victualling-houſes upon the road, whether the meat was freſh dreſſed and ſmoaking hot, or what had been left the day before, and was half eaten, it was all one to him, down it went.

14. *He had a wonderful inclination to be puniſhing, and with death too, without any diſtinction of perſons or occaſions. Several noblemen, his ſchoolfellows and comrades, he invited to court, with ſuch an exceſs of complaiſance, as if he had meant almoſt to make them his partners in the empire; yet he killed them all by one baſe means or other. To one he gave poiſon with his own hand in a cup of cold water he called for in a fever. Then he ſcarce ſpared one of all the uſurers, attornies and publicans, that had ever demanded a debt of him at Rome, or any toll or cuſtom upon the road. One of which in the very act of paying his reſpects to him, he ordered away for execution, but immediately ſent for him again, upon which all about him applauding his clemency, he commanded him to be ſlain in his preſence, ſaying,* He had a mind to feed his eyes. *Two ſons interceding for their father, he ordered to be executed along with him. A Roman knight too upon being hurried away for execution, crying out to him,* you are my heir, *he made him produce his will, and finding he had made his freed-man joint heir with him, he commanded him and his freed-man to have their throats cut both together. He put to death ſome of the common people, for curſing aloud the blue party in the Circenſian games, ſuppoſing it was done in contempt of himſelf, and the expectation of a revolution in the government. But he was againſt none more ſevere than drolls and aſtrologers; immediately as any one was but informed againſt, he put him to death without the formality of a tryal; being ſadly enraged againſt them, becauſe after his proclamation, whereby he commanded all aſtrologers to quit the city and Italy too, before the calenas of October, the following words were immediately poſted up in town,* That the Chaldæans likewiſe publiſhed their proclamation,

eſſet.

ſſet. Suſpectus et in morte matris fuit, quaſi ægræ præberi cibum prohibuiſſet, vaticinante Catta muliere, cui velut oraculo acquieſcebat, *ita demum firmiter ac diutiſſime imperaturum, ſi ſuperſtes parenti exſtitiſſet.* Et alii tradunt, ipſam tædio præſentium et imminentium metu, venenum a filio impetraſſe haud ſane difficulter.

that the ſame Vitellius Germanicus ſhould be ſo no more, by the day of the ſaid calends. *He was ſuſpected too for his mother's death, as if he had forbid any ſuſtenance to be given her, when ſhe was not well; a German witch whom he conſided in as an oracle, having told him,* That he would reign ſecure, and for a long time, if he ſurvived his mother. *But others ſay, that ſhe being quite weary of the preſent ſtate of affairs, and apprehenſive of the future, obtained without much difficulty a doſe of poiſon from her ſon.*

15. Octavo imperii menſe deſciverunt ab eo exercitus Mœſiarum atque Pannoniæ: item ex tranſmarinis, Judaicus et Syriacus: ac pars in abſentis, pars in præſentis Veſpaſiani, verba jurarunt. Ad retinendum ergo ceterorum hominum ſtudium ac favorem, nihil non publice privatimq; nullo adhibito modo, largitus eſt. Delectum quoque ea conditione in urbe egit, ut voluntariis non modo miſſionem poſt victoriam, ſed etiam veteranorum juſtæq; militiæ commoda polliceretur. Urgenti deinde terra marique hoſti, hinc fratrem cum claſſe, ac tironibus et gladiatorum manu oppoſuit: hinc et Berbiacenſes copias, et duces. Atque ubiq; aut ſuperatus, aut proditus, ſalutem ſibi, et millies H. S. a Flavio Sabino Veſpaſiani fratre pepigit: ſtatimq; pro gradibus Palatii apud frequentes milites *cedere ſe imperio, quod invitus recepiſſet* profeſſus, cunctis reclamantibus rem diſtulit: ac nocte interpoſita primo diluculo ſordidatus deſcendit ad roſtra: multiſq; cum lachrymis eadem verba, verum e libello, teſtatus eſt. Rurſus interpellante milite, ac populo, et ne deficeret hortante, omnemque operam ſuam certatim pollicente, animum reſumpſit. Sabi-

15. *In the eighth month of his reign, the armies of both Mæſias and Pannonia revolted from him; as did likewiſe, of the armies beyond ſea, thoſe in Judæa and Syria, part of which took an oath to Veſpaſian as their emperor, being upon the ſpot with them; and others where he was not perſonally preſent, did the ſame for him. Wherefore Vitellius to ſecure the favour and affection of the people, gave about him all that he had, publickly and privately, in the moſt extravagant manner. He likewiſe made a levy of ſoldiers in town, and promiſed all that would come in as volunteers, not only their diſcharge after the victory, but likewiſe all the advantages due to veterans that had ſerved up their time in the wars completely. The enemy now preſſing on both by ſea and land, on one hand he oppoſed againſt them his brother with a fleet, the new levies, and a body of gladiators; and in another quarter, the troops and generals that were engaged at Bebriacum. But being every where beaten or betrayed, he came to an agreement with Flavius Sabinus, Veſpaſian's brother, to abdicate, upon the condition of having his life and a hundred millions of ſeſterces granted him, and immediately upon the palace ſteps publickly declared to the ſoldiers there aſſembled in a full body,* that he reſigned the government, which he had received againſt his will. *But they all remonſtrating againſt it, he deferred the matter; and the next day betimes in the morning came down to the forum in a very poor habit, and with a great many tears repeated the ſame words from a writing he held in his*

numq;

rumq; et reliquos Flavianos nihil jam metuentes, vi subita in Capitolium compulit; succensoque templo Jovis Opt. Max. oppressit. Cum et prælium, et incendium e Tiberiana prospiceret domo inter epulas. Non multo post pœnitens facti et in alios culpam conferens, vocata concione juravit, coegitque jurare ceteros, *nihil sibi antiquius quiete publica fore.* Tunc solutum a latere pugionem, consuli primum, deinde illo recusante, magistratibus, ac mox senatoribus singulis porrigens; nullo recipiente, quasi in æde Concordiæ positurus, abscessit. Sed quibusdam acclamantibus, *ipsum esse Concordiam*, rediit: nec solum retinere se ferrum affirmavit, verum etiam *Concordiæ* recipere cognomen.

hand; but the soldiers again interposing, and the people too, and encouraging him to have a good heart, and with great appearance of zeal promising him their service, he recovered his courage, and forced Sabinus and the rest of the Flavian party, who now thought themselves secure, into the capitol, where he destroyed them all by setting fire to the temple of Jupiter, whilst he beheld the battle and the fire from Tiberius's house, where he was at an entertainment. Not long after repenting of what he had done, and throwing the blame of it upon others; he summoned the people together, and swore himself, and obliged the rest to swear, To have the utmost regard to the peace of the publick. *Then taking his dagger from his side, he presented it first to the consul, and upon his refusing it, to the magistrates, and then to every one of the senators; but none of them being willing to accept it, he went away as if he meant to lay it up in the temple of Concord. But some crying out* that he was Concord, *he came back again, and said that he would not only keep his sword, but for the future wear the cognomen of* Concord.

16. Suasit Senatui, ut legatos cum virginibus vestalibus mitterent, pacem, aut certe tempus ad consultandum petituros. Postridie responsa opperienti, nuntiatum est per exploratorem, hostem appropinquare. Continuo igitur abstrusus gestatoria sella, duobus solis comitibus, pistore et coquo, Aventinum, et paternam domum clam petiit, ut inde in Campaniam fugeret. Mox levi rumore, et incerto tanquam pax impetrata esset, referri se in Palatium passus est: ubi cum deserta omnia reperisset, dilabentibus etiam qui simul erant, zona se aureorum plena circumdedit: confugitque in cellulam janitoris, religato pro foribus cane, lectoq; et culcita objectis.

16. *He advised the senate to send deputies with the vestal virgins, to desire peace, or at least time to consider of matters. The day after, whilst he was waiting for an answer, he received advice by a scout, that the enemy was advancing. Wherefore immediately clapping himself into a sedan, with two attendants only, a baker and a cook, he privately made off for Aventinum, and his father's house there, in order to fly from thence into Campania. But presently an idle groundless report flying about, as if the enemy were willing to come to terms, he suffered himself to be carried back to the palace. But finding no body there, and those too that were with him slipping off, he girt about him a belt stuffed full with gold pieces, and then ran into the porter's lodge, tying the dog before the door, and clapping the bed and bedding against it.*

17. Irruperant autem jam agminis antecessores; ac, nemine obvio, rimabantur, ut fit, singula. Ab iis extractus e

17. *And now the fore-runners of the enemy's army had broke into the palace, and meeting with no body, searched all places, as was natural upon such an occa-*

latebra

latebra ſciſcitantes *quiſnam eſſet* (nam ignorabatur) et *ubi eſſe Vitellium ſciret*, mendacio eluſit. Deinde agnitus rogare non deſtitit, quaſi quædam de ſalute Veſpaſiani dicturus, ut cuſtodiretur interim vel in carcere: donec religatis poſt terga manibus, injecto cervicibus laqueo, veſte diſciſſa ſeminudus in forum tractus eſt, inter magna rerum verborumq; ludibria, per totum Viæ ſacræ ſpatium, reducto coma capite, ceu noxii ſolent, atq; etiam mento mucrone gladii ſubjecto, ut viſendam præberet faciem, neve ſubmitteret, quibuſdam ſtercore et cæno inceſſentibus, aliis *incendiarium* et *patinarium* vociferantibus, parte vulgi etiam corporis vitia exprobrante (erat enim in eo enormis proceritas, facies rubida plerumq; ex vinolentia, venter obeſus, alterum femur ſubdebile, impulſu olim quadrigæ, cum auriganti Cajo miniſtratorem exhiberet); tandem apud Gemonias minutiſſimis ictibus excarnificatus, atq; confectus eſt, et inde unco tractus in Tiberim.

18. Periit cum fratre, et filio, anno vitæ ſeptimo quinquageſimo, nec fefellit conjecturam eorum, qui augurio, quod factum ei Viennæ oſtendimus, non aliud portendi prædixerant, quam venturum in alicujus Gallicani hominis poteſtatem: ſiquidem ab Antonio Primo adverſarum partium duce oppreſſus eſt: cui Toloſæ nato cognomen in pueritia *Becco* fuerat, id valet, gallinacei roſtrum.

ſion. Being dragged by them out of his cell, he was aſked who he was *(for they did not know him)* and if he knew where Vitellius was, *and impoſed upon them by a lie. But at laſt being diſcovered, he begged hard to be kept, if it were in priſon, as if he had ſomething to ſay relating to the ſecurity of Veſpaſian's perſon, 'till he was dragged half-naked into the forum, with his hands tied behind him, a rope about his neck, and his cloaths all torn, amidſt the utmoſt abuſe both by word and deed, all along the Via ſacra, his head being held back by the hair, in the manner condemned criminals are treated, and the point of a ſword put under his chin, that he might not hang down his head, but hold up his face to publick view, ſeveral in the mean time pelting him with dung and other dirt, whilſt others called him* incendiary *and* glutton, *and the mob many of them upbraided him with the defects of his perſon (for he was monſtrouſly tall, and had a face uſually very red with hard drinking, a big belly, and one thigh weakly, occaſioned by a chariot's running againſt him, as he was attending upon Caius in his exerciſe of driving.) At length upon the Scalæ Gemoniæ he was tormented and diſpatched in a lingering tedious manner, and then dragged by a hook into the Tiber.*

18. *He loſt his life, together with his brother and ſon, in the fifty ſeventh year of his age, and verified the conjecture of thoſe, who from the omen which we have above related, happened to him at Vienna, foretold he would be made priſoner by ſome Gaul! for he was ſeiſed by Antonius Primus a general of the adverſe party, who was born at Tholouſe, and when a boy, had the name of* Beccus *which ſignifies a cock's bill.*

C. SUETONII TRANQUILLI

T. Flavius Vespasianus Augustus, X.

CHAP. I.

REBELLIONE trium principum et cæde, incertum diu et quasi vagum imperium suscepit firmavitq; tandem gens Flavia: obscura illa quidem, ac sine ullis majorum imaginibus: sed tamen reipubl. nequaquam pœnitenda: constet licet Domitianum cupiditatis ac sævitiæ merito pœnas luisse. Titus Flavius Petronius, municeps Reatinus, bello civili Pompejanarum partium centurio, incertum sponte an evocatus, profugit ex Pharsalica acie, domumq; se contulit. Ubi deinde venia et missione impetrata, coactiones argentarias factitavit. Hujus filius cognomine Sabinus expers militiæ (etsi quidam eum primipilarem, nonnulli, cum adhuc ordines ducerer, sacramento solutum per caussam valetudinis, tradunt) publicum quadragesimæ in Asia egit. Manebantq; imagines a civitatibus ei positæ sub hoc titulo, καλῶς τελωνήσαντι. Postea fœnus apud Helvetios exercuit, ibiq; diem obiit, superstitibus uxore Vespasia Polla, et duobus ex ea liberis: quorum major Sabinus ad Præfecturam urbis, minor Vespasianus ad principatum usque processit. Polla Nursiæ honesto genere

THE empire which had now been a long time in an uncertain and an unsettled condition, by the rebellion and violent death of three several princes, was at length reduced to a state of peace and security by the Flavian family: a family obscure indeed, and ignoble, yet such as the publick had no reason to be sorry for the rise of; tho' it is acknowledged that Domitian met with the just reward of his avarice and cruelty. Titus Flavius Petronius, a native of Reate, whether a centurion or an evocatus of Pompey's party in the civil war, is uncertain, fled out of the battle of Pharsalia, and went home. Where having at last obtained his pardon and discharge, he became a collector of monies raised by publick sales in the way of auction. His son sirnamed Sabinus was never engaged in the military service (tho' some say he was a centurion of the first rank, and others, that whilst he was such, he was discharged upon account of his bad state of health) this Sabinus, I say, was a collector of the custom of the fortieth penny in Asia. And there were remaining, at the time of the advancement of the family, several statues that had been erected for him by the cities of that province, with this inscription, To the honest Publican. *After that he turned usurer amongst the Helvetii, and there died, leaving behind him his wife Vespasia Polla, and two sons by her; the eldest of which Sabinus came to be præfect of the city, and the younger Vespasian to be emperor. Polla was de-*

orta,

orta, habuit Vespasium Pollionem, ter tribunum militum, præfectumque castrorum, fratremque Senatorem prætoriæ dignitatis. Locus etiam nunc ad sextum milliarium a Nursia Spoletium euntibus in monte summo appellatur Vespasiæ; ubi Vespasiorum complura monumenta exstant, magnum indicium splendoris familiæ, et vetustatis. Non negaverim jactatum a quibusdam, Petronii patrem e regione Transpadana fuisse mancipem operarum, quæ Umbria in Sabinos ad culturam agrorum quotannis commeare solerent: subsediſſe autem in oppido Reatino, uxore ibidem ducta. Ipse ne vestigium quidem de hoc, quamvis satis curiose inquirerem, inveni.

2. Vespasianus natus est in Sabinis ultra Reate, vico modico, cui nomen est Phalacrine, xv. kalendas Decembris vesperi, Q. Sulpicio Camerino, C. Poppæo Sabino COSS. quinquennio antequam Augustus excederet: educatus sub paterna avia Tertulla, in prædiis Cosanis. Quare princeps quoq; et locum incunabulorum assidue frequentavit, manente villa, qualis fuerat olim: ne quid scilicet oculorum consuetudini deperiret. Et aviæ memoriam tantopere dilexit, ut solennibus ac festis diebus pocillo quoque ejus argenteo potare perseveraverit. Sumta toga virili, latum clavum, quamquam fratre adepto, diu aversatus est: nec ut tandem appeteret, compelli nisi a matre potuit. Ea demum extudit, magis convicio quam precibus vel auctoritate, dum eum idemtidem per contumeliam anteambulonem fratris appellat. Tribunatu militum in Thracia meruit. Quæstor Cre-

scended of a good family at Nursia, whose father was Vespasius Pollio, thrice made tribune of the soldiers, and at last præfect of the camp; and her brother was a senator of prætorian dignity. There is to this day about six miles from Nursia in the road to Spoletium, a place upon the top of a mountain called Vespasiæ; where there are several monuments of the Vespasii, a sufficient proof of the splendor and antiquity of the family. I must not deny that some have pretended to say, that Petronius's father was a native of Gallia Transpadana, whose employment was to hire work folks that used to go yearly from the country of Umbria into that of the Sabines, to assist them in their husbandry, but that he settled at last in the town of Reate, and married there. But of this I have not been able to discover the least proof, upon the strictest enquiry.

2 *Vespasian was born in the country of the Sabines, beyond Reate, in a little country town called Phalacrine, upon the fifteenth of the calends of December in the evening, in the consulship of Q. Sulpicius Camerinus and C. Poppæus Sabinus, five years before the death of Augustus; and was educated under the care of Tertulla his grandmother by the father's side, upon an estate belonging to the family at Cosa. After his advancement to the empire, he used very much to frequent the place where he spent his infancy, and the villa was continued in the same condition, that he might see every thing about him just as he had been used to do. And he had such a dear love for the memory of his grand-mother, that upon solemn occasions and festival days, he constantly used to drink out of a silver cup of her's. After he took upon him the habit of manhood, he had a long time an aversion for the senatorian tunick, tho' his brother had obtained it; nor could he be engaged by any body but his mother to sue for that badge of honour. She at length did indeed drive him to it, more by reproaching him about it, than by her intreaties and authority, calling him now and then by way of abuse his brother's footman. He served in quality of*

tam et Cyrenas provinciam sorte cepit. Ædilitatis, ac mox præturæ candidatus, etiam non sine repulsa, sextoque loco vix adeptus est. Ac prima statim petitione, et in primis prætor, insensus senatui, Cajum ne quo non genere demereretur, ludos extraordinarios pro victoria ejus Germanica depoposcit, pœnæque conjuratorum addendum censuit, ut insepulti projicerentur. Egit et gratias ei apud amplissimum ordinem, quod se honore cœnæ dignatus esset.

a tribune in Thrace. When he was made quæstor, he got by lot the province of Crete and Cyrene. He was candidate for the ædileship, and soon after for the prætorship, not without a refusal in the former case, but at last with much ado he came in sixth in the poll-books. But the office of prætor he carried upon the first attempt, and came in with the foremost in number of votes. Being incensed against the senate, in order to gain by all possible means the good graces of Caius, he demanded of the house extraordinary games for his success in Germany, and advised to add to the other punishment of the conspirators against his life, the exposing of their corpse unburied. He likewise gave him thanks before that honourable house for the honour of being admitted to his table.

3. Inter hæc Flaviam Domitillam duxit uxorem, Statillii Capellæ equitis R. Sabratensis ex Africa delicatam olim, Latinæq; conditionis, sed mox ingenuam et civem Romanam recuperatorio judicio pronuntiatam, patre asserente Flavio Liberali Ferentini genito, nec quidquam amplius quam quæstorio scriba. Ex hac liberos tulit, Titum, et Domitianum, et Domitillam. Uxori ac filiæ superstes fuit: atque utramque adhuc privatus amisit. Post uxoris excessum, Cænidem Antoniæ libertam, et a manu, dilectam quondam sibi revocavit in contubernium: habuitque etiam imperator pæne justæ uxoris loco.

3. *In the mean time he married Flavia Domitilla, who had formerly been miss to Statillius Capella a Roman knight of Sabrata in Africa, and of Latin condition, but was soon after declared a free-born citizen of Rome, in a trial before the judges called recuperatores, and brought by her father Flavius Liberalis a native of Ferentinum, and no more than a secretary to a quæstor. By her he had the following children, Titus, Domitian and Domitilla. He out-liv'd his wife and daughter, and lost them both before he was made emperor. After the death of his wife, he took again to his bed his former concubine Cænis, the freed-woman of Antonia, and her amanuensis, and kept her even after he was emperor, almost as if she had been his wife.*

4. Claudio principe, Narcissi gratia legatus legionis in Germaniam missus est; inde in Britanniam translatus, tricies cum hoste conflixit. Duas validissimas gentes, superque xx oppida, et insulam Vectem Britanniæ proximam, in deditionem redegit: partim Auli Plautii consularis legati, partim Claudii ipsius ductu. Quare

4. *In the reign of Claudius, by the interest of Narcissus, he was sent lieutenant-general of a legion into Germany; from whence being removed into Britain, he engaged the enemy in thirty several battles, and reduced under the Roman subjection two very strong nations, and above twenty great towns, and the isle of Wight upon the coast of Britain, partly under the command of Aulus Plautius, and partly under that of Claudius himself. For which behaviour he*

tri-

triumphalia ornamenta, et in ſpatio brevi, duplex ſacerdotium accepit. Præterea conſulatum, quem geſſit per duos noviſſimos anni menſes. Medium tempus ad proconſulatum uſque, in otio ſeceſſuque egit, Agrippinam timens potentem adhuc apud filium et defuncti quoq; Narciſſi amicos peroſam. Exin ſortitus Africam, integerrime, nec ſine magna dignatione adminiſtravit: niſi quod Adrumeti ſeditione quadam rapa in eum jacta ſunt. Rediit certe nihilo opulentior, ut qui prope labefacta jam fide omnia prædia fratri obligarit: neceſſarioque ad mangonicos quæſtus ſuſtinendæ dignitatis cauſa deſcenderit, propter quod vulgo Mulio vocabatur. Convictus quoque dicitur, ducenta HS. expreſſiſſe juveni, cui latumclavum adverſus patris voluntatem impetrarat, eoque nomine graviter increpitus. Peregrinatione Achaica inter comites Neronis, cum cantante eo aut diſcederet ſæpius at præſens obdormiſceret, graviſſimam contraxit offenſam: prohibituſque non contubernio modo, ſed etiam publica ſalutatione, ſeceſſit in parvam ac deviam civitatem, quoad latenti, etiamque extrema metuenti, provincia cum exercitu oblata eſt. Percrebuerat Oriente toto vetus et conſtans opinio, *eſſe in fatis, ut eo tempore Judæa profecti rerum potirentur.* Id de imperatore Romano, quantum eventu poſtea patuit, prædictum. Judæi ad ſe trahentes, rebellarunt: cæſoq; præpoſito, legatum inſuper Syriæ conſularem ſuppetias ferentem, rapta aquila fugaverunt. Ad hunc motum comprimendum cum exercitu ampliore et non inſtrenuo du-

received the triumphal ornaments, and in a ſhort time after two prieſts offices, beſides the conſulſhip, which he held for the two laſt months of the year. The time following his proconſulſhip, he ſpent in eaſe and retirement, for fear of Agrippina, who ſtill a mighty ſway with her ſon, and hated all the friends of Narciſſus, who was then dead. Afterwards he got by lot the province of Africa, which he governed with great integrity, and met with as great reſpect from the provincials, excepting that once in an uproar at Adrumetum, he was pelted with turnips. It's certain he came home again ne'er a whit the richer, for his credit was ſo low, that he was obliged to morgage his whole eſtate in land to his brother, and was reduced to the neceſſity of trading in mules, for the ſupport of his dignity, for which reaſon he was commonly called, The Muleteer. He is ſaid too to have been convicted of ſqueezing out of a young gentleman two hundred thouſand Seſterces for procuring him the latus-clavus, contrary to the mind of his father, and was ſeverely reprimanded for it. In his attendance upon Nero in Achaia, he would frequently withdraw out of the theatre, whilſt he was ſinging, and when he was preſent take a nap; which gave huge offence, inſomuch that he was not only turned out of the court, but debarred the liberty of ſaluting him in publick; whereupon he retired a little out of the city, where he continued 'till a province with an army, was offered him, as he lay ſkulking there in conſtant fear of his life. A ſtrong fancy had now of a long time paſſed currrent through all the eaſt, That a prince from Judea ſhould at that time be maſter of the world. *This which, as the event ſhewed, was a prophecy of the riſe of a Roman emperor, the Jews taking to themſelves, broke out in a rebellion, and having ſlain their governor, routed moreover the conſular lieutenant of Syria, that was coming to his aſſiſtance, and took an eagle, the ſtandard of one of his legions. As the ſuppreſſing of this rebellion appeared to require a ſtronger force, and an active general, that might be ſafely truſted in an affair of ſo much importance,*

ce, cui tamen tuto tanta res committeretur, opus esset, ipse potissimum delectus est: ut industriæ expertæ, nec metuendus ullo modo ob humilitatem generis ac nominis. Additis igitur ad copias duabus legionibus, octo alis, cohortibus decem, atque inter legatos majore filio assumto, ut primum provinciam attigit, proximas quoq; convertit in se: correcta statim castrorum disciplina: uno quoq; et altero prælio tam constanter inito, ut in oppugnatione castelli lapidis ictum genu, scuto sagittas aliquot exceperit.

he was above all others made choice of, both as a person of known industry, as also not to be feared in the least, by reason of the obscurity of his birth and name. Wherefore two legions, eight squadrons of horse, and ten separate battalions of foot being added to the former tooops in Judea, and taking his elder son along with him as his lieutenant; as soon as he came into the province, he turned the eyes of the neighbouring provinces upon him, by reforming immediately the discipline of the camp, and engaging the enemy once or twice with that resolution, that in the attack of a castle, he had his knee hurt by the stroke of a stone, and received several arrows in his shield.

5. Post Neronem Galbamque, Othone atque Vitellio de principatu certantibus in spem imperii venit, jam pridem sibi per hæc ostenta conceptam. In suburbano Flaviorum quercus antiqua, quæ erat Marti sacra, per tres Vespasiæ partus singulos repente ramos a frutice dedit, haud dubia signa futuri cujusque fati. Primum exilem, et cito arefactum: ideoque puella nata non perannavit: secundum prævalidum, ac prolixum, et qui magnam felicitatem portenderet: tertium vero instar arboris. Quare patrem Sabinum ferunt haruspicio insuper confirmatum, renuntiasse matri, *nepotem ei Cæsarem genitum:* nec illam quidquam aliud, quam cachinnasse, mirantem, *quod adhuc se mentis compote deliraret jam filius suus.* Mox cum ædilem eum C. Cæsar succensens, propter curam verrendis viis non adhibitam, luto jussisset oppleri, congesto per milites in prætextæ sinum, non defuerunt, qui interpretarentur, quandoque proculcatam, desertamque rempublicam civili aliqua perturbatione, in tutelam ejus, ac velut in gremium de-

5. *After Nero and Galba, whilst Otho and Vitellius were contending for the sovereignty, he was in hopes of coming in for the empire, which he had indeed conceived long before, from the encouragement of the following omens. There was an old oak upon an estate belonging to the Flavian family in the neighbourhood of Reate, sacred to Mars, which at the three several deliveries of Vespasia, put out each time a new branch, which proved plain intimations of the future fortune of each child. The first was but a slender one, and quickly withered away, and accordingly the girl that was then born did not live a year to an end. The second was strong and tall, which portended great good fortune; but the third was like a tree. Wherefore they say that his father Sabinus being moreover encouraged by some observations of the aruspices, told his mother* that she had got a grandson that would be emperor of Rome, *at which she laughed heartily, and wondered, she said,* that her son should doat already, whereas she still continued very sensible. *Afterwards in his ædileship, when C. Cæsar being in a rage at him, for not taking care to have the streets kept clean, ordered the bosom of his gown to be stuffed with dirt; some as that time construed it as a sign, that the government being trampled under foot and deserted in some civil commotion, would fall under his protection, and as it were into his lap.*

venturam:

venturam: Prandente eo quondam canis extrarius e trivio manum humanam, intulit, mensæq; subjecit. Cœnante rursus, bos arator decusso jugo, triclinium irrupit: ac fugatis ministris, quasi repente defessus, procidit ad ipsos accumbentis pedes, cervicemque submisit. Arbor quoque cupressus in agro avito sine ulla vi tempestatis evulsa radicitus, atq; prostrata, nisequenti die viridior ac firmior resurrexit. At in Achaja somnavit, initium sibi suisque felicitatis futurum, simul ac dens Neroni exemtus esset: evenitque, ut sequenti die progressus in atrium medicus dentem ei ostenderet tantum quod exemtum. Apud Judæam Carmeli Dei oraculum consulentem, ita confirmavere sortes, ut quidquid cogitaret, volveretque animo quamlibet magnum, id esse proventurum pollicerentur. Et unus ex nobilibus captivis Josephus, cum conjiceretur in vincula constantissime asseveravit fore, ut ab eodem brevi solveretur, verum jam imperatore. Nuntiabantur et ex urbe præsagia, Neronem diebus ultimis monitum per quietem, ut thensam Jovis optimi maximi e sacrario in domum Vespasiani, et in circum deduceret. Ac non multo post, comitia secundi consulatus in eunte Galba, statua Divi Julii ad Orientem sponte conversa: acieque Bedriacensi, prius quam committeretur, duas aquilas in conspectu omnium conflixisse, victaq; altera, superveniisse tertiam a solis ortu, ac victricem abegisse.

Once as he was at dinner, a strange dog brought a man's hand out of the streets, and laid it under the table. And as he was at supper another time, an ox at plough throwing the yoak off his neck, broke into the room, and after he had frighted away all the attendants, on a sudden, as if he had been tired, fell down at his feet, as he lay still upon his couch, and hung down his neck. A cypress-tree likewise in a field belonging to the family was torn up by the roots and laid flat upon the ground, without any storm of wind to occasion it, but the next day it rose again fresher and stronger than before. He dreamt in Achaia, that the good fortune of himself and his family should then begin, when Nero should have a tooth drawn; and it happened that the day after a surgeon coming out of the atrium of the house the emperor then lodged in, shewed him a tooth which he had just then taken from Nero. In Judæa upon his consulting the oracle of Carmel, the answer was so encouraging as to assure him of Success in whatsoever he designed, how great and important soever it might be. And when Josephus, one of the prisoners of quality, was put in chains, he affirmed with great assurance, that he should be released in a very short time by the same Vespasian, but he would be emperor first. Some presages too were brought in the news from Rome, that Nero towards the close of his days was ordered in a dream to carry Jupiter's, holy chariot out of the sacred apartment it was in to Vespasian's house, and conduct it from thence into the circus. And not long after as Galba was going to the election, wherein he was made a second time consul, a statue of Julius Cæsar's turned to the east. And in the field of Bedriacum, before the battle begun, two eagles engaged in the sight of the army, and one of them being beaten, a third came from the east, and drove away the conqueror.

6. Nec tamen quidquam ante tentavit, promtissimis atque etiam instantibus suis, quam solicitatus quorundam et ignotorum et absentium fortuito favo-

6. *However he made no attempt upon the sovereignty, tho' his friends about him were very ready to support him, and pressed him mightily to it, 'till he was encouraged thereto by the accidental favour of some re-*

re. Mœsiaci exercitus bina e tribus legionibus millia missa auxilio Othoni, postquam iter ingressis nuntiatum est, victum eum, ac vim vitæ suæ attulisse, nihilo secius Aquilejam usque prosecuti sunt, quasi rumori minus crederent. Ibi per occasionem ac licentiam omni rapinarum genere grassati, cum timerent, ne sibi reversis reddenda ratio, ac sebeunda pœna esset, consilium inierunt eligendi creandiq; Imperatoris. *Neq; enim deteriores esse, aut Hispaniensi exercitu qui Galbam, aut prætoriano qui Othonem, aut Germaniciano qui Vitellium fecissent.* Propositis itaque nominibus legatorum consularium, quot ubique tunc erant, cum cæteros alii alium alia de causa improbarent; et quidam e legione tertia, quæ sub exitu Neronis translata ex Syria in Mœsiam fuerat, Vespasianum laudibus ferrent; assensere cuncti, nomenq; ejus vexillis omnibus sine mora inscripserunt. Et tunc quidem compressa res est, revocatis ad officium numeris parumper. Cæterum devulgato facto, Tiberius Alexander præfectus Ægypti primus in verba Vespasiani legiones adegit kal. Julii: qui principatus dies in posterum observatus est. Judaicus deinde exercitus, v Idus Julii apud ipsum juravit. Plurimum cœptis contulerunt, jactatum exemplar epistolæ, veræ sive falsæ, defuncti Othonis ad Vespasianum, extrema obtestatione ultionem mandandis, et ut reip. subveniret, optantis: simul rumor dissipatus, destinasse Vitellium victorem permutare hiberna legionum, et Germanicas transferre in Orientem ad securiorem mollioremque militiam. Præterea ex

persons unknown to him, and at a distance. Two thousand men, drawn out of three legions in the Mæsian army, had been sent to the assistance of Otho. After they were upon their march, news came that he had been defeated, and put an end to his own life; however they continued their march as far as Aquileia, pretending they gave no credit to the report. There, tempted by the oppportunity the disorder of the times gave them, they ravaged and plundered the country at discretion; 'till at length fearing to be called to an account at their return, and punished for it, they resolved upon chusing and setting up an Emperor. For they were not at all inferior, *they said*, to the army that made Galba emperor, or the prætorian troops, that had put up Otho, or those of Germany, which had done the same by Vitellius. *Wherefore the names of all the consular lieutenants being offered to consideration, and one rejecting one, and another another, for various reasons; at last some of the third legion, which a little before Nero's death had been removed out of Syria into Mæsia, extolled Vespasian most mightily; and all the rest agreeing to him, his name was forthwith inscribed in their banners. This design however was quashed, the troops being brought about to submit to Vitellius for a little time. But the fact making a noise in the world, Tiberius Alexander, governor of Egypt, first obliged the legions under his command to swear obedience to Vespasian as their emperor, upon the calends of July, which was observed ever after the day of his accession to the empire. After that the army in Judæa, where he then was, took the oath to him upon the fifth of the ides of July. What contributed very much to help forward the matter, was a copy of a letter, whether real or counterfeit, that was handed about, said to be writ by Otho to Vespasian, recommending to him in the most earnest manner possible the revenge of his cause, and entreating him to relieve the commonwealth; as also a rumour that was spread abroad, that Vitellius after his success against Otho, was for changing the winter quarters of the legions, and removing those*

præ-

præsidibus provinciarum Licinius Mucianus, et e regibus Vologesus Parthus : ille deposita simultate, quam in id tempus ex æmulatione non obscure gerebat, Syriacum promisit exercitum : hic XL millia sagittariorum.

7. Suscepto igitur civili bello, ac ducibus copiisq; in Italiam præmissis, interim Alexandriam transiit, ut claustra Ægypti obtineret. Hic cum de firmitate imperii capturus auspicium, ædem Serapidis, submotis omnibus, solus intrasset ; ac propitiato multum Deo, tandem se convertisset, verbenas coronasque et panificia, ut illic assolet, Basilides libertus obtulisse ei visus est : quem neque admissum a quoquam, et jampridem propter nervorum valetudinem vix ingredi, longeq; abesse constabat. Ac statim advenere litteræ, fusas apud Cremonam Vitellii copias, ipsum in urbe interemtum nuntiantes. Auctoritas et quasi majestas quædam, ut scilicet inopinato, et adhuc novo principi deerat : hæc quoq; accessit. E plebe quidam luminibus orbatus, item alius debili crure, sedentem pro tribunali pariter adierunt, orantes opem valetudinis, demonstratam a Serapide per quietem, restituturum oculos, si inspuisset, confirmaturum crus si dignaretur calce contingere. Cum vix fides esset rem ullo modo succesuram, ideoq; ne experiri quidem auderet : extremo hortantibus amicis, palam pro concione utrumq; tentavit, nec eventus defuit. Per idem tempus Tegeæ in Arcadia, instinctu vaticinantium, effossa sunt sacrato loco vasa operis antiqui, atq; in iis assimilis Vespasiano imago.

in Germany to a more secure and easy service in the east. Besides, among the governors of the provinces, Licinius Mucianus dropping the grudge which 'till that time from a spirit of emulation he had visibly bore him, promised to join him with the Syrian army, and Volgesus king of the Parthians offered forty thousand bowmen.

7. Wherefore the civil war being now begun, sending before him his generals and forces into Italy, he in the mean time went over to Alexandria, in order to possess himself of the barriers of Egypt. Here having entered alone without any attendants, the temple of Serapis, to take an auspice about the future settlements of his imperial authority, and having propitiated the deity with many sacrifices, upon turning himself about, appeared his freed-man Basilides to present him with sacred greens, crowns and cakes, according to the usage there ; who yet it's certain was not let in by any one, and by reason of a palsy had not for some time been able to walk, and was besides at a great distance from the place. Immediately after this arrived letters with advice, that Vitellius's troops had been defeated at Cremona, and he himself slain in the city. But Vespasian, as being raised unexpectedly from a low condition, wanted the authority and majesty of an emperor ; now this he received too. A poor man that was blind, and another that was lame, came both together up to him, as he was sitting upon the bench in a court of justice, begging of him a cure which they said they had by the advice of the god Serapis in a dream, who assured them, that he might restore the one to his sight, by spitting upon his eyes, and give strength to the leg of the other, if he pleased but to touch it with his heel. He could scarce believe such a method of cure would succeed, and therefore durst not venture upon making the experiment. At last, by the advice of his friends, he attemped both openly before all the company, and with good success. About the same time, at Tegea in Arcadia, by the direction of some prophets, some vessels of antient workmanship, were dug up out of a consecrated place, and among them a statue resembling Vespasian.

8. Talis

8. Talis, tantaq; cum fama in urbem reversus, acto de Judæis triumpho, consulatus octo veteri addidit. Suscepit et Censuram: ac per totum imperii tempus nihil habuit antiquius, quam prope afflictam, nutantemq; remp. stabilire primo, deinde et ornare. Milites pars victoriæ fiducia, pars ignominiæ dolore, ad omnem licentiam audaciamque processerant. Sed et provinciæ, civitatesq; liberæ, nec non et regna quædam tumultuosius inter se agebant. Quare Vitellianorum quidem et exauctoravit plurimos, et coercuit. Participibus autem victoriæ adeo nihil extra ordinem indulsit: ut etiam ligitima præmia nonnisi sero persolverit. Ac ne quam occasionem corrigendi disciplinam prætermitteret, adolescentulum fragrantem unguento, cum sibi pro impetrara præfectura gratias ageret, nutu aspernatus, voce etiam gravissima increpuit, *Maluissem allium oboluisses:* litteraſque revocavit. Classiarios vero, qui ab Ostia et Puteolis Romam pedibus per vices commeant, *petentes constitui aliquid sibi calcearii nomine*, quasi parum esset, sine responso abegisse, jussit posthæc excalceatos cursitare: et ex eo ita cursitant. Achajam, Lyciam, Rhodum, Byzantium, Samum libertate ademta, item Thraciam, Ciliciam, et Comagenem ditionis regiæ usque ad id tempus, in provinciarum formam redegit. Cappadociæ propter assiduos barbarorum incursus legiones addidit: consularemq; rectorem imposuit, pro equite Romano. Deformis urbs veteribus incendiis ac ruinis erat: vacuas areas occupare, et ædificare, si possessores cessarent,

8. *Returning now to Rome with the advantage of a mighty fame for the miraculous cures he had wrought, after he had triumphed for the reduction of the Jews, he added eight conſulſhips to the former. He likewiſe took upon him the cenſureſhip, and made it his principal concern, during the whole time of his reign, to ſettle the common wealth, which had been almoſt ruined, and was in a tottering condition, upon a ſecure bottom, in the firſt place, and then to improve it. The ſoldiers, one part of them emboldened by their victory, and the other from a concern at their diſgrace, had run out into all manner of licentiouſneſs and inſolence. Nay, the provinces too, and free cities, and ſome kingdoms likewiſe under the Roman protection, were all in an uproar. Wherefore he diſbanded a great many of Vitellius's ſoldiers, and others of them he puniſhed: and was ſo far from granting any extraordinary favours to the ſharers of his victory, that it was late e'er he paid them their præmiums due to them by law. And that he might let ſlip no opportunity of reforming the diſcipline of the army, upon a young gentleman's coming finely perfumed to return him thanks for a commiſſion to command a ſquadron of horſe, he turn'd away his head in diſdain, and reprimanded him with this ſevere expreſſion,* I had rather you had ſmelt of garlick; *and revoked his commiſſion. The footmen belonging to the fleet, that run by turns from Oſtia and Puteoli to Rome, petitioning to have ſome further allowance under the name of ſhoe-money, as if it was but a ſmall matter to turn them away without an anſwer, he ordered them for the future to run without ſhoes, and ſo they have done ever ſince. He took from Achaia, Lycia, Rhodes, Byzantium and Samos their liberty, and reduced them into the form of provinces, as he alſo did by Thrace, Cilicia and Comagene, which 'till that time had been ſubject unto kings. He placed ſome legions in Cappadocia, becauſe of the frequent inroads of the barbarians; and inſtead of a Roman knight, made a conſular gentleman governor thereof. The city was much deformed by the houſes lying*

cuicumq

cuicumq; permiſit. Ipſe reſtitutionem capitolii aggreſſus, ruderibus purgandis manus primus admovit, ac ſuo collo quædam extulit: ærearumque tabularum tria millia, quæ ſimul conflagraverant, reſtituenda ſuſcepit: undiq; inveſtigatis exemplaribus, inſtrumentum. Imperii pulcherrimum ac vetuſtiſſimum confecit: quo continebantur pæne ab exordio urbis ſenatus conſulta, plebiſcita de ſocietate, et fœdere, ac privilegio cuicumq; conceſſis.

in rubbiſh, that had been burnt down long before, to remedy which, he gave leave to any one that would, to ſeiſe upon the void ground, and build thereon, if the owners would not take care to build themſelves. He reſolved upon rebuilding the capitol, and was the foremoſt to put his hand to the clearing the ground of the rubbiſh, by carrying away ſome of it upon his own ſhoulder. And he undertook too to reſtore the three thouſand brazen plates, which had been burnt at the ſame time, by ſearching in all places for copies of them, and thus again furniſhed the government with a collection of curious and antient records, wherein were contained the decrees of the ſenate, almoſt from the building of the city, as alſo acts of the commons, relating to alliances, treaties and privileges that had been granted to any one.

9. Fecit et nova opera, templum Pacis foro proximum: divique Claudij in Cælio monte cœptum quidem ab Agrippina, ſed a Nerone prope funditus deſtructum. Item Amphitheatrum urbe media, ut deſtinaſſe competerat Auguſtum. Ampliſſimos ordines, et exhauſtos cæde varia, et contaminatos veteri negligentia, purgavit: ſupplevitque recenſito ſenatu et equite: ſubmotis indigniſſimis, et honeſtiſſimo quoque Italicorum ac provincialium allecto. Atque uti notum eſſet, utrumq; ordinem non tam libertate inter ſe quam dignitate differre, de jurgio quodam ſenatoris equitiſque Romani ita pronuntiavit, *Non oportere maledici ſenatoribus, remaledici civile faſque eſſe.*

9. *He likewiſe raiſed ſeveral publick buildings, as the temple of Peace nigh the forum, that of Claudius in the Cælian mount, that had been begun by Agrippina, but had been almoſt entirely demoliſhed by Nero. He built too an amphitheatre in the middle of the city, upon finding that Auguſtus had deſigned ſo to do. He purged the ſenatorian and equeſtrian orders, which had been much reduced by the havock made of them at ſeveral times, and diſparaged by the careleſs admiſſion, for a long time paſt, of ſuch as were unworthy of that rank. He reviewed both, and filled them up again, degrading the moſt unworthy, and chooſing in their room the moſt honourable perſons in Italy, and the provinces. And to let the world ſee, that theſe two orders did not differ ſo much in privileges as dignity, upon occaſion of ſome hard words that paſſed betwixt a ſenator and a Roman knight, he declared publickly,* That ſenators ought not to be treated with ſcurrilous language, unleſs they were the aggreſſors, and then it was fair and lawful to return it.

10. Litium ſeries ubiq; majorem in modum excreverant, manentibus antiquis, intercapedine juriſdictionis, accedentibus novis, ex conditione tumultuque temporum. Sorte elegit, per quos rapta bello reſtituerentur quique judicia cen-

10. *Lawſuits were grown to a prodigious number, the old one's continuing by reaſon of the interruption that had been given to the courſe of juſtice, and new ones being ſuperadded to them, occaſioned by the diſorder and confuſion of the times. He choſe commiſſioners by lot to provide for the reſtitution of what had been ſeiſed by violence*

tumviralia, quibus peragendis vix suffectura litigatorum ætas videbatur, extra ordinem dijudicarent, redigerentq; ad breviſſimum numerum.

11. Libido atque luxuria coercente nullo invaluerat. Auctor ſenatui fuit decernendi, ut quæ ſe alieno ſervo junxiſſet, ancilla haberetur. Neve filiorum familias feneratoribus exigendi crediti jus unquam eſſet: hoc eſt, ne poſt patrum quidem mortem.

12. Cæteris in rebus ſtatim ab initio principatus uſque ad exitum civilis et clemens. Mediocritatem priſtinam neque diſſimulavit unquam, ac frequenter etiam præ ſe tulit. Quin et conantes quoſdam originem Flavij generis ad conditores Reatinos, comitemque Herculis cujus monumentum exſtat via Salaria, referre, irriſit ultro. Adeoque nihil ornamentorum extrinſecus cupide appetivit, ut triumphi die fatigatus tarditate et tædio pompæ, non reticuerit, *merito ſe plecti, qui triumphum, quaſi aut debitum majoribus ſuis, aut ſperatum unquam ſibi, tum inepte ſenex concupiſſet.* Ac ne TRIBUNITIAM quidem POTESTATEM et PATRIS PATRIAE appellationem niſi ſero recepit. Nam conſuetudinem ſalutantes ſcrutandi, manente adhuc bello civili, omiſerat.

13. Amicorum libertatem cauſidicorum figuras ac philoſophorum contumaciam leniſſime tulit. Licinium Mucianum notæ impudicitiæ, ſed meritorum fiducia, minus ſui reverentem, nunquam niſi clam, et hactenus retaxare ſuſtinuit, ut apud communem aliquem amiduring the war, as alſo ſome extraordinary commiſſioners to judge of centumviral cauſes, and reduce them to as ſmall a number as poſſible, for the diſpatch of which otherwiſe the lives of the parties concerned could hardly allow time enough.

11. *Luſt and luxury through the licentiouſneſs of the late times were grown to a great height; wherefore he moved the ſenate to decree that a woman that had to do with the ſlave of another perſon, ſhould herſelf become a ſlave; and that uſurers ſhould have no action at law for the recovery of monies lent young gentlemen, whilſt they were in their fathers' families, not even after their fathers were dead.*

12. *In the other parts of his adminiſtration, from the beginning of his reign to the end of it, he behaved with great moderation and clemency. He was ſo far from being ſilent upon the ſubject of his former meanneſs, that he frequently took notice of it himſelf. And when ſome would needs run up his pedigree to the founders of Reate, and the companion of Hercules, whoſe monument is ſtill to be ſeen in the Salarian way, he laughed at them for it. And he was ſo little fond of outward and borrowed ornaments, that upon the day of his triumph, being quite tired with the length and tedioufneſs of the proceſſion, he could not forbear ſaying,* He was rightly ſerved, for having in his old age been ſo ſilly as to deſire a triumph, as if it was either due to his anceſtors, or had been ever expected by himſelf. *Nor would he for a long time accept of the* Tribunitian authority, *or the title of* Father of his country. *And for the cuſtom of ſearching ſuch as came to pay their reſpects to him, he dropped it, even in the time of the civil war.*

13. *He bore with great mildneſs the liberty of his friends, the wipes of the pleaders, and the ſaucineſs of the philoſophers. Licinus Mucianus, who had been notoriouſly guilty of proſtitution, but preſuming upon his great ſervices, treated him very rudely, he reproved only in private, and ſo as in complaining of his carriage to a common friend of their's, he concluded at*

cum

cum querens adderet clausulæ, *Ego tamen vir sum.* Salvium Liberalem in defensione divitis, rei ausum dicere, *quid ad Cæsarem, si Hipparchus* H S *millies habet?* et ipse laudavit. Demetrium Cynicum in itinere obvium sibi post dominationem, ac neq; assurgere, neq; salutare se dignantem, oblatrantem etiam nescio quid, satis habuit *canem* appellare.

14. Offensarum inimicitiarumque minime memor executorve. Vitellii hostis sui filiam splendidissime maritavit, dotavitq; etiam et instruxit. Trepidum eum interdicta aula sub Nerone, quærentemque quidnam ageret, aut quo abiret, quidam ex officio admissionis simul expellens, *abire Morboniam* jusserat. In hunc postea deprecantem, haud ultra verba excanduit, et quidem totidem fere atq; eadem. Nam ut suspicione aliqua, vel metu ad perniciem cujusquam compelleretur tantum abfuit, ut monentibus amicis cavendum esse Metium Pompos̃ianum quod vulgo crederetur genesim habere imperatoriam, insuper cos. fecerit, spondens quandoque beneficii memorem futurum.

15. Non temere quis punitus insons reperietur, nisi absente eo et ignaro, aut certe invito atque decepto. Helvidio Prisco, qui et reversum se ex Syria solus, privato nomine *Vespasianum* salutaverat, et in prætura omnibus edictis sine honore ac mentione ulla transmiserat, non ante succensuit, quam altercationibus insolentissimis pœne in ordinem redactus. Hunc quoque, quamvis relegatum primo deinde et interfici jussum magni æstimavit servare quoquo modo, missis qui percussores revocarent: et

last with these words, However I am a man. *Salvius Liberalis, in pleading the cause of a rich man under prosecution, presuming to say,* What's that to Cæsar, if Hipparchus has an estate of an hundred millions of sesterces? *he commended him for it. Demetrius the Cynick philosopher meeting him upon a journey, after he came to be emperor, and refusing to rise up to him, or salute him, nay snarling at him in foulmouthed language, he only called him* a dog.

14. *He was not in the least disposed to bear in mind or revenge former affronts or quarrels. He married the daughter of his enemy Vitellius very nobly, and gave her withal a suitable fortune and equipage. Being in a mighty consternation after he was forbid the court by Nero, and asking those about him, What he should do? Or, Whither he should go? One of those, whose office it was to introduce people to the presence of the emperor, thrusting him out, bid him* go to Morbonia. *But when this same person came afterwards to beg his pardon, he expressed his resentment only in almost the very same words. For he was so far from being wrought upon by any suspicion or fear, to seek the destruction of any body, that when his friends advised him to have a care of Metius Pompos̃ianus, because he was commonly believed to have an imperial nativity, he made him consul, engaging for him, that he would be mindful of the favour done him.*

15. *Scarce so much as one innocent person will be found to have suffered in his reign, unless in his absence, and without his knowledge, or at least contrary to his mind, and where he was imposed upon. Tho' Helvidius Priscus was the only man that presumed to salute him at his return from Syria, by his private name of* Vespasian, *and when he came to be pretor, passed him by in all his edicts, without the least respect or mention of him, yet he was not angry with him, 'till by his rude opposition to him, he treated him in a manner as a person without authority. And tho' he did indeed banish him, and afterwards ordered him to be put to death, yet he would gladly have saved him notwithstanding, and*

servasset, nisi jam periisse falso renunciatum esset. Ceterum neque cæde cujusquam unquam lætatus, justis suppliciis illacrymavit etiam et ingemuit.

16. Sola est, in qua merito culpetur, pecuniæ cupiditas. Non enim contentus omissa sub Galba vectigalia revocasse; nova et gravia addidisse; auxisse tributa provinciis, nonnullis et duplicasse; negotiationes quoque vel privato pudendas propalam exercuit, coemendo quædam tantum, ut pluris postea distraheret. Nec candidatis quidem honores, reisve tam innoxiis quam nocentibus, absolutiones venditare cunctatus est. Creditur etiam procuratorum rapacissimum quemque ad ampliora officia ex industria solitus promovere, quo locupletiores mox condemnaret: quibus quidem vulgo pro *spongiis* dicebatur *uti*, quod quasi et siccos madefaceret, et exprimeret humentes. Quidam natura cupidissimum tradunt, idque exprobratum ei a sene bubulco, qui negata sibi gratuita libertate, quam imperium adeptum suppliciter orabat, proclamaverit, *Vulpem pilum mutare, non mores.* Sunt contra qui opinentur, ad manubias et rapinas necessitate compulsum, summa ærarii fisciq; inopia: de qua testificatus sit initio statim principatus, professus *quadringenties millies opus esse, ut resp. stare posset.* Quod et verisimilius videtur, quando et male partis optime usus est.

17. In omne hominum genus liberalissimus explevit censum Senatorium: consulares

accordingly dispatched away messengers to fetch again the persons employed for the execution; and he would have saved him, had he not been imposed upon by a false account brought him, that he was already executed. He never rejoiced at the death of any man, nay would shed tears and sigh at the just punishment of the guilty.

16. *The only thing to be deservedly blamed in him, was his love of money. For he was not satisfied with reviving the taxes that had been dropped under Galba, but others, and heavy ones too, raised the tribute of the provinces, and doubled that of some. He likewise openly practised a sort of traffick, that would have been scandalous even in a person below the dignity of an emperor, buying great quantities of goods together, in order to retail them again to advantage. Nay he made no scruple to sell the great offices of state to the candidates, and pardons too to persons under prosecution, as well the innocent as the guilty. It is believed too he advanced all the most rapacious among the procurators to higher offices, on purpose to squeeze them after they were grown richer; whom indeed he was commonly said* to make use of as spunges, *because he did, as one may say, wet them when dry, and squeeze them when wet. Some say he was naturally very covetous, and that he was upbraided with it by an old herdsman of his, who, upon the emperor's refusing to enfranchise him gratis, which at his advancement he humbly petitioned for, cried out,* That the fox changed his hair, but not his nature. *There are some on the other hand, of opinion, that he was obliged to his rapacious proceedings by necessity, and the extreme poverty of the treasury and exchequer, which he took publick notice of immediately in the beginning of his reign; declaring,* that no less than forty thousand millions of sesterces was necessary for the support of the government; *which is the more likely to be true of him, because he made a very good use of what he got so badly.*

17. *He was mighty liberal to all sorts of people. He made up to several senators the estate required by law to qualify them*

inopes

inopis quingenis sestertiis annuis sustentavit: plurimas per totum orbem civitates terræ motu aut incendio afflictas restituit in melius.

18. Ingenia et artes vel maxime fovit. Primus e fisco Latinis Græcisq; rhetoribus annua centena constituit. Præstantes poetas, nec non artifices; Coœ Veneris, item colossi refectorem insigni congiario magnaq; mercede donavit: mechanico quoque grandes columnas exigua impensa perducturum in Capitolium pollicenti, præmium pro commento non mediocre obtulit, operam remisit, præfatus, *sineret se plebeculam pascere.*

19. Ludis per quos scena Marcelliani theatri restituta dedicabatur, vetera quoq; acroamata revocaverat. Apollinari tragœdo quadringena: Terpno Diodoroq; citharœdis, ducena: nonnullis centena: quibus minimum, quadragena sestertia super plurimas coronas aureas dedit. Sed et convivabatur assidue: ac sæpius recte ac dapsile, ut macellarios adjuvaret. Sicut Saturnalibus dabat viris apophoreta, ita et kalend. Martii feminis, et tamen ne sic quidem pristinæ cupiditatis infamia caruit. Alexandrini *Cibiosacten* eum vocare perseveraverunt cognomine unius e regibus suis turpissimarum sordium. Sed et in funere Favo archimimus personam ejus ferens, imitansque, ut est mos, facta ac dicta vivi, interrogatis palam procuratoribus *quanti funus et pompa constaret, ut* audit HS. *centies*, exclamavit, *Centum sibi sestertia darent, ac se vel in Tiberim projicerent.*

for that dignity, and relieved such consular gentlemen as were poor, with a yearly allowance of five hundred thousand sesterces; rebuilt to advantage several cities up and down the empire, that had been damaged by earthquakes or fires.

18. *He was a great encourager of learning and learned men. He first appointed the latin and greek professors of rhetorick the yearly stipend of a hundred thousand sesterces a piece out of the exchequer. He was likewise extremely generous to such as excelled in poetry, or even the mechanick arts, and particularly to one that brushed up the picture of Venus at Cos, and another that repaired the Colossus. And a mechanick offering to convey some huge pillars into the capitol, at a small expence, he rewarded him very handsomely for his invention, but would not accept of his service, saying,* he must allow him to take care of the poor people.

19. *In the games celebrated at the first use of the new stage in Marcellus's theatre, he revived the old musical entertainments. He gave Apollinaris the Tragœdian four hundred thousand sesterces; Terpnus and Diodorus the harpers two hundred thousand, to some a hundred thousand; and the least he gave to any of the performers was forty thousand, besides a great many golden crowns. He had company constantly at his table, and treated them in a very plentiful manner, on purpose to help the shambles. As in the Saturnalia he made the gentlemen at his table presents to carry away with them, so did he the ladies upon the calends of March, and yet he could not wipe off the infamy of his former covetousness. The Alexandrians called him constantly* Cibiosactes, *which name had been given to one of their kings, who was sordidly covetous. Nay at his funeral Favo the arch mimick, representing his person, and imitating, as usual, his behaviour both in word and deed, whilst he was living, asking aloud the procurators,* how much his funeral pomp would cost? *and being answered,* Ten millions of sesterces, *he cried out,* That give him but a hundred thousand sesterces, and they might throw his body into the Tiber if they would.

20. Statura

20. Statura fuit quadrata, compactis firmisque membris, vultu veluti nitentis. Unde quidam urbanorum non in facete, siquidem petenti, *ut et in se aliquid diceret: Dicam*, inquit, *cum ventrem exonerare desieris.* Valetudine prosperrima usus est: quamvis ad tuendam eam nihil amplius quam fauces ceteraq; membra sibimet ad numerum in sphæristerio defricaret, inediamq; unius diei per singulos menses interponeret.

20. *He was broad set, strong limbed, and had the countenance of a person straining hard for a stool. And therefore one of your drolls, upon the emperor's desiring him* to say some merry thing upon him, *answered wittily enough,* I will when you have done easing yourself. *He had a good state of health, though he used no other means to preserve it, than rubbing his jaws and other parts of him a certain number of times in the tennis-court, and fasting one day in every month.*

21. Ordinem vitæ fere hunc tenuit. In principatu maturius semper, ac de nocte vigilabat: deinde perlectis epistolis, officiorumq; omnium breviariis, amicos admittebat, ac dum salutabatur et calceabat ipse sese et amiciebat. Postq; decisa quæcumque obvenissent negotia, gestationi, et inde quieti vacabat; accubante aliqua pallacarum, quas in defunctæ locum Cænidis plurimas constituerat: ac secreto in balneum triclinumq; transibat. Nec ullo tempore facilior, aut indulgentior traditur: eaque momenta domestici ad aliquid petendum magnopere captabant.

21. *His course of life was commonly this. After he came to be emperor, he used to rise very early, and oftentimes before it was day, and after he had read over his letters, and the breviaries of all the offices about court; he ordered his friends to be admitted; and whilst they were paying their compliment to him, he would put on his shoes and dress himself. And then after the dispatch of such business as was brought before him, he rid out in his chaise or chair; after which he took a nap, with some of his concubines lying by him, a great number of which he had taken into his service upon the death of Cænis. After this nap, he entered the bath, and then went to supper. Nor was he, they tell you, at any time more easy and complaisant than then; and therefore those about him always watched that opportunity, when they had any favour to request of him.*

22. Et super cœnam autem et super aleas, communissimus, multa joco transigebat. Erat enim dicacitatis plurimæ, et sic scurrilis ac sordidæ, ut ne prætextatis quidem verbis abstineret. Et tamen nonnulla ejus facetissima exstant, in quibus et hoc. Mestrium Florum consularem, admonitus ab eo *plaustra* potius, quam *plostra* dicenda, die postero *Flaurum* salutavit. Expugnatus autem a quadam, quasi amore sui deperiret, cum perducte pro concubitu sestertia quadringenta donasset,

22. *At supper and at game he was mighty free and jocose. For he was extremely witty, but in a rough low way, insomuch that he would talk sometimes downright bawdy. Yet there are some things related of him pretty enough, amongst which are these that follow. Being told once by Mestrius Florus, that* plaustra *was more proper than* plostra, *he the next day saluted him by the name of* Flaurus. *A certain lady pretending to be most desperately in love with him, he was prevailed with to gratify her inclination, and gave her four hundred thousand sesterces for lying with her. And when his steward desired to know how he would have the sum put down in his accounts, he re-*

admo-

admonente dispensatore quemadmodum summam rationibus vellet referri, *Vespasiano* inquit, *adamato.*

plied, for a lady's being in love with Vespasian.

22. Utebatur et versibus Græcis tempestive satis, ut de quodam proceræ staturæ, improbiusque nato,

23. *He used several greek verses seasonably enough, as of a certain tall fellow well furnished,*

Μακρὰ βιβὰς ἀκροδόων δολιχόσκιον ἔγχος.

With monstrous strides shaking a vast long spear.

Et de Cerylo liberto, qui dives admodum ob subterfugiendum quandoque jus fisci, ingenuum se et Lachetem mutato nomine cœperet efferre,

And of the freed man Cerylus, who being very rich, to cheat the exchequer at his decease, had begun to pass himself upon the world as free born under the name of Laches, he had these,

Ὦ Λάχης Λάχης, ἐπὰν ἀποθάνῃς,
Αὖθις ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς ἐρῇσι Κηρύλος.

Ah Laches Laches! when thou art no more,
Thou'lt Cerylus be stiled as before.

Et maxime tamen dicacitatem in deformibus lucris affectabat: ut invidiam aliqua cavillatione dilueret, transferretq; ad sales. Quendam e caris ministris dispensationem cuidam, quasi fratri, petentem cum distulisset, ipsum candidatum ad se vocavit; exactaq; pecunia, quantam is cum suffragatore suo pepigerat, sine mora ordinavit. Interpellanti mox ministro, *Alium tibi*, ait, *quære fratrem; hic, quem tuum putas, meus est.* Mulionem in itinere quodam suspicatus ad calceandas mulas desiliisse, ut adeunti litigatori spatium moramq; præberet, interrogavit, *Quanti calceasset?* pactusq; est lucri partem. Reprehendenti filio Tito, quod etiam urinæ vectigal commentus esset, pecuniam ex prima pensione admovit ad nares, sciscitans num odore offenderetur: et illo negante, *Atqui*, inquit, *e lotio est.* Nuntiantibus legatis, *decretam ei publice non mediocris summæ*

He chiefly affected drolling upon his own scandalous means of raising money, to wipe off the odium thereof by some witty turn, and so make a jest of the matter. One of his ministers that was much in his favour, requesting of him a stewardship for some body, under pretence of his being his brother, he put him off, and sent for the party that sued for it; and having squeezed out of him as much money, as he had agreed to give his sollicitor, he ordered him the place immediately. And the minister soon after addressing him again about it, You must, *says he,* make a brother of some body else, for he you take for your's, is really mine. *Once upon a journey suspecting his mule-driver had alighted to shoe his mules, only to give time and opportunity to one that had a law suit depending to speak to him; he asked him,* how much he had for shoeing? *and would come in for snacks with him. When his son Titus blamed him for his duty laid upon urine, he put a piece of the money received in the first payment to his nose, and asked him,* if it stunk? *and he replying no;* and yet, *says he,* it comes from pils. *Some deputies coming to acquaint him, that statuam*

ſtatuam coloſſeam, juſſit ut continuo ponerent, cavam manum oſtentans, et *paratam baſim* dicens. Ac ne in metu quidem, ac periculo mortis abſtinuit jocis. Nam cum inter prodigia cætera Mauſoleum Cæſarum derepente patuiſſet, et ſtella in cælo crinita apparuiſſet, alterum ad Juliam Calvinam e gente Auguſti pertinere dicebat, alterum ad Parthorum regem, qui capillatus eſſet. Prima quoque morbi acceſſione, *Ut*, inquit, *puto, Deus fio.*

a huge ſtatue that would coſt a vaſt ſum was ordered to be erected for him at the publick charge, he bid them erect it immediately, ſhewing them a hollow hand, and ſaying, There was a baſe ready for it. *Nay, when he was under the apprehenſions and danger of death, he would not forbear his jeſts. For when amongſt other prodigies, the Mauſoleum of the Cæſars flew open on a ſudden, and a bloſſing ſtar appeared in the heavens, the one he ſaid concerned Julia Calvina, who was of the family of Auguſtus, and the other the king of the Parthians, who wore his hair long. And when his diſtemper firſt ſeiſed him,* I ſuppoſe, *ſaid he,* I am going to be a god.

24. Conſulatu ſuo nono tentatus in Campania motiunculis levibus, ac protinus urbe repetitia, Cutilias ac Reatina rura, ubi æſtivare quotannis ſolebat, petiit. Heic, cum ſuper urgentem valetudinem, creberrimo frigidæ aquæ uſu etiam inteſtina vitiaſſet: nec eo minus muneribus imperatoriis ex conſuetudine fungeretur, ut etiam legationes audiret cubans, alvo repente uſque ad defectionem ſoluta, *imperatorem*, ait, *ſtantem mori oportere.* Dumq; conſurgit, ac nititur, inter manus ſublevantium exſtinctus eſt VIII kalend. Julii, annum gerens ætatis ſexageſimum ac nonum, ſuperq; menſem, ac diem ſeptimum.

24. *In his ninth conſulſhip being attacked in Campania by ſome ſlight indiſpoſitions, and immediately returning to town upon it, he ſoon after went from thence for Cutiliæ, and the country about Reate, where he uſed every year to ſpend the ſummer. Here tho' his diſtemper incommoded him much, and he had prejudiced his bowels by the frequent uſe of cold water, he nevertheleſs gave his attendance for the diſpatch of buſineſs, and would give audience to embaſſadors in bed. At laſt being taken with a fit of looſeneſs, to ſuch a degree that he was ready to faint away, he cried out,* An emperor ought to die ſtanding. *And in endeavouring to riſe, died in the hands of thoſe that were helping him up, upon the eighth of the calends of July, being ſixty-nine years, a month, and ſeven days old.*

25. Convenit inter omnes, tam certum eum de ſua ſuorumque genitura ſemper fuiſſe, ut poſt aſſiduas in ſe conjurationes auſus ſit affirmare Senatui, aut filios ſibi ſucceſſuros, aut neminem. Dicitur etiam vidiſſe quondam per quietem ſtateram in media parte veſtibuli Palatinæ domus poſitam examine æquo: cum in altera lance Claudius et Nero ſtarent, in altera ipſe ac filii. Nec res fefelli: quando totidem annis, parique temporis ſpatio utrique imperaverunt.

25. *It is agreed that he had the confidence in his own nativity, and that of his ſons, that after ſeveral conſpiracies againſt him, he told the ſenate, either his ſons would ſucceed him or no body. It is ſaid too, that he once ſaw in a dream a balance in the middle of the porch of the Palatine houſe exactly even, in one ſcale of which ſtood Claudius and Nero, in the other himſelf and his ſons. And the event was accordingly, for both parties reigned the like number of years, and the ſame time exactly.*

C. SUETONII TRANQUILLI

T. Flavius Vespasianus Augustus, XI.

CHAP. I.

TITUS cognomine paterno amor ac deliciæ generis humani, (tantum illi ad promerendam omnium voluntatem vel ingenii, vel artis, vel fortunæ ſuperfuit, et quod difficilimum eſt, in imperio, quando privatus, atque etiam ſub patre principe, ne odio quidem, nedum vituperatione publica caruit.) Natus eſt III kalend. Janu. inſigni anno Cajana nece, prope Septizonium, ſordidis ædibus; cubiculo vero perparvo, et obſcuro: nam manet adhuc, et oſtenditur.

2. Educatus in aula cum Britannico ſimul, ac paribus diſciplinis, et apud eoſdem magiſtros inſtitutus. Quo quidem tempore, ajunt, metopoſcopum a Narciſſo Claudii liberto adhibitum, ut Britannicum inſpiceret, conſtantiſſime affirmaſſe, illum quidem nullo modo, cæterum Titum, qui tunc prope adſtabat, utique imperaturum. Erant autem adeo familiares, ut de potione, qua Britannicus hauſta periit, Titus quoque juxta cubans guſtaſſe credatur gravique morbo afflictatus diu. Quorum omnium mox memor, ſtatuam ei auream in Palatio poſuit, et alteram

TITUS, who had the ſame cognomen with his father, was the darling and delight of mankind, ſo much of a happy humour, dexterity or good fortune had he to engage the favour of the world; and what is extremely difficult indeed, after he came to be emperor too; for before, even during the reign of his father, he lay under the diſpleaſure and cenſure of the publick. He was born upon the third of the calends of January, in the year remarkable for the death of Caius, nigh the Septizonium, in a ſorry houſe, and a little blind chamber; for it is ſtill in being, and is ſhewn to the curious.

2. He was educated at court together with Britannicus, and inſtructed in the ſame parts of literature, and under the ſame maſters with him. At which time they tell you, that a phyſiognomiſt was brought by Narciſſus the freedman of Claudius to inſpect Britannicus, who poſitively affirmed that he would never come to be emperor, but that Titus who ſtood by would. They were ſo familiar, that Titus being next him at table, is thought to have taſted of the poiſonous potion that did Britannicus's buſineſs, and to have been thereby thrown into a diſtemper that held him a long time. All which circumſtances he retained a remembrance of, and afterwards erected a golden ſtatue for him in the palace, and dedicated to him another on horſeback of ivory, and attended it in the Cir-

ex ebore equestrem, quæ Circensi pompa hodieq; præfertur, dedicavit, prosecutusque est.

3. In puero statim corporis animique dotes exsplenduerunt: magisque ac magis deinceps per ætatis gradus. Forma egregia, et cui non minus auctoritatis inesset, quam gratiæ: præcipuum robur, quamquam neq; procera statura, et ventre paulo projectiore: memoria singularis, docilitas ad omnes fere tum belli tum pacis artes. Armorum et equitandi peritissimus, Latinæ Græcæq; linguæ, vel in orando, vel in fingendis poematibus promptus, et facilis ad extemporalitatem usque. Sed ne musicæ quidem rudis, ut qui cantaret et psalleret jucunde scienterque. E pluribus comperi, notis quoque excipere velocissime solitum, cum amanuensibus suis per ludum jocumq; certantem imitari chirographa quæcumq; vidisset; ac profiteri sæpe, *se maximum falsarium esse potuisse.*

4. Tribunus militum et in Germania et in Britannia meruit summa industria, nec minore modestia, et fama: sicut apparet ex imaginum ejus multitudine: ac titulis per utramq; provinciam. Post stipendia foro operam dedit, honestam magis quam assiduam. Eodemq; tempore Arricidiam Tertullo patre equite Romano, sed præfecto quondam prætorianarum cohortium, duxit uxorem: et in defunctæ locum Marciam Furnillam splendidi generis: cum qua, sublata filia, divortium fecit. Ex quæsturæ deinde honore legioni præpositus, Tarichæam et Gamalam urbes validissimas Judææ in potestatem redegit: equo quadam acie

censian procession, in which it is still carried on to this day.

3. *Several fine accomplishments both of body and mind were conspicuous in him when a boy, and became more so, as he advanced in years. He had a graceful person, wherein was an equal mixture of Majesty and sweetness: was very strong, tho' not tall, and somewhat big-bellied. He had an excellent memory, and a capacity for all the arts of peace and war; was a perfect master of his weapons, and in riding the great horse; very ready at the Latin and Greek tongues, as well in verse as prose; insomuch that he would harangue and versify extempore. Nor was he ignorant in musick, but would both sing and play upon the harp very finely, and with judgment. I have likewise been informed by many, that he was exceeding quick in the writing of short hand, would in merriment and jest engage with his secretaries in the imitation of any hands he saw, and oftentimes say,* That he was admirably qualified for forgery.

4. *He served in quality of a military tribune both in Germany and Britain, and behaved in the service with the utmost activity, and no less modesty and reputation; as is manifest from the great number of his statues with honourable inscriptions, erected for him up and down both the provinces. After some campaigns he applied himself to the business of pleading, but not much, tho' sufficiently to acquire the character of a good orator. And at the same time he married Arricidia, the daughter of Tertullus, who was only knight, but had formerly been commander of the guards; and after her decease Marcia Furnilla of a very noble family, by whom he had a daughter, but afterwards divorced her. When the year of his questorship was up, he was made commander of a legion, and took the too strong cities of Tarichæa and Gamala in Judæa; and in a battle, having his horse slain under*

sub

ſub feminibus amiſſo, alteroq; inſcenſo, cujus rector contra ſe dimicans occubuerat.

5. Galba mox tenente rempublicam, miſſus, ad gratulandum, quaque iret, convertit homines, quaſi adoptionis gratia arceſſeretur. Sed ubi turbari rurſus cuncta ſenſit, rediit ex itinere: aditoque Paphiæ Veneris oraculo, dum de navigatione conſulit, etiam de Imperii ſpe confirmatus eſt. Cujus brevi compos, et ad perdomandam Judæam relictus, noviſſima Hieroſolymorum oppugnatione VII propugnatores totidem ſagittarum confecit ictibus: cepitque eam natali filiæ ſuæ; tanto militum gaudio ac favore, ut in gratulatione *Imperatorem*, eum conſalutaverint & ſubinde decedentem provincia detinuerint, ſuppliciter nec non & minaciter efflagitantes, ut *remaneret, aut ſecum omnes pariter abduceret.* Unde nata ſuſpicio eſt, quaſi deſciſcere a patre, Orientiſque regnum ſibi vindicare tentaſſet. Quam ſuſpicionem auxit, poſtquam Alexandriam petens, in conſecrando apud Memphim bove Apide diadema geſtavit: de more id quidem rituque priſcæ religionis: ſed non deerant, qui ſecus interpretarentur. Quare feſtinans in Italiam, cum Rhegium, dehinc Puteolos oneraria nave appuliſſet, Romam inde contendit expeditiſſimus: inopinantique patri, velut arguens rumorum de ſe temiritatem, *Veni*, inquit, *pater, veni.*

6. Neque ex eo deſtitit, participem, atque etiam tutorem Imperii agere. Triumphavit cum patre, cenſuramque geſſit una. Eadem collega et in Tri-

him, he mounted another, whoſe rider he was engaged with, and killed.

5. *Soon after when Galba came to be emperor, he was diſpatch'd away to congratulate him upon the occaſion, and turned the eyes of all people upon him, wherever he came, as being ſent for, they imagined, by the emperor, with a deſign to adopt him for his ſon. But, finding all things were again in confuſion, he turned back upon the road; and going to conſult the oracle of Venus at Paphos about his voyage, he received aſſurances of obtaining the empire for himſelf. Wherein he was ſoon after confirmed, and being left to finiſh the reduction of Judæa, in the laſt aſſault upon Jeruſalem, he ſlew ſeven of the enemy that defended it with juſt ſo many arrows, and took it upon his daughter's birth day. Upon which occaſion the ſoldiers expreſſed ſo much joy and fondneſs for him, that in their congratulation of him, they unanimouſly ſaluted him by the title of* Emperor; *and upon his quitting the province ſoon after, would needs have detained him, earneſtly begging of him, not without threats too,* Either to ſtay, or take them all along with him. *Which occaſioned a ſuſpicion of his being engaged in a deſign to rebel againſt his father, and claim for himſelf the government of the Eaſt. Which ſuſpicion he increaſed, when in his way to Alexandria he wore a diadem at the conſecration of the ox Apis at Memphis: which tho' he did only in compliance with an antient religious uſage of the country, yet ſome put an ill conſtruction upon it. Wherefore making what haſte he could into Italy, he arrived firſt at Rhegium, and ſailed from thence to Puteoli in a merchant ſhip, from whence he went to Rome with all poſſible expedition, and preſenting himſelf unexpectedly to his father, ſaid, as it were by way of reflection upon the raſhneſs of the reports raiſed about him,* I am come, father, I am come.

6. *From that time he conſtantly behaved as partner with his father in the empire, and indeed the guardian thereof. He triumphed with his father, and bore the office of cenſor together with him, was alſo his*

bunitia poteſtate et in ſeptem conſulatibus fuit. Receptaque ad ſe prope omnium officiorum cura, cum patris nomine et epiſtolas ipſe dictaret, et edicta conſcriberet, orationeſque in ſenatu recitaret etiam quæſtoris vice. Præfecturam quoq; prætorii ſuſcepit, nunquam ad id tempus, niſi ab equite Romano adminiſtratam, egitque aliquanto incivilius, et violentius. Siquidem ſuſpectiſſimum quemq; ſibi, ſubmiſſis qui per theatra et caſtra, quaſi conſenſu ad pœnam depoſcerent, haud cunctanter oppreſſit. In his A. Cæcinam conſularem virum, vocatum ad cœnam, ac vix dum triclinio egreſſum, confodi juſſit, ſane urgente diſcrimine, cum etiam chirographum ejus præparatæ apud milites conjurationis deprehendiſſet. Quibus rebus ſicut in poſterum ſecuritati ſatis cavit, ita ad præſens plurimum contraxit invidiæ: ut non temere quis, tam adverſo rumore, magiſque invitis omnibus, tranſierit ad principatum.

7. Præter ſævitiam, ſuſpecta in eo etiam luxuria erat: quod ad mediam noctem commeſſationes cum profuſiſſimo quoque familiarium extenderet. Nec minus libido, propter exoletorum et ſpadonum greges, propterq; inſignem reginæ Beronices amorem, cui etiam nuptias pollicitus ferebatur. Suſpecta et rapacitas, quod conſtabat in cognitionibus patris nundinari præmiariq; ſolitum. Deniq; propalam alium Nerone nom et opinabantur, et prædicabant. At illi ea fama pro bono ceſſit, converſaque eſt in maximas laudes neque ullo vitio reperto, et contra virtutibus ſummis. Convivia inſtitu-

colleague in the Tribunitian authority, and ſeven conſulſhips. And taking upon him the care and inſpection of all offices whatever, he dictated letters, and writ proclamations in his father's name, and repeated his ſpeeches in the ſenate in the room of the quæſtor. He moreover took upon him the command of the guard, which 'till that time, had never been managed by any but a Roman knight, and behaved with great haughtineſs and violence, taking off without ſcruple or delay ſuch as he was moſt jealous of, after he had underhand employed ſeveral people to diſperſe themſelves up and down the theatres and camp, and demanded them as it were by conſent to be delivered up to puniſhment. Amongſt thoſe he invited A. Cæcina a conſular gentleman to ſupper, and ordered him to be ſtabbed immediately after he was got out of the room again, being provoked to it indeed by a moſt preſſing danger, for he had diſcovered a writing under his own hand, containing the project of a plot carried on amongſt the ſoldiery. By which means, tho' he did indeed provide for the future ſecurity of his family, yet for the preſent he ſo much incurred the hatred of the people, that ſcarce ever any one came to the empire with ſo odious a character, or more univerſally diſliked.

7. *Beſides his cruelty he lay under the ſuſpicion of luxury too, becauſe he would continue his revels 'till midnight with the moſt prodigal of his acquaintance. Nor was he leſs ſuſpected of exceſſive lewdneſs, becauſe of the ſwarms of catamites and eunuchs about him, as alſo his famous intrigue with queen Beronice, to whom he was reported to have promiſed marriage too. He was likewiſe ſuppoſed to be of a rapacious temper; for it's certain in cauſes that came before his father, he uſed to offer his intereſt to ſale, and take bribes. In ſhort, people openly declared their opinions of him, and ſaid he would prove another Nero. But this ill character proved much to his advantage, and did not a little enhance his praiſes, becauſe there was no vice appeared in him, but on the contrary the nobleſt virtues. His entertainments were pleaſant*

it

it jucunda magis quam profusa. Amicos elegit, quibus etiam post eum principes ut et sibi et reipubl. necessariis acquieverunt, præcipueque sunt usi. Beronicen, statim ab urbe dimisit invitus invitam. Quosdam e gratissimis delicatorum, quamquam tam artifices saltationis, ut mox scenam tenuerint, non modo fovere prolixius, sed spectare omnino in publico cœtu supersedit. Nulli civium quidquam ademit: abstinuit alieno, ut si quis unquam: ac ne concessas quidem ac solitas collationes recepit. Et tamen nemine ante se munificentia minor. Amphitheatro dedicato, thermisque juxta celeriter exstructis munus, edidit apparatissimum, largissimumque. Dedit et navale prælium in veteri naumachia, ibidem et gladiatores: atque una die quinq; millia omne genus ferarum.

8. Natura autem benevolentissimus, cum ex instituto Tiberii omnes dehinc Cæsares beneficia a superioribus concessa principibus, aliter rata non haberent, quam si eadem iisdem et ipsi dedissent: primus præteritis omnia uno confirmavit edicto: nec a se peti passus est. In cæteris vero desideriis omnium hominum obstinatissime tenuit, ne quem sine spe dimitteret. Quin et admonentibus domesticis, *quasi plura polliceretur quam præstare posset: Non oportere*, ait, *quemquam a sermone principis tristem discedere.* Atque etiam recordatus quondam super cœnam, quod nihil cuiquam toto die præstitisset, memorabilem illam meritoq; laudatam vocem edidit, *Amici, diem perdidi.* Populum in primis universum tanta per omnes occasiones comitate tractavit,

rather than extravagant, and he chose such a set of friends, as the following princes acquiesced in as necessary for them and the government. He sent away Beronice from the city immediately much against both their inclinations. Some of his old catamites, tho' such artists in dancing, that they carried all before them upon the stage, he was so far from treating with any extraordinary kindness, that he would not so much as see them in any publick assembly of the people at all. He deprived none of his subjects of their property, and kept himself clear of all injustice, if ever man did, nay would not accept of the allowable and customary contributions, and yet was inferior to none of the princes before him in generosity. Having opened his amphitheatre and built some warm baths close by it with great expedition, he entertained the people with a most ample and noble publick diversion. He likewise exhibited a sea fight, in the old naumachia, and a combat of gladiators in the same, and in one day brought into the theatre five thousand wild beasts of all sorts.

8. *He was by nature extremely benevolent; for whereas the emperors after Tiberius, according to the example he had set them, would not allow of grants made by former princes as valid, unless they thought fit expressly to continue them, he confirmed them all by one single proclamation, without suffering himself to be addressed about them. And let who would petition him for any thing, his constant practice was to send none away without hopes. And when his ministers insinuated to him,* As though he promised more than he could perform, *he replied,* That no body ought to go away sad from the speech of his prince. *And once at supper reflecting that he had done nothing for any one that day, he broke out into that memorable and justly admired saying,* Friends, I have lost a day. *He treated especially the whole body of the people upon all occasions with so much complaisance, that upon promising them an entertainment of gladiators, he declared* He would manage it, not according to his

tavit,

tavit, ut propoſito gladiatorio munere, *non ad ſuum, ſed ad ſpectantium arbitrium editurum ſe* profeſſus ſit. Et plane ita fecit. Nam neq; negavit quidquam petentibus: et ut quæ vellent peterent, ultro adhortatus eſt. Quin et ſtudium armaturæ Thracum præ ſe ferens, ſæpe cum populo et voce et geſtu, ut fautor, caviliatus eſt: verum majeſtate ſalva, nec minus æquitate. Ne quid popularitatis prætermitteret, non nunquam in thermis ſuis, admiſſa plebe, lavit. Quædam ſub eo fortuita ac triſtia acciderunt: ut conflagratio Veſevi montis, in Campania: et incendium Romæ, per triduum, totidemque noctes: item peſtilentia, quanta non temere alias. In his tot adverſis ac talibus, non modo principis ſollicitudinem, ſed et parentis affectum unicum præſtitit: nunc conſolando, per edicta: nunc opitulando, quatenus ſuppeteret facultas. Curatores reſtituendæ Campaniæ e conſularium numero ſorte duxit. Bona oppreſſorum in Veſevo, quorum hæredes non exſtabant, reſtitutioni afflictarum civitatum attribuit. Urbis incendio nihil niſi ſibi publice periiſſe teſtatus, cuncta prætoriorum ſuorum ornamenta operibus ac templis deſtinavit: præpoſuitq; complures ex equeſtri ordine, quo quæque maturius peragerentur. Medendæ valetudini, leniendiſq; morbis, nullam divinam humanamq; opem non adhibuit, inquiſito omni ſacrificiorum remediorumq; genere. Inter adverſa temporum, et delatores mandatoreſq; erant, ex licentia veteri. Hos aſſidue in foro flagellis ac fuſtibus cæſos ac noviſſime traductos per Am-

own fancy, but that of the ſpectators, *and did accordingly. For he denied them nothing, and very frankly encouraged them to aſk what they pleaſed. And being a favourer of the gladiators called Thraces, he would as ſuch, oftentimes take a merry freedom with the people both in his words and geſtures, but not without a due regard to his imperial dignity and juſtice too. And to let ſlip no occaſion of making himſelf popular, he let the common people be admitted into his bath, when he made uſe of it himſelf. Some ſad accidents happened in his time, as an eruption of mount Veſuvius in Campania, and a fire at Rome that laſted three days and three nights, beſides a plague ſuch as was ſcarce ever known before. In theſe diſmal calamities he not only behaved with all the concern that might be expected from a prince, but with the affection of a father for his people, one while comforting them by his proclamations, and another while aſſiſting them as far as was in his power. He choſe by lot from amongſt the conſular gentlemen commiſſioners for the relief of Campania. He applied the eſtates of ſuch as had periſhed in the fire of Veſuvius, and left no heirs, to the repair of ſuch cities as were damaged thereby. As to the publick buildings deſtroyed in the fire of the city he declared no body ſhould be a loſer by them but himſelf; and accordingly he applied all the ornaments of his palaces for the decoration of the temples and other great works, and appointed ſeveral gentlemen of the equeſtrian order to overſee the buſineſs, and haſten the work. For the relief of the people during the plague, he employed all manner of means both human and divine, in the way of ſacrifice to appeaſe the gods, and medicine. Amongſt the calamities of the times were informers, and ſuch as employed them, a ſort of vermin that grew up under the licenſe of former reigns. Theſe he frequently had laſhed or well cudgelled in the forum, and then after he had obliged them to paſs in parade through the amphitheatre, commanded them to be ſold for ſlaves, or elſe baniſhed them into ſome rocky iſlands. And to diſcourage others from the like practices for the future,*

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phitheatri arenam, partim ſubjici ac venire imperavit: partim in aſperrimas inſularum avehi. Utq; etiam ſimilia quandoq; auſuros perpetuo coerceret, vetuit inter cætera, de eadem re pluribus legibus agi, quærive de cujuſquam defunctorum ſtatu, ultra certos annos.

amongſt other things, he forbid any one to be proceeded againſt upon ſeveral laws for the ſame fact; and that the condition of perſons deceaſed ſhould, after a certain number of years, be exempt from all enquiry.

9. Pontificatum maximum ideo ſe profeſſus accipere, ut puras ſervaret manus, fidem præſtitit: nec auctor poſthac cujuſquam necis, nec conſcius, quamvis interdum ulciſcendi cauſa non deeſſet, ſed *periturum ſe potius, quam perditurum*, adjurans. Duos patricii generis convictos in affectatione imperii, nihil amplius, quam ut deſiſterent monuit, dicens, *principatum fato dari:* ſi quid præterea deſiderarent, promittens ſe tributurum: et confeſtim quidem ad alterius matrem, quæ procul aberat, curſores ſuos miſit, qui anxiæ filium ſalvum nuntiarent. Cæterum ipſos non ſolum familiari cœnæ adhibuit, ſed et inſequenti die gladiatorum ſpectaculo circa ſe ex induſtria collocatis, oblata ſibi ornamenta pugnantium inſpicienda porrexit. Dicitur etiam cognita utriuſque genitura, *imminere ambobus periculum* affirmaſſe, *verum quandoque et ab alio:* ſicut evenit. Fratrem inſidiari ſibi non deſinentem, ſed pæne ex profeſſo ſollicitantem exercitus, meditantem fugam, nec occidere, neque ſeponere, ac ne in minore quidem honore habere ſuſtinuit: Sed, ut primo imperii die, conſortem ſucceſſoremque teſtari perſeveravit: nonnunquam ſecreto lacrymis et precibus orans *ut tandem mutuo erga ſe animo vellet eſſe.*

9. *He declared he would take the office of high prieſt upon him, in order to have his hands undefiled; and he was as good as his word, for after that time he was neither directly or indirectly concerned in the death of any man whatever, though he was ſometimes ſufficiently provoked; but he ſwore,* He would periſh himſelf, before he would be the deſtruction of any man. *Two gentlemen of patrician quality being convicted of aſpiring to the empire, he only adviſed them to deſiſt, ſaying,* That ſovereign power was diſpoſed of by fate; *and promiſed them, if they had any thing elſe to deſire of him, he would gratify them. Upon which he immediately diſpatched away meſſengers to the mother of one of them, that was at a great diſtance, and concerned about her ſon, to ſatisfy her that he was ſafe. Nay he not only invited them to ſup with him, but the day after, at a ſhew of gladiators, purpoſely placed them cloſe by him, and when the arms of the combatants were preſented to him, he handed them to the two gentlemen. It is ſaid too, that upon hearing their nativities, he aſſured them,* That ſome great calamity would ſometime befal them, but from another hand, not his, *as it accordingly happened. Tho' his brother was perpetually plotting againſt him, and almoſt barefacedly ſpiriting up the armies to rebellion, and contriving to leave the court in order to put himſelf at the head of them, yet he could not endure to put him to death, or ſo much as baniſh him the court, or treat him with leſs reſpect than before. But from his firſt acceſſion to the empire, he conſtantly declared him his partner therein, and that he ſhould be his ſucceſſor, begging of him ſometimes in private with tears,* To make him a return of the like affection.

10. Inter

10. Inter hæc morte præventus est, majore hominum damno, quam suo. Spectaculis absolutis, in quorum fine, populo coram ubertim fleverat, Sabinos petit aliquanto tristior, quod sacrificanti hostis aufugerat, quodque tempestate serena tonuerat. Deinde ad primam statim mansionem febrim nactus, cum inde lectica transferretur, suspexisse dicitur dimotis plagulis cœlum: multumq; conquestus *eripi sibi vitam immerenti. Neque enim exstare ullum suum factum pœnitendum, excepto duntaxat uno.* Id quale fuerit, neque ipse tunc prodidit, neque cuiquam facile succurrat. Quidam opinantur consuetudinem recordatum, quam cum fratris uxore habuerit. Sed nullam habuisse persancte Domitia jurabat; haud negatura, si qua omnino fuisset; immo etiam gloriatura, quod illi promtissimum erat in omnibus probris.

11. Excessit in eadem, qua pater, villa, Idibus Septembris, post biennium ac menses duos dieisque xx, quam successerat patri, altero et quadragesimo ætatis anno. Quod ut palam factum est, non secus atq; in domestico luctu mœrentibus publice cunctis, senatus prius quam edicto convocaretur, ad curiam cucurrit: obseratisque adhuc foribus, deinde apertis, tantas mortuo gratias egit laudesq; congessit, quantas ne vivo quidem unquam atque præsenti.

10. *In the mean time he was taken off by an untimely death, more to the loss of mankind, than himself. In the close of the publick diversions he entertained the people with, he wept bitterly before them all, and then went away very melancholy for the country of the Sabines, because the victims had escaped from the sacrificer, and it had thundered in clear weather. At night he was taken with a fever, and being carried from thence into a sedan, they tell you, he put by the curtains, and looked up to heaven, complaining heavily,* that his life was taken from him, tho' he had done nothing to deserve it: for there was no action of his he had occasion to repent of but one. *What that was, he neither discovered himself, nor is it easy for any one to guess. Some fancy he reflected upon the unlawful familiarity he had formerly had with his brother's wife. But Domitia solemnly denied it with an oath, which she would never have done, had there been any thing of truth in it; nay she would certainly have boasted of it, as she was forward enough to do of all her scandalous pranks.*

11. *He died in the same villa his father had done before him, upon the ides of September, two years, two months and twenty days after he had succeeded his father, and in the one and fortieth year of his age. As soon as the news of his death was published, all people mourned for him, as for the loss of some near relation. The senate before they could be summoned by proclamation, drew together, and locking the doors of their house at first, but afterwards opening of them, gave him such thanks, and heaped upon him such praises now he was dead, as they never had done for him, whilst he was alive and present amongst them.*

C. SUETONII TRANQUILLI

T. Flavius Domitianus, XII.

CHAP. I.

DOMITIANUS natus eſt IX kalend. Novembris, patre conſule deſignato, inituroq; menſe inſequenti honorem, regione urbis ſexta, ad Malum Punicum, domo, quam poſtea in templum gentis Flaviæ convertit. Pubertatis ac primæ adoleſcentiæ tempora, tanta inopia, tantaque infamia geſſiſſe fertur, ut nullum vas argenteum in uſu haberet. Satiſque conſtat Clodium Pollionem prætorium virum, in quem eſt poema Neronis, quod inſcribitur *Luſcio*, chirographum ejus conſervaſſe, et nonnunquam protuliſſe, noctem ſibi pollicentis: nec defuerunt, qui affirmarent corruptum Domitianum et a Nerva ſucceſſore mox ſuo. Bello Vitelliano confugit in capitolium, cum patruo Sabino, ac parte præſentium copiarum: ſed irrumpentibus adverſariis, et ardente templo, apud ædituum clam pernoctavit, ac mane Iſiaci celatus habitu interque ſacrificulos vanæ ſuperſtitionis, cum ſe trans Tiberim ad condiſcipuli ſui matrem comite uno contuliſſet, ita latuit, ut ſcrutantibus qui veſtigia ſubſequuti erant, deprehendi non potuerit. Poſt

DOMITIAN was born upon the ninth of the calends of November, when his father was conſul elect, being to enter upon his office the month following, in the ſixth ward of the city, at the Pomegranate, in the houſe which he afterwards converted into a temple of the Flavian family. He is ſaid to have ſpent the time of his youth in ſo much want and infamy, that he had no plate at all belonging to him. And it's well known, that Clodius Pollio, a prætorian gentleman, againſt whom there is a poem of Nero's extant, intitled Luſcio, *kept a note under his hand, which he ſometimes produced, wherein he promiſed him a night's lodging. And ſome too pretended to ſay that he was catamite to Nerva who ſucceeded him. In Vitellius's war he fled into the capitol with his unkle Sabinus and a part of the troops they then had in town. But the enemy breaking in, and the temple being ſet on fire, he hid himſelf all night with the keeper of the temple, and next morning diſguiſing himſelf in the habit of a worſhipper of Iſis, and mixing with the prieſts of that idle ſuperſtition, he got over the Tiber to the houſe of a gentlewoman, mother to one who had formerly been his ſchool-fellow, with only one attendant, and lay ſo cloſe there, that though the enemy that purſued him cloſe at the heels, ſearched the houſe very ſtrictly, they could not find him. At laſt, after the ſucceſs of his party, appearing in publick, and being unanimouſly ſaluted by the title of Cæſar,* vic-

victoriam demum progressus, et Cæsar consalutatus, honorem prætura urbanæ cum consulari potestate suscepit titulo tenus: quam jurisdictionem ad collegam proximum transtulit. Cæterum omnem vim dominationis tam licenter exercuit, ut jam tum, qualis futurus esset, ostenderet. Ne exsequar singula, contrectatis multorum uxoribus, Domitiam Longinam Ælio Lamiæ nuptam etiam in matrimonium abduxit; atque uno die super xx urbana officia, atque peregrina distribuit, mirari se Vespasiano dictitante, *quod successorem non et sibi mitteret.*

he took upon him the Office of city prætor with consular authority, but in effect, had nothing but the name, for the jurisdiction of the place he transferred to his next colleague. However he domineered upon the occasion in so licentious a manner, that he even then sufficiently discovered what sort of a prince he was like to prove. I shall only mention a few of his pranks; after he had made free with the wives of a great many gentlemen, he took Domitia Longina from her husband Ælius Lamias, and married her, and in one day disposed of above twenty offices in town and the provinces together, upon which Vespasian said several times, he wondered he did not send him a successor too.

2. Expeditionem quoque in Galliam, Germaniasque, neque necessariam, et dissuadentibus paternis amicis inchoavit: tantum ut fratri se et operibus et dignatione adæquaret. Ob hæc correptus, quo magis ætatis et conditionis admoneretur, habitabat cum patre una, sellamque ejus ac fratris, quoties prodirent, lectica sequebatur; ac triumphum utrumque Judaicum, equo albo comitatus est. In sex consulatibus, non nisi unum ordinarium gessit, eumq; cedente, et suffragante fratre. Simulavit et ipse mire modestiam, in primisq; poeticæ studium, tam insuetum antea sibi, quam postea spretum et abjectum: recitavitq; etiam publice. Nec tamen eo secius, cum Vologesus Parthorum rex auxilia adversus Alanos, ducemq; alterum ex Vespasiani liberis depoposciset, omni ope contendit, ut ipse potissimum mitteretur. Et quia discussa res est, alios Orientis reges, ut idem postularent, donis ac pollicitationibus sollicitare tentavit. Patre defuncto, diu cunctatus, an du-

2. *He likewise designed an expedition into Gaul and Germany, without the least necessity for it, and contrary to the advice of all his father's friends, and this he did only to come up with his brother in military atchievements and glory. But being severely reprimanded for it, that he might the more effectually be kept to a sense of his age and condition, he lived with his father, and followed his and his brother's chair, as oft' as they went abroad in a litter; and attended them in their triumph for the reduction of Judæa, mounted upon a white horse. Of his six consulships he had but one ordinary one, and that he got too by the cession and interest of his brother. He was a mighty pretender to modesty, and above all to poetry, insomuch that he rehearsed his performances of that kind in publick, tho' it was a study which had formerly been as much disused as it was afterwards despised and rejected by him. However when Vologesus king of the Parthians desired succours against the Alani, and one of Vespasian's sons to command them, he laboured hard to procure that commission for himself. But that occasion blowing over, he attempted to engage by presents and promises other kings of the East to make the like request. After the death of his father, he was for some time in doubt with himself, whether he should not offer the soldiery a donative double*

plum

plum donativum militi donaret, nunquam jactare dubitavit, *relictum se participem imperii, sed fraudem testamento adhibitam.* Neque cessavit ex eo insidias struere fratri clam palamque: quoad correptum gravi valetudine, prius quam plane efflaret animam, pro mortuo deseri jussit; defunctumq; nullo præterquam consecrationis honore dignatus, sæpe etiam carpsit obliquis orationibus et edictis.

3. Inter initia principatus, quotidie secretum sibi horarium sumere solebat nec quidquam amplius, quam muscas captare, ac stilo præacuto configere; ut cuidam interroganti, *Essetne quis intus cum Cæsare*, non absurde responsum sit a Vibio Crispo, *Ne musca quidem.* Deinde uxorem suam Domitiam, ex qua in secundo suo consulatu filium tulerat, alteroq; anno consalutaverat ut Augustam, eandem Paridis histrionis amore deperditam, repudiavit; intraque breve tempus impatiens dissidii, quasi efflagitante populo, reduxit. Circa administrationem autem imperii aliquandiu se varium præstitit, mistura quoque inæquabili vitiorum atque virtutum, donec virtutes quoque in vitia deflexit; quantum conjectare licet, super ingenii naturam, inopia rapax, metu sævus.

4. Spectacula magnifica assidue et sumptuosa edidit, non in amphitheatro modo, verum et in circo: ubi præter sollennes bigarum quadrigarumque cursus, prælium duplex etiam equestre ac pedestre commisit; atque in amphitheatro navale quoque: Nam venationes gladiatoresque, et noctibus ad

to that of his brother, and made no scruple to say frequently, That he had been left his partner in the empire, but that a trick had been play'd with his father's will. *And from that time forward he was continually forming designs against him as well publickly as privately, 'till upon his falling dangerously ill, he ordered all his attendance to leave him under pretence of his being dead, before he really was so, and at his decease paid no other honour to his memory, besides that of enrolling him amongst the gods, notwithstanding which he would often both in his speeches and proclamations abuse him by sly ugly reflections.*

3. *In the beginning of his reign, he used to spend daily an hour by himself in private, during which time he was wholly taken up in the catching of flies, and sticking them through the body with a bodkin. And therefore when somebody enquired* whether any one was with the emperor, *it was wittily enough answered by Vibius Crispus,* not so much as a fly: *Soon after his advancement, his wife Domitia, by whom he had a son in his second consulship, and whom the year following he complimented with the title of Augusta, being desperately in love with the player Paris, de divorced her, but in a short time after, being unable to bear the separation, he took her again, under pretence of complying with the people's importunity in her favour. There was in his administration for some time an odd mixture of virtue and vice, 'till at last his virtues themselves degenerated into vice, being, as a body may reasonably conjecture, not only naturally inclined to avarice and cruelty, but yet more so to the former vice through want, and to the latter through fear.*

4. *He frequently entertained the people with most magnificent and costly shews, not only in the amphitheatre but the circus too, where, besides the usual races with chariots drawn by two or four horses a breast, he exhibited the representation of an engagement betwixt both horse and foot, and a sea fight in the amphitheatre. The chace of wild-beasts, as also the combats of gladiators, he entertained the people with, even*

lychnuchos; nec virorum modo pugnas, ſed et feminarum. Præterea quæſtoriis muneribus, quæ olim omiſſa revocaverat, ita ſemper interfuit, ut populo poteſtatem fecerit, bina paria e ſuo ludo poſtulandi, quæ noviſſima aulico apparatu induceret. Ac per omne gladiatorum ſpectaculum ante pedes ejus ſtabat puerulus coccinatus, parvo portentoſoq; capite, cum quo plurimum fabulabatur, nonnunquam ſerio. Auditus eſt certe, dum ex eo quærit *Ecquid ſciret, cur ſibi viſum eſſet, ordinatione proxima Ægypto præficere Metium Rufum.* Edidit navales pugnas pæne juſtarum claſſium, effoſſo et circumſtructo juxta Tiberim lacu, atque inter maximos imbres proſpectavit. Fecit et ludos ſæculares, computata ratione temporum ab anno, non quo Claudius proxime, ſed quo olim Auguſtus ediderat. In his Circenſium die, quo facilius centum miſſus peragerentur, ſingulos a ſeptenis ſpatiis ad quina corripuit. Inſtituit et quinquennale certamen, Capitolino Jovi triplex, muſicum, equeſtre, gymnicum, et aliquanto plurium, quam nunc eſt, coronaratum. Certabant etiam et proſa oratione Græce, Latineque; ac præter citharœdos chorocitharistæ quoque, et pſilocitharistæ: In ſtadio vero curſu etiam virgines. Certamini præſedit crepidatus, purpureaque amictus toga Græcanica, capite geſtans coronam auream cum effigie Jovis, Junonis, Minervæque; aſſidentibus Diali ſacerdote et collegio Flavialium, pari habitu, niſi quod illorum coronis inerat et ipſius imago. Celebrabat et in Albano quotannis Quinquatria

in the night-time by the light of lamps. Nor did men only fight upon theſe occaſions, but women too. He always attended at the games given by the quæſtors, which had been dropped for ſome time, but were revived again by himſelf; and upon thoſe occaſions, always gave the people the liberty of demanding two pair of gladiators out of his own ſchool, which came up laſt in the court livery. And during his attendance upon this diverſion, there ſtood at his feet a little boy in ſcarlet, with a monſtrous ſmall head, with whom he uſed to talk very much, and ſometimes gravely too. It's certain he was overheard aſking him, If he knew for what reaſon he had in the late promotion of publick officers made Metius Rufus governor of Egypt. *He preſented the people with naval fights performed by fleets almoſt as numerous as what are uſually employed in real engagements; making a huge lake nigh the Tiber, and building it round with ſeats for the purpoſe. And he attended himſelf at the diverſion, during a very rainy ſeaſon. He likewiſe celebrated the ſecular games, reckoning not from the year wherein they had been exhibited by Claudius, but from the time of Auguſtus's celebration thereof. In theſe upon the day of the Circenſian diverſions, in order to have a hundred races performed, he reduced each from ſeven rounds to five. He likewiſe inſtituted in honour of Jupiter Capitolinus a ſolemn conteſt to be performed every five years in muſick, horſe-racing, and the exerciſes of the Gymnaſium, with more prizes than are at preſent allowed. Nay, there was too a publick performance in eloquence both greek and latin, and beſides the harpers that ſing to that inſtrument, others that play'd in concert, or ſingle without uſing their voice. Virgins likewiſe run races in the ſtadium, at which himſelf preſided in his crœpide, dreſſed in ſcarlet after the Græcian faſhion, and wearing upon his head a golden crown with the effigies of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, with the prieſt of Jupiter and the whole company of thoſe appointed for the Flavian family ſitting by him in the like dreſs, excepting only that their crowns had his pic-*

Mi-

Minervæ, cui collegium inſtituerat: ex quo ſorte ducti magiſterio fungerentur, ederentq; eximias venationes, et ſcenicos ludos, ſuperq; oratorum ac poetarum certamina. Congiarium populo nummorum trecenorum ter dedit, atque inter ſpectacula muneris, largiſſimum epulum. Septimontiali ſacro quidem ſenatui equitiq; panariis, plebei ſportellis cum opſonio diſtributis, initium veſcendi primus fecit; dieque proximo omne genus rerum miſſilia ſparſit: et quia pars major intra popularia deciderat, quinquagenas teſſeras in ſingulos cuneos equeſtris ac ſenatorii ordinis pronuntiavit.

ture likewiſe upon them. He celebrated alſo upon the Alban mount every year the feſtival of Minerva, for whom he had appointed a college of prieſts, out of which were choſe by lot perſons to preſide as governors over the college, who were obliged upon that account to entertain the people with extraordinary chaces of wild beaſts, ſtage plays, beſides conteſts for prizes in oratory and poetry. He thrice beſtowed a boon upon the people of three hundred ſeſterces a man, and at a publick diverſion of gladiators, a very plentiful feaſt. And at the ſeptimontial feſtival, diſtributing large baſkets of proviſions to the ſenatorian and equeſtrian orders, and ſmall ones to the plebeian, he encouraged them to fall to by ſetting them an example. And the day after he made ſcrambles of a great variety of things, and becauſe the greater part of them fell into the ſeats of the populace, he ordered five hundred tickets to be thrown into each range of ſeats belonging to the ſenatorian and equeſtrian order.

5. Plurima et ampliſſima opera incendio abſumpta reſtituit, in queis et capitolium, quod rurſus arſerat: ſed omnia ſub titulo tantum ſuo, ac ſine ulla priſtini auctoris memoria. Novam autem excitavit ædem in capitolio *Cuſtodi Jovi*, et *forum* quod nunc *Nervæ* vocatur. Item Flaviæ templum gentis, et ſtadium, odeum et naumachiam: e cujus poſtea lapide maximus circus, deuſtis utrimq; lateribus exſtructus eſt.

5. *He likewiſe rebuilt a great many noble fabricks that had been deſtroyed by fire, and amongſt them the capitol, which had been burnt down a ſecond time, but all in his own name, and without the leaſt mention of the original founder. He likewiſe erected a new temple in the capitol to* Jupiter Cuſtos, *and a* forum, *which is now called* Nerva's, *as alſo the temple of the Flavian family, a ſtadium, an odeum and naumachia, out of the ſtone of which the ſides of the great circus being burnt down were rebuilt.*

6. Expeditiones partim ſponte ſuſcepit, partim neceſſario: Sponte in Cattos; neceſſario unam in Sarmatas, legione cum legato ſimul cæſa: In Dacos duas, primam Oppio Sabino conſulari oppreſſo, ſecundam Cornelio Fuſco præfecto cohortium prætorianarum, cui belli ſummam commiſerat. De Cattis Daciſque poſt varia prælia, duplicem triumphum egit. De Sarmatis lauream modo Capitolino Jovi retulit. Bellum civile motum a L. Antonio

6. *He undertook ſome expeditions partly out of choice, and partly neceſſity. That againſt the Catti, was voluntary, but that againſt the Sarmatians he was forced to, an entire legion together, with a lieutenant-general, having been cut off by that people. He had two expeditions againſt the Dacians, the firſt upon the overthrow of Oppius Sabbinus a conſular gentleman by them, and the ſecond upon that of Cornelius Fuſcus commander of the pretorian battalions, to whom he had committed the management of that war. After ſeveral battles with the Catti and Daci, he had for his ſucceſs againſt them two triumphs. But he only*

superioris Germaniæ præside confecit absens, felicitate mira; cum ipsa dimicationis hora resolutus repente Rhenus, transituras ad Antonium copias Barbarorum inhibuisset. De qua victoria prius præsagiis, quam nuntiis comperit: Siquidem ipso quo dimicatum erat die, statuam ejus Romæ insignis aquila circumplexa pennis, clangores lætissimos edidit; pauloq; post occisum Antonium adeo vulgatum est, ut caput quoque ejus apportatum vidisse se plerique contenderent.

made an offering of a laurel crown to Jupiter Capitolinus for his performances against the Sarmatians. The civil war, begun by L. Antonius governor of Upper Germany, he quelled without being obliged to be personally present at it, with wondrous good fortune; for, at the time of the engagement, the Rhine, suddenly breaking its banks, put a stop to the troops of the Barbarians that were ready to go over to Anthony. Which victory he had notice of by some presages before the expresses came with advice of it; for, upon the very day the battle was fought, a large eagle grasping his statue at Rome with its wings, made a most joyful noise over it. And shortly after a rumour grew common, that Anthony was slain, nay many positively affirmed they saw his head brought to town.

7. Multa etiam in communi rerum usu novavit. Sportulas publicas sustulit, revocata cœnarum rectarum consuetudine. Duas Circensibus gregum factiones aurati purpureiq; panni ad quatuor pristinas addidit. Interdixit histrionibus scenam, intra domum quidem exercendi artem jure concesso. Castrari mares vetuit. Spadonum, qui residui apud mangones erant, pretia moderatus est. Ad summam quondam ubertatem vini, frumenti vero inopiam, existimans nimio vinearum studio negligi arva, edixit, ne quis in Italia novellaret, utque in provinciis vineta succiderentur, relicta, ubi plurimum, dimidia parte: nec exsequi rem perseveravit. Quædam ex maximis officiis inter libertinos militesq; Romanos communicavit. Geminari legionum castra prohibuit; nec plus, quam mille nummos a quoquam ad signa deponi, quod L. Antonius apud duarum legionum hiberna, res novas moliens, fiduciam cepisse etiam ex depositorum summa videbatur. Addidit, et quar-

7. He made a great many innovations in the publick usages of his country. He took away the sportulæ, and revived the old practice of formal suppers. He added to the four former parties in the Circensian games two new ones in gold and scarlet colour. He forbid the players acting in the theatre, but allowed them the practice of their art in private houses. He forbid the gelding of males. And reduced the prices of eunuchs that were left in the hands of the dealers in slaves. Upon the occasion of great plenty of wine, but a scarcity of corn, supposing the tillage of the ground was neglected, by reason of a too great application to the cultivating of vine-yards, he published a proclamation forbidding the planting of any new vines in Italy, and ordering the vines in the provinces to be cut down, excepting at most but one half of them any where. But he did not go on with the execution of this project. Some of the greatest offices about court he conferred upon his freed-men and soldiers. He forbid two legions any where to encamp together, and more than a thousand sesterces to be deposited by any soldier at the standards; because it was thought L. Antonius had been encouraged in his late rebellious design, by the great sum deposited in the military chest, by the two legions he had together in the same winter-quarters.

tum

tum ſtipendium militi, aureos ternos.

8. Jus diligenter et induſtrie dixit. Plerumque et in foro pro tribunali extra ordinem ambitioſas centumvirorum ſententias reſcidit. Recuperatores, ne ſe ſemper perſuaſoriis aſſertionibus accommodarent, identidem admonuit. Nummarios judices cum ſuo quemq; conſilio notavit. Auctor et tribunis pleb. fuit ædilem ſordidum repetundarum accuſandi, judiceſq; in eum a ſenatu petendi. Magiſtratibus quoq; urbicis, provinciarumque præſidibus coercendis, tantum curæ adhibuit, ut neque modeſtiores umquam, neque juſtiores exſtiterint: e quibus pleroſque poſt illum reos omnium criminum vidimus. Suſcepta morum correctione, licentiam theatralem promiſcue in equite ſpectandi inhibuit. Scripta famoſa, vulgoque edita, quibus primores viri ac feminæ notabantur, abolevit, non ſine auctorum ignominia. Quæſtorium virum, quod geſticuland ſaltandique ſtudio teneretur, movit ſenatu. Probroſis feminis lecticæ uſum ademit, juſque capiendi legata hæreditateſque. Equitem Romanum ob reductam in matrimonium uxorem, cui dimiſſæ adulterii crimen intenderat, eraſit judicum albo. Quoſdam ex utroque ordine lege Scatinia condemnavit. Inceſta Veſtalium virginum, a patre quoque ſuo et fratre neglecta, varie ac ſevere coercuit; priora capitali ſupplicio, poſteriora more veteri. Nam cum Ocellatis ſoribus, item Varonillæ liberum mortis permiſiſſet arbitrium, corruptoreſq; earum relegaſſet; mox Corneliam virginem maximam, abſolutam olim, dehinc

He made an addition to the ſoldier's pay of three gold pieces a year.

8. *He was in the adminiſtration of juſtice very diligent and induſtrious; and very often ſat in the forum out of courſe to cancel the judgments of the centumviral court, that had been procured by favour and intereſt. He now and then warned the judges called recoverers, to have a care of being too eaſy in favour of claims for liberty brought before them. He ſet a mark of infamy upon judges that took bribes together with their aſſeſſors. He likewiſe put the tribunes of the commons upon proſecuting a corrupt ædile for extortion, and deſiring from the ſenate judges for his trial. He likewiſe took ſuch effectual care for puniſhing the city magiſtrates, and governors of provinces guilty of any mal-adminiſtration, that they were never at any other time more modeſt or more juſt; moſt of which ſince his reign we have ſeen proſecuted for all manner of crimes. Having taken upon him the reformation of the publick manners, he reſtrained the licence of the populace in fitting promiſcuouſly with the knights in the theatre. Scandalous libels publiſhed to defame perſons of quality either gentlemen or ladies he ſuppreſſed, not without a mark of infamy upon the authors. He turned a queſtorian gentleman out of the ſenate, for the practice of mimickry and dancing. He debarred infamous women the uſe of the ſedan; as alſo the right of receiving legacies or inheriting eſtates. He ſtruck out of the judges' liſt a Roman knight for taking his wife again, whom he had divorced, and proſecuted for adultery. He condemned ſeveral gentlemen of the ſenatorian and equeſtrian orders upon the Scatinian law. The lewdneſs of the Veſtal virgins, which had been overlooked by his father and brother, he puniſhed differently and ſeverely; viz. offences committed before his reign with death, and thoſe in it according to ancient cuſtom. For to the ſiſters called Ocellatæ, and to Varonilla, he gave liberty to chooſe the manner of dying they liked beſt, and baniſhed their paramours. But Cornelia, the eldeſt of the veſtal ladies, who had formerly been acquitted upon an accuſation of lewdneſs, being a long time*

longo

longo intervallo repetitam atq; convictam, defodi imperavit; stupratoresque virgis in comitio ad necem cædi, excepto prætorio viro, cui dubia etiam tum causa, et incertis quæstionibus atque tormentis, de semet professo, exsilium indulsit. Ac ne qua religio Deum impune contaminaretur, monumentum, quod libertus ejus e lapidibus templo Capitolini Jovis destinatis filio construxerat, diruit per milites; ossaque et reliquias quæ inerant, mari mersit.

after again prosecuted and condemned, he ordered to be buried alive; and her gallants to be whipped to death with rods in the comitium, excepting only a pretorian gentleman, to whom, because he confessed the fact, whilst his cause was dubious, and the truth of the case left uncertain, notwithstanding the torture of the evidence, he granted the favour of banishment. And to preserve the religious respect due to the Gods pure and undefiled, he ordered the soldiers to demolish a monument, which a freed-man of his had erected for his son, out of the stone designed for the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and sunk the bones and relicks buried under it in the sea.

9. Inter initia usque adeo ab omni cæde abhorrebat, ut absente adhuc patre, recordatus Virgilii versum,

9. *Upon the first advancement of the family, he had so much abhorrence for the shedding of blood, that before his father's arrival in Rome, calling to mind this verse of Virgil,*

Impia quam cæsis gens est epulata juvencis:

'E're impious men did feast on bullocks slain.

edicere destinaverit, *ne boves immolarentur*. Cupidi-tis quoque atque avaritiæ vix suspicionem ullam, aut privatus umquam, aut princeps aliquandiu dedit, imo e diverso magna sæpe, non abstinentiæ modo, sed etiam liberalitatis experimenta. Omnes circa se largissime prosecutus nihil prius aut acrius monuit, quam ne quid sordide facerent. Relictas sibi hæreditates ab iis quibus liberi erant, non recepit. Legatum etiam ex testamento Ruscii Cæpionis, qui caverat, *ut quotannis ingredientibus curiam senatoribus, certam summam viritim præstaret hæres suus*, irritum fecit. Reos qui ante quinquennium proximum apud ærarium pependissent, universos discrimine liberavit; nec repeti, nisi intra annum, eaq; conditione permisit, ut accusatori,

he designed to have published a proclamation to forbid the sacrifice of oxen. *And before his advancement to the empire, and some time after, he scarce gave the least occasion to suspect him of covetousness, or avarice; nay, on the contrary, he frequently gave considerable specimens not only of his justice, but his generosity too. He was profusely liberal to all about him, and above all things strictly charged them against all sordid behaviour. He would not accept of the estates left him by such as had children. He likewise set aside a legacy left by the will of Ruscius Cæpio, who had ordered* his heir to make a present yearly to every senator upon their first assembling. *He discharged all those who had been under a prosecution from the treasury for above five years before, and would not suffer the suits to be renewed against them, unless it was done within a year after, and upon condition too, that the prosecutor should be banished, if he could not make good his cause. The secretaries attending the questors trading according to cus-*

tori,

tori, qui cauſam non teneret, exſilium pœna eſſet. Scribas Quæſtorios negotiantes ex conſuetudine, ſed contra Clodiam legem, venia in præteritum donavit. Subſeciva, quæ diviſis per veteranos agris carptim ſuperfuerunt, veteribus poſſeſſoribus, ut uſucapta conceſſit. Fiſcales calumnias magna calumniantium pœna repreſſit: ferebaturque vox ejus, *Princeps qui delatores non caſtigat, irritat.*

10. Sed neque in clementiæ neque in abſtinentiæ tenore permanſit: et tamen aliquanto celerius ad ſævitiam deſcivit, quam ad cupiditatem. Diſcipulum Paridis pantomimi puberem adhuc, et cum maxime ægrum, quod arte formaq; non abſimilis magiſtro videbatur, occidit: item Hermogenem Tarſenſem, propter quaſdam in hiſtoria figuras, librariis etiam qui eam deſcripſerant crucifixis. Patrem familias quod *Thracem mirmilloni parem, munerario imparem* dixerat, detractum e ſpectaculis in arenam, canibus objecit, cum hoc titulo: *IMPIE LOCUTUS PARMULARIUS.* Complures ſenatores, in his aliquot conſulares interemit: ex quibus Civicam Cerealem in ipſo Aſiæ proconſulatu, Salvidienum Orſitum, Acilium Glabrionem exſilio, quaſi molitores novarum rerum: cæteros levi ſſima quemque de cauſſa; Ælium Lamiam, ob ſuſpicioſos quidem, verum et veteres et innoxios jocos; quod poſt abductam uxorem laudanti vocem ſuam, *Heu taceo*, dixerat; quodque Tito hortanti ſe ad alterum matrimonium reſponderat μὴ γὰ σὺ γαμῆσαι θέλεις; Salvinum Coccejanum, quod Othonis

tom, but contrary to the Clodian law, he pardoned for their paſt behaviour. Such portions of land as were here and there left upon any partition made amongſt the veteran ſoldiers, he granted to the antient poſſeſſors as their's by preſcription. He put a ſtop to falſe proſecutions in the exchequer, by ſeverely puniſhing the proſecutors; and this ſaying of his was much taken notice of, That a prince who does not puniſh ſuch as make a practice of informing, encourages them.

10. *But he continued not long in this courſe of clemency and juſtice; yet he ſooner fell away to the practice of cruelty, than avarice. He put to death a diſciple of Paris the pantomimick, tho' a minor, and then ſick, only becauſe in the practice of his art and perſon both he reſembled his maſter; as he did likewiſe Hermogenes of Tarſus on ſome ſly reflections in his hiſtory, crucifying moreover the ſcribes that had writ it out. One that was maſter of a family happening to ſay,* That a Thrax was a match for a Mirmillo, but not ſo for the exhibitor of the games, *he had him dragged out of his ſeat into the theatre, and expoſed to the dogs with this label upon him,* A Parmularian guilty of talking impiouſly. *He put to death a great many ſenators, and amongſt them ſeveral conſular gentlemen, of which Civica Cerealis when he was proconſul of Africa, Salvidienus Orſitus, and Acilius Glabrio in exile, under pretence of their deſigning an inſurrection againſt him. The reſt he puniſhed upon very trivial occaſions; as Ælius Lamias for ſome ſly jeſts, but of old date, and very harmleſs, becauſe upon his commending his voice after he had taken his wife from him, he replied,* Alas! I hold my tongue: *And when Titus adviſed him to take another wife, he anſwered him thus,* What! have you a mind to marry too? *Salvius Cocceianas for keeping the birth-day of his uncle Otho the emperor: Metius Pompoſianus, becauſe he was commonly reported to have an imperial nativity, and to carry about with him a map of the world on*

imperatoris patrui sui diem natalem celebraverat; Metium Pomposianum, quod habere imperatoriam genesim vulgo ferebatur, et quod depictum orbem terræ in membrana, concioneisque regum ac ducum ex Tito Livio circumferret, quodq; servis nomina Magonis et Annibalis indidisset; Sallastium Lucullum Britanniæ legatum, quod lanceas novæ formæ appellari *Lucullæas* passus esset; Junium Rusticum, quod Pæti Thraseæ et Helvidii Prisci laudes edidisset, appellassetque eos *sanctissimos viros*; cujus criminis occasione, philosophos omnes urbe Italiaque submovit. Occidit et Helvidium filium, quod quasi scenico exodio sub persona Paridis et Oenones divortium suum cum uxore taxasset. Flavium Sabinum alterum e patruelibus, quod eum comitiorum consularium die destinatum, perperam præco non *Consulem* ad populum, sed *Imperatorem*, pronunciasset. Verum aliquanto post civilis belli victoriam sævior, plerosq; partis adversæ, dum etiam latentes conscios investigat, novo quæstionis genere distorsit, immisso per obscæna igne; nonnullis et manus amputavit. Satisque constat duos solos e notioribus venia donatos, tribunum laticlavium et centurionem: qui se, quo facilius expertes culpæ ostenderent, impudicos probaverant, et ob id neque apud ducem, nec apud milites, ullius momenti esse potuisse.

parchment, and the speeches of kings and generals extracted out of T. Livius, and for giving his slaves the names of Mago and Annibal: Sallustius Lucullus lieutenant of Britain for suffering some lances of a new invention to be called Lucullæan: *Junius Rusticus, for publishing a treatise in praise of Pætus Thraseas and Helvidius Priscus, and calling them,* most upright men: *Upon which occasion he banished all the philosophers from the city and Italy too. He likewise put to death Helvidius the son, for reflecting in a farce prepared by him for the stage under the person of Paris and Oenone, upon his divorcing his wife; and also Flavius Sabinus one of his cousins, being the publick crier upon his being chosen at the consular election into that office, had by a blunder declared him to the people not* Consul *but* Emperor. *But growing still more savage, after his success in the civil war, he used his utmost industry to discover those of the adverse party that absconded, and racked abundance of them with a new invented torture, by putting fire up their privy parts; and cut off the hands of some. And it is certain only two of any note were pardoned, a laticlavian tribune, and a centurion, who, to clear themselves from the charge of being concerned in that affair, proved themselves to have been guilty of prostitution, and therefore such as could have no way at all with either general or soldiers.*

11. Erat autem non solum magnæ sed et callidæ inopinatæque sævitiæ. Auctorem summarum pridie quam crucifigeret, in cubiculum vocavit: assidere in toro juxta coegit, securum hilaremq; dimisit, partibus etiam de cœna dignatus est. Arretinum Clementem consularem virum e familiaribus et emissariis suis, capitis condemnaturus, in eadem vel etiam in

11. *His cruelty was not only excessive, but subtle and unexpected. The day before he crucified a collector of his rents, he sent for him in his bed-chamber, made him sit down upon the bed by him, and sent him away very secure and well pleased, having vouchsafed him the favour of a plate of meat from his table. When he was upon the point of condemning to death Aretinus Clemens a consular gentleman, and one of his friends and spies, he kept him about him in the same or greater favour than*

majore

majore gratia habuit, quoad noviſſime ſimul geſtanti, conſpecto delatore ejus, *Vis*, inquit, *hunc nequiſſimum ſervum cras audiamus?* Et quo contemptius abuteretur patientia hominum, nunquam triſtiorem ſententiam, ſine præfatione clementiæ, pronuntiavit: ut non aliud jam certius atrocis exitus ſignum eſſet, quam principii lenitas. Quoſdam majeſtatis reos in curiam induxerat, et cum prædixiſſet *experturum ſe illa die, quam carus ſenatui eſſet*, facile perfecerat, ut etiam more majorum puniendi condemnarentur: deinde atrocitate pœnæ conterritus, ad leniendam invidiam interceſſit, his verbis, neque enim ab re fuerit ipſa cognoſcere, *Permittite, Patres Conſcripti, a pietate veſtra impetrari, quod ſcio me difficulter impetraturum, ut damnatis liberum mortis arbitrium indulgeatis. Nam et parcetis oculis veſtris, et intelligent me omnes ſenatui interfuiſſe.*

12. Exhauſtus operum ac munerum impenſis, ſtipendioq; quod adjecerat, tentavit quidem, ad relevandos caſtrenſes ſumptus, militum numerum diminuere. Sed cum obnoxium ſe Barbaris per hoc animadverteret, neque eo ſecius in explicandis oneribus hæreret nihil penſi habuit, quin prædaretur omni modo. Bona vivorum et mortuorum uſquequaque, quolibet et accuſatore et crimine, corripiebantur. Satis erat objici qualecumque factum dictumque, adverſum majeſtatem principis. Confiſcabantur alieniſſimæ hæreditates, vel exiſtente uno qui diceret, audiſſe ſe ex defuncto cum viveret, *hæredem ſibi Cæſarem*

ever,' till at laſt upon ſeeing the perſon that had informed againſt him, as he was riding in the ſame chair with him, Shall we hear, *ſays he,* this wicked ſlave to-morrow? *And to abuſe the patience of men in a way that diſcovered his contempt of them, he never pronounced ſentence of death without a preface to it, that gave hopes of mercy; ſo that, at laſt, there was no ſurer ſign of a diſmal concluſion, than a gentle beginning. He brought ſome accuſed of treaſon before the ſenate, and declaring,* That he would try that day how dear he was to the ſenate, *he ſo influenced the houſe, that they quickly condemned them to be puniſhed according to antient uſage. And then, as if alarmed at the diſmal ſeverity of the puniſhment, to qualify the odiouſneſs of the proceeding, he interpoſed in theſe words, for it won't be amiſs to give them the reader preciſely as he delivers them,* Permit me, fathers of the ſenate, ſo far to prevail upon your affection for me, which I am ſenſible will be difficult enough, as to grant the condemned criminals the favour of dying in the manner they like beſt: For thus you will ſpare your own eyes, and the world will underſtand that I was preſent in the houſe at their condemnation.

12. *Being exhauſted by the expence of his buildings and publick diverſions for the entertainment of the people, together with the addition made to the pay of the ſoldiery, he made an attempt to reduce the number of his troops, in order to make that charge more eaſy. But conſidering that he ſhould be thereby more expoſed to the inſults of the Barbarians, and yet not ſufficiently enabled to extricate himſelf out of the difficulties he was in for want of money, he fell to plunder his ſubjects in all the ways he could think of, without fear or wit. The eſtates of the living and the dead were ſeized upon any accuſation brought againſt them by any body whatever. It was enough to alledge any thing as ſaid or done by them againſt the majeſty of the emperor. Eſtates belonging to ſuch as were no ways allied to him, were brought into the exchequer, if there was but any one to ſay he had heard*

esse. Preter ceteros, Judaicus fiscus acerbissime actus est; ad quem deferebantur, qui vel professi Judaicam intra urbem viverent vitam, vel dissimulata origine, imposita genti tributa non pependissent. Interfuisse me adolescentulum memini, cum a procuratore, frequentissimoq; consilio, inspiceretur nonagenarius senex, an circumsectus esset. Ab juventa minime civilis animi, confidens etiam, et cum verbis, tum rebus immodicus. Cænidi patris concubinæ ex Istra reversæ, osculumque, ut assueverat, offerenti, manum præbuit. Generum fratris indigne ferens albatos et ipsum ministros habere, proclamavit, Οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη.

13. Principatum vero adeptus, neque in senatu jactare dubitavit, *et patri se et fratri imperium dedisse, illos sibi reddidisse*; neque in reducenda post divortium uxore edicere, *vocatam eam in pulvinar suum*. Acclamari etiam in amphitheatro epulari die libenter audivit, *Domino et Dominæ feliciter*. Sed et Capitolino certamine, cunctos ingenti consensu precantes, ut Palfurium Suram restitueret, pulsum olim senatu, ac tunc de oratoribus coronatum, nullo responso dignatus, tacere tantummodo jussit, voce præconis. Pari arrogantia, cum procuratorum suorum nomine formalem dictaret epistolam, sic cœpit; *Dominus, et Deus noster sic fieri jubet*. Unde institutum posthac, ut ne scripto quidem ac sermone cujusquam appellaretur aliter. Statuas sibi in capitolio non nisi aureas et argenteas poni permisit, ac ponderis certi. Janos arcusque

from the deceased when he was living, That he had made the emperor his heir. *Above all others, the Jews were miserably mauled by the confiscation of their estates, that is, such who declaring to give in their names as Jews to the exchequer, yet lived after the manner of the Jews, or who concealing their original did not pay the tribute laid upon that nation. I remember, when I was a young man, I was by when an old fellow of ninety was turned up to view by a procurator in a full court, to see whether he was circumcised. He was from his youth of an assuming bold temper, and extravagant both in words and actions. When Cænis, his father's concubine upon her return from Istra, offered him a kiss, as she had been used to do, he presented her with his hand. Taking it much amiss that his brother's son-in-law should be attended at table by waiters dressed in white, he cryed out,* Let us have no more princes than one.

13. *After he came to be emperor, he had the assurance to boast in the senate,* that he had given the empire to his father and brother, which they had returned him. *And upon taking his wife home again after the divorce, he declared by proclamation,* that he had recalled her to his pulvinar. *He was not a little pleased to hear the people cry out in the amphytheatre upon a fast day,* All happiness to our Lord and Lady. *All the celebration of the Capitoline solemnity too, tho' all the whole body of the people with one consent begged of him to restore Palfurius Sura, who had long before been turned out of the senate, but then carried away the prize of eloquence from all the orators that put in, he did not so much as vouchsafe to give them any answer, but only commanded them by the voice of the cryer to be silent. With the like arrogance, when he dictated the form of a letter to be used by his procurators, he begun it thus,* Our Lord and God commands so and so; *from which it became a custom to stile him constantly in the same manner, both in writing and conversation. He suffered no statues to be erected for him in the capitol, but of gold*

cum

cum quadrigis et insignibus triumphorum per regiones urbis tantos ac tot extruxit, ut cuidam Græce inscriptum arcui sit, ἄρκει. Consulatus xvii cepit, quod ante eum nemo: Ex quibus septem medios continuavit; omnes autem pæne titulo tenus gessit, nec quemquam ultra kalendas Maij, plures ad idus usque Januarias. Post autem duos triumphos, Germanici cognomine assumpto, Septembrem mensem et Octobrem ex appellationibus suis, Germanicum, Domitianumque transnominavit; quod altero suscepisset imperium, altero natus esset.

14. Per hæc terribilis cunctis et invisus, tandem oppressus est amicorum libertorumque intimorum conspiratione, simul et uxoris. Annum diemque ultimum vitæ jampridem suspectum habebat, horam etiam, nec non et genus mortis; adolescentulo Chaldæi cuncta prædixerant. Pater quoque super cœnam quondam fungis abstinentem palam irriserat, ut ignarum sortis suæ, quod non ferrum potius timeret. Quare pavidus semper atque anxius, minimis etiam suspicionibus præter modum commovebatur: ut edicti de excidendis vineis propositi gratiam facere non alia magis re compulsus credatur, quam quod sparsi libelli cum his versibus erant,

and silver, and of a certain weight. He built such large ports and arches, and so many of them, with chariots and four, and other triumphal ornaments upon them, that one of them had inscribed upon it enough. *He bore the office of consul seventeen times, which no body had ever done before him, and for the seven middle turns successively, but in them all almost he had little more than the title; for he never continued in office beyond the calends of May, and for the most part only to the ides of January. After his two triumphs assuming the name of Germanicus, he called the months of September and October from himself Germanicus and Domitian, because he begun his reign in one, and was born in the other.*

14. *Becoming by these means terrible and odious to every body, he was at last taken off by a conspiracy of his friends and favourite freed-men together with his wife. He had for a long time before a suspicion of the year and day he was to die, nay of the very hour, and manner of his death; all which he had learnt from the Chaldæans, when he was a very young man. His father too once at supper laugh'd at him for refusing to eat some mushrooms before him, as ignorant of his fate in not rather fearing the sword. Wherefore being in a perpetual fright and anxiety, he was exceedingly alarmed with every little suspicion, insomuch that he is thought to have dropped the proclamation he design'd for cuting up the vines for no other reason so much as that of the publication of the following distitch,*

Κἂν μὲ φάγῃς ἐπὶ ῥίζαν ὅμως ἔτι καπνοφορήσω,
Ὅσσον ἐπισσείσει Καίσαρι θυμιάμενα.

Gnaw thou my root, yet shall my juice suffice
To pour on Cæsar's head in sacrifice.

Eadem

Eadem formidine oblatum a senatu novum et excogitatum honorem, quamquam omnium talium appetentissimus, recusavit; quo decretum erat, *ut quoties gereret consulatum, equites Romani quibus sors obtigisset, trabeati, et cum hastis militaribus, præcederent eum, inter lictores apparitoresque.* Tempore vero suspecti periculi appropinquante, solicitior indies, porticuum, in quibus spatiari consueverat, parietes phengite lapide distinxit; e cujus splendore per imagines quidquid a tergo fieret, provideret. Et nec nisi secreto atque solus pleraque custodias receptis quidem in manum catenis, audiebat; utq; domesticis persuaderet, ne bono quidem exemplo, audendam esse patroni necem, Epaphroditum a libellis, capitali pœna condemnavit, quod post destitutionem Nero, in adipiscenda morte, manu ejus adjutus existimabatur.

It was from the same principle of fear he refused a new honour never thought of before, that was offered him by the senate, tho' he was very fond of all such, which was, That as oft as he held the consulship, Roman knights chosen by lot should walk before him amongst his officers and serjeants, dressed in the Trabeæ with lances in their hands. *As the time of the danger he apprehended approached, grew daily more and more disturbed in mind; insomuch that he lined up and down the walls of the portico he used to walk in with the stone called phengites, by the reflection whereof he could see what was doing behind him. And he seldom gave any prisoners a hearing but in private and alone, holding their chains in his hand; and to convince his domesticks that the life of a patron was not to be attempted upon the most plausible pretence whatever, he condemned to death Epaphroditus his master of requests, because it was believed that Nero in his forlorn condition had been assisted by his hand to kill himself.*

15. Denique Flavium Clementem patruelem suum contemptissimæ inertiæ, (cujus filios etiam tum parvulos successores palam destinaverat; et abolito priore nomine, alterum *Vespasianum* appellari jusserat, alterum *Domitianum*) repente ex tenuissima suspicione tantum non in ipso ejus consulatu interemit: quo maxime facto maturavit sibi exitium. Continuis octo mensibus tot fulgura facta nuntiataque sunt, ut exclamaverit, *Feriat jam quem volet.* Tactum de cælo capitolium templumq; Flaviæ gentis: item domus Palatina, et cubiculum ipsius: atque etiam e basi statuæ triumphalis titulus excussus, vi procellæ in monumentum proximum decidit. Arbor, quæ privato adhuc Ves-

15. *Finally Flavius Clemens his cousin german, a person for his aversion to publick business perfectly despicable, (whose sons, then but very little, he had professedly design'd for his successors, and, taking from them their former names, had ordered one to be called* Vespasian, *and the other* Domitian) *he suddenly put to death upon some very slight suspicion almost before the father was well out of his consulship: by which action he very much hastened his own destruction. There was for eight months together so much lightning at Rome, and accounts of the like from other parts, that he cried out at last,* Let him now strike whom he will. *The capitol was damaged by lightning, as also the temple of the Flavian family, with the Palatine house, and his own bed-chamber. The title too upon the base of a triumphal statue of his was taken off by a storm, and fell upon a neighbouring monument. The tree too, that, before the advancement of Vespasian had, been overthrown and rose*

pasiano

pasiano eversa surrexerat, tunc rursus repente corruit. Prænestina Fortuna, toto imperii spatio annum novum commendanti, lætam eandemque semper sortem dare assueta, extremo tristissimam reddidit, nec sine sanguinis mentione. Minervam, quam superstitiose colebat, somniavit excedere sacrario, negantem ultra se tueri eum posse, quod exarmata esset a Jove. Nulla tamen re perinde commotus est, quam responso casuq; Ascletarionis mathematici. Hunc delatum, nec infitiantem jactasse se, quæ providisset ex arte, scisciatus est, quis ipsum maneret exitus? et affirmantem, *fore ut brevi lacerarétur a canibus*, interfici quidem sine mora, sed ad coarguendam temeritatem artis, sepeliri quoq; accuratissime imperavit; quod cum fieret, evenit, ut repentina tempestate dejecto funere semiustum cadaver discerperent canes: idque ei cœnanti a mimo Latino, qui præteriens forte animadverterat, inter cæteras diei fabulas referretur.

16. Pridie quam periret, cum oblatos tuberes servari jussisset in crastinum, adjecit, *Si modo uti licuerit*. Et, conversus ad proximos, affirmavit, *Fore ut sequenti die, Luna se in Aquario cruentaret, factumq; aliquod existeret, de quo loquerentur homines per terrarum orbem*. Ac circa mediam noctem ita est exterritus, ut ex strato prosiliret. Dehinc mane haruspicem ex Germania missum, qui consultus de fulgure mutationem rerum prædixerat, audiit condemnavitque. Ac dum exulceratam in fronte verrucam vehementius scalpit, profluente sanguine, *Utinam*, inquit, *hac-*

again, then all on a sudden fell quite down once more. The goddess Fortune at Præneste, that, upon his imploring on the first of January her favour for the ensuing year, had been ever used to give him a very favourable answer, and always the same, at last return'd him a very dismal one, not without mention of blood. He dreamt that Minerva, whom he worshipped even to superstition, was withdrawing from her chapel, declaring she could protect him no longer, because she was disarmed by Jupiter. Yet nothing shock'd him more than an answer given him by Ascletario the astrologer, and a disaster upon it. He had been informed against, and did not deny he had talked of some future Events, which from his art he had a foresight of, whereupon he asked him, what end he thought he should come to himself? to which he replying, that he should, in a short time, be torn to pieces by dogs, *he ordered him immediately to be slain, and, to demonstrate the vanity of his art, to be carefully buried; but during the execution of this order, it happened that the funeral pile was blown down by a sudden storm, and his body half burnt was torn to pieces by dogs; which being taken notice of by the mimick Latinus, as he chanced to pass that way, he told the same amongst other passages of the day to the emperor at supper.*

16. *The day before his death, he ordered some mushrooms served up at table to be kept 'till the next day, adding.* If I may be permitted to use them. *And, turning to those that were next him, he said,* That the next day the Moon would be all bloody in Aquarius, and that an action would happen, which men would talk of all the world over. *About midnight he was so terrified that he jumped out of bed. The morning after he heard the cause of a soothsayer sent from Germany, who, being consulted about the great lightning that had happened, pretended to predict from thence a change in the government, and passed sentence of death upon him. And the blood running down his face upon his scratching an ulcerous lump on his forehead, he said,* Would this was all that was to

tenus.

tenus. Tunc horas requirenti, pro quinta, quam metuebat, sexta ex industria nuntiata est. His, velut transacto jam periculo, lætum festinantemque ad corporis curam, Parthenius cubiculo præpositus convertit, nuntians esse, qui magnum nescio quid afferret, nec differrendum. Itaq; summotis omnibus, in cubiculum se recepit, atque ibi occisus est.

17. De insidiarum cædisque genere, hæc fere divulgata sunt: Cunctantibus conspiratis, quando et quomodo, id est lavantemne, an cœnantem, aggrederentur, Stephanus Domitillæ procurator, et tunc interceptarum pecuniarum reus consilium operamque obtulit; ac sinistro brachio, velut ægro, lanis fasciisque per aliquot dies ad avertendam suspicionem obvoluto, ad ipsam horam, dolum interjecit, professusque conspirationis indicium, et ob hoc admissus, legenti traditum a se libellum et attonito, suffodit inguina. Socium ac repugnantem adorti Clodianus cornicularius, Maximus Parthenii libertus, Saturius decurio cubiculariorum, et quidam a gladiatorio ludo vulneribus septem contrucidaverunt. Puer, qui curæ Larium cubiculi, ex consuetudine assistens interfuit cædi, hoc amplius narrabat, se jussum a Domitiano ad primum statim vulnus pugionem pulvino subditum porrigere, ac ministros vocare, neque ad caput quidquam excepto capulo, et præterea omnia clausa, reperisse; atque illum interim, correpto deductoque ad terram Stephano, colluctatum diu, modo ferrum extorquere, modo quamquam befal me. *Then upon his asking the time of the day, instead of five o'clock, which was the hour he dreaded, they told him purposely it was six. Being rejoiced at these two circumstances, as if all danger was now over, and hastening to the bath, Parthenius who had the charge of his bed-chamber prevented him, by telling him that there was one come to wait upon him about a matter of great importance, that would admit of no delay. Upon that, ordering all people to withdraw, he retired into his bed-chamber, and was there slain.*

17. *As to the contrivance of his death and the execution of it, the common account is this: The conspirators being in some doubt when and how they should attack him, whether while he was at bath, or at supper, Stephanus a steward of Domitilla, then under a prosecution for defrauding his mistress, offered them his advice and assistance; and wrapping up his left arm, as if it was hurt, in wool and swathes for some days, to prevent suspicion, at the very hour appointed for the execution of the plot, he made use of this further stratagem. He pretended to make a discovery of a plot, and being for that reason admitted, he presented him a writing, which whilst he was reading with the appearance of one astonished, he stabbed him in the groin. But he making resistance after this wound, Clodianus a cornicularian, Maximus a freed-man of Parthenius's, Saturius a superintendant of the gentlemen of his bed-chamber, with some gladiators, fell on him, and stabbed him in seven places. A boy, who had the charge of the Lares in his bed-chamber, then in attendance as usual, when the thing was done, gave this further account, that he was order'd by Domitian upon his first wound to reach him a dagger that lay under his bolster, and call in his servants, but that he found nothing at the bed's head but the hilt of a ponyard, and that all the doors were secured; that the emperor in the mean time got hold of Stephanus, and throwing him on the ground, struggled a long time with him, one while endeavouring to wrench his sword from him, another while, though his fingers were miserably*

laniatis

laniatis digitis, oculos effodere conatum. Occisus est XIIII Kalend. Octobris, anno ætatis XLV. imperii XV. Cadaver ejus populari sandapila per vespillones exportatum, Phyllis nutrix in suburbano suo Latina via funeravit: sed reliquias templo Flaviæ gentis clam intulit, cineribusque Juliæ Titi filiæ, quam et ipsam educaverat, commiscuit.

18. Statura fuit procera, vultu modesto ruborisque pleno, grandibus oculis, verum acie hebetiore: præterea pulcher ac decens, maxime in juventa, et quidem toto corpore, exceptis pedibus, quorum digitos restrictiores habebat: postea calvitio quoque deformis et obesitate ventris, et crurum gracilitate: quæ tamen ei valetudine longa remacruerant. Commendari se verecundia oris adeo sentiebat, ut apud senatum sic quondam jactaverit, *Usque adhuc certe animum meum probastis, et vultum.* Calvitio ita offendebatur, ut in contumeliam suam traheret, si cui alii, joco vel jurgio, objectaretur: quamvis libello, quem *De cura capillorum* ad amicum edidit, hoc etiam illum simul seque consolans, inseruerit.

mangled, to pull his eyes out. He was slain upon the fourteenth of the calends of October, in the forty-fifth year of his age, and the fifteenth of his reign. His corpse was carried out upon a common bier by the publick bearers, and buried by his nurse Phyllis in an estate of his by the Latin way, not far from Rome; but his relicks she afterwards privately conveyed into the temple of the Flavian family, and mixed with the ashes of Julia, Titus's daughter, whom she had likewise nursed.

11. *He was of a tall stature, a modest countenance, and very ruddy: had large eyes, but dim-sighted; besides, he was a comely graceful person, especially in his youth, and completely such, excepting only that his toes were bent somewhat inward. He was at last disfigured by baldness, a fat belly, and the slenderness of his legs, which were reduced by a long illness. He was so sensible how much the modesty of his countenance recommended him, that he once made this boast to the senate,* Thus far you have approved of my disposition and countenance too. *He was so much concerned at his baldness, that he took it as an affront upon himself, if any one else was upbraided with it, either in jest or earnest; tho' in a small piece he published, addressed to a friend,* concerning the preservation of the hair, *he has for their common consolation the words following.*

Οὐχ ὁρᾶις οἷος κἀγὼ καλός τε μέγας τε;

See you not me a comely stately man!

eadem me tamen manent capillorum fata, et forti animo fero comam in adolescentia senescentem. Scias nec gratius quidquam decore, nec brevius.

And yet my hair has had the same fate; however I bear this early declining state of my hair bravely, considering that nothing is more agreeable than beauty, but nothing of shorter continuance.

19. Laboris impatiens, per urbem pedibus non temere ambulavit: in expeditione et agmine, equo rarius, lectica assidue vectus est. Armorum nullo, sagittarum vel præcipuo studio

19. *He was not able to endure any thing of toil or fatigue, insomuch that he hardly ever walked the city on foot. In his expeditions and on a march, he but rarely made use of a horse, riding generally in a chair. He had no inclination for the exercise of*

tenebatur. Centenas varii generis feras sæpe in Albano secessu conficientem spectavere plerique, atque etiam ex industria ita quarundam capita figentem, ut duobus ictibus quasi cornua effingeret. Nonnunquam in pueri procul stantis, præbentisque pro scopulo dispansam dextræ manus palmam, sagittas tanta arte direxit, ut omnes per intervalla digitorum innocue evaderent.

20. Liberalia studia in initio imperii neglexit, quamquam bibliothecas incendio absumptas impensissime raparare curasset, exemplaribus undique petitis, missisque Alexandriam, qui describerent, emendarentque. Nunquam tamen aut historiæ carminibusve cognoscendis operam ullam, aut stilo vel necessario, dedit. Præter commentarios et acta Tiberii Cæsaris nihil lectitabat. Epistolas orationesque et edicta alieno formabat ingenio, sermonis tamen nec inelegantis: Dictorum interdum etiam notabilium, *Vellem*, inquit, *tam formosus esse, quam Metius sibi videtur*. Et cujusdam caput varietate capilli subrutilum et incanum, *persusam nivem mulso* dixit.

21. *Conditionem principum miserrimam aiebat: quibus de conjuratione comperta non crederetur, nisi occisis.* Quoties otium esset, alea se oblectabat, etiam profestis diebus, matutinisque horis: ac lavabat de die, prandebatque ad satietatem: ut non temere super cœnam præter Matianum malum, et modicam in ampulla potiunculam sumeret. Convivebatur frequenter ac large, sed pæne raptim, certe non ultra solis occasum, nec ut postea comessaretur. Nam ad horam somni

arms, but loved a bow mightily. A great many people have seen him kill a hundred wild beasts of various kinds at his seat near Alba, and designedly lodge his arrows in their heads in such a manner, that he would at two shoots plant as it were a pair of horns on them. He would sometimes direct his arrows against the hand of a boy standing at a distance, which he held up expanded as a mark for him, with that dextrous art, that they all passed betwixt his fingers without hurting him.

20. *In the beginning of his reign he laid aside the study of the liberal sciences, tho' he took care to restore at a vast expence the libraries that had been burnt down, by collecting copies from all parts, and sending scribes to Alexandria to take copies from, or correct, them, by those of the library there. Yet he never applied himself to the reading of history or poetry, or to exercise his pen for his own necessary improvement. He read nothing but the commentaries and acts of Tiberius Cæsar. His letters, speeches, and proclamations, were all drawn up for him by others, tho' he would talk handsomely, and had sometimes sayings remarkable enough.* I could wish, *said he once,* that I was but as handsome as Metius fancies himself to be. *And the head of one whose hair was part yellow and part grey, he said* was snow sprinkled with mead.

21. *He said* the condition of princes was very miserable, who were never credited in the discovery of a plot, 'till they were murthered. *As oft as he had no business, he diverted himself at game, even upon days that were no festivals, and in the morning. He entered the bath too by noon, and took a plentiful dinner, insomuch that he rarely eat more at supper than a Matian apple, to which he added a small draught of wine out of a round bellied jug he used. He made frequent and splendid entertainments, but commonly in a hurry; for he never continued them beyond sun-set, and had no drinking repast after; for 'till bed-time he*

nihil

nihil aliud, quam secreto solus deambulabat.

22. Libidinis nimiæ, assiduitatem concubitus, velut exercitationis genus, clinopalen vocabat. Eratque fama, quasi concubinas ipse divelleret, nataretque inter vulgatissimas meretrices. Fratris filiam adhuc virginem oblatam in matrimonium sibi, cum devinctus Domitiæ nuptiis pertinacissime recusasset, non multo post alii collocatam ultro corrupit, et quidem vivo etiam tum Tito: mox patre ac viro orbatam, ardentissime palam dilexit: ut etiam causa mortis exstiterit coactæ conceptum a se abigere.

23. Occisum eum, populus indifferenter, miles gravissime tulit, statimque eum *Divum* appellare conatus est: paratus et ulcisci, nisi duces defuissent; quod quidem paulo post fecit, expostulatis ad pœnam pertinacissime cædis auctoribus. Contra, senatus adeo lætatus est, ut repleta certatim curia, non temperaret, quin mortuum contumeliosissimo atque acerbissimo acclamationum genere laceraret: scalas etiam inferri, clypeosque et imagines ejus coram detrahi, et ibidem solo affligi juberet; novissime eradendos ubique titulos, abolendamque omnem memoriam decerneret. Ante paucos quam occideretur menses, cornix in capitolio elocuta est, ἔσται πάντα καλῶς. Nec defuit qui ostentum sic interpretaretur:

did nothing else but walk by himself in private.

22. *He was very lewd. Frequent coition, as it was a sort of exercise, he called bed-wrestling; and it was reported that he —— and swam amongst the vilest prostitutes. His brother's daughter was offered him in marriage, when she was a virgin; but he being at that time engaged with Domitia, obstinately refused her; yet not long after, when she was disposed of to another, he debauched her, and whilst Titus was living too. But after she had lost both her father and her husband, he loved her most passionately and avowedly, insomuch that he was the occasion of her death, by obliging her to take things to make her miscarry of a child conceived by her late husband.*

23. *The people took his death very unconcernedly, but the soldiery most heinously, and immediately endeavoured to have him ranked amongst the Gods, being ready to have revenged his death, but that they wanted some to head them. Which, however they did effect soon after, by resolutely demanding for punishment all those that had been concerned in his death. On the other hand, the senate was so overjoyed, that they assembled in all haste; and in a full house reviled his memory in the most bitter abusive language; ordering ladders to be brought in, and his shields and images to be pulled down before their eyes, and dashed to pieces upon the spot against the ground; and finally passed a decree to raze his titles every-where, and abolish all memory of him for ever. A few months before he was slain, a crow spoke in the capitol these words,* All things will be well. *Upon which prodigy some body put the following construction.*

Nuper Tarpejo quæ sedit culmine cornix,
Est bene, non potuit dicere; dixit, erit.

The Crow, that lately perch'd on Tarpey's hill,
Could not say all was well, but said it will.

Ipſum etiam Domitianum ferunt ſomniaſſe, gibbam ſibi pone cervicem auream enatam: pro certoque habuiſſe, beatiorem poſt ſe, lætioremque portendi reipublicæ ſtatum. Sicut ſane brevi evenit abſtinentia et moderatione inſequentium principum.

They ſay too, that Domitian dreamed he had a golden hump grew out of the back of his neck, which he took for a certain ſign of happy days for the empire after him, as indeed it ſhortly after happened by the juſtice and moderation of the following emperors.

FINIS.



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